

O'Donoghue, John

Historical memoir of the O'Briens with notes, appendix, and a genealogical table of their several branches ; compiled from the Irish annalists

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O'Donoghue

HISTORICAL MEMOIR
OF
THE O'BRIENS.

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WITH
NOTES, APPENDIX, AND A GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF
THEIR SEVERAL BRANCHES.

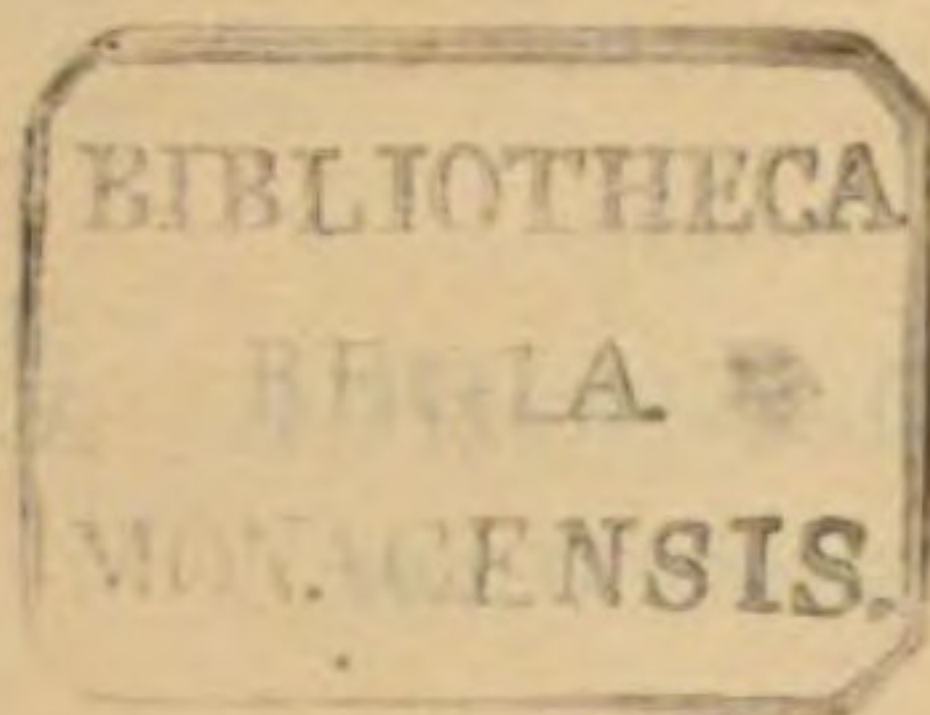
COMPILED FROM THE IRISH ANNALISTS.

BY
JOHN O'DONOGHUE, A.M.
BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

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1860.



P. JOLLY, Printer,
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TO

LUCIUS, LORD INCHQUIN ;

WILLIAM SMITH O'BRIEN, Esq. ;

AND THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF DROMOLAND,

THIS MEMOIR OF THEIR ANCESTORS

IS INSCRIBED,

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PREFACE.

AMONG the subjects of literary interest which of late years have engaged the attention of Irish readers, none seem to have been entered on with greater earnestness than that of Archæology. This has been occasioned by the greater facility with which inquiries can now, more than heretofore, be prosecuted into the ancient history and condition of Ireland, owing to the publications of the Archæological and Celtic Societies, and particularly by those of the various annals of the kingdom collected by the monks of the Franciscan monastery of Donegal at the commencement of the seventeenth century, whose work, entitled the Annals of the Four Masters, has been so ably translated and illustrated by Doctor O'Donovan. As long as those literary treasures and memorials of a remote age, which the learned are unanimous in holding that Ireland possesses in a greater degree than most other countries lay locked up in the ancient dialect of the country, it was vain to expect that any considerable interest could be felt or attention excited to examine or develope their contents. Now, however, that that difficulty has been removed, an awakened interest has sprung up to become acquainted with the arts, manners,

and policy of a people, who, not remotely situated from the sister island, imparted at a very early period their language and customs to one portion of Great Britain, to be, in turn, if not subdued, at least colonized, some centuries after by the other.

While perusing the productions of the Archæological Society, from time to time, it occurred to the author, that a connected history of one leading family of the Celtic stock and its fortunes, would better illustrate the condition of the country, and throw a clearer light on the weak and fitful authority pretended to be held by the Norman colonists of Ireland over its people, down to the commencement of the seventeenth century, than could be obtained from the disjointed and unconnected pieces of history published by the society. Hence has arisen the present work. Among the five bloods to whom it was the policy of Henry the second to give permission to avail themselves of the laws of England in their intercourse with the Norman immigrants, (*quinque sanguines qui gaudent lege Anglicana quoad brevia portanda*,) namely, the Macmorroghs, O'Neils, O'Briens, O'Conors, and O'Melaghlins, the O'Briens, from the prestige and character of their progenitor, the conqueror of Clontarf, held then a high place, as they now unquestionably do the highest. In the fourteenth century a chieftain of that stock was chosen to command the Irish troops sent to co-operate with the forces of the Pale in expelling Edward Bruce from the kingdom ; while at later periods, in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the services to the crown of England rendered by the earls of Thomond and Inchiquin are too well known to need more than a passing reference here. Occupying such a position

in the history of their country, the following work has been undertaken, in accordance with the views already expressed, to give an account of that race, and the share it was their fortune to have had in the events of the kingdom to the present time.

The revolution effected by Brian of the tributes in the monarchy of Ireland, at the commencement of the eleventh century, fifty-four years before the battle of Hastings transferred the crown of England to the duke of Normandy, although it effected no such change in the tenure of land in this kingdom as was brought about in England by the Norman conquest, was, when the circumstances of the country are taken into account, an event scarcely of less importance than that which was ushered in by the victory of the Normans at Hastings. The throne of England had been occupied, since the merger of the Heptarchy, by a succession of Saxon and Danish princes, whose conflicting pretensions were maintained, as they had been asserted, by the sword, and whose dynasties had not acquired that prestige of long standing which was witnessed in the neighbouring island. In Ireland, on the contrary, the descendants of one family occupied the throne for a period of nearly six centuries with universal acquiescence, until deposed by a provincial prince, who relied on the strength of his personal character and the support of an army with which he had frequently chastised those Danish freebooters who vainly strove to establish in Ireland that dominion which they had been successful in founding in England and on the Continent of Europe. The importance of this revolution will be better understood if we consider the nature of the principles on which the ancient Irish monarchy, and the

succession to the throne of the supreme monarch and subordinate princes and chieftains, were founded. These are clearly explained by the learned O'Flaherty, the author of the *Ogygia*, in his celebrated work, from which the following passage, translated from the original Latin, is submitted to the reader :—

“ In his reflections on the hereditary principle and right of succession observed in the election of the monarchs of Ireland, Giraldus Cambrensis indulges in observations not free from the imputation of calumny. From the chief prince to the lowest order of dynasts, there was no dominion the rule over which did not appertain to some certain family from which the monarch, pentarch, or subordinate prince was chosen, who to hereditary right united the suffrages of the people in virtue of his illustrious deeds. In the election of the prince, then, two things were to be taken into account, hereditary right, and the choice of the people. Any male relative of the deceased was capable of succeeding to the authority established by the founder of whom he might be a descendant, but, by the election, that dignity was limited to the life of the person so elected. Yet it was not allowable for the electors to choose arbitrarily any one among the numerous descendants of the founder of the dynasty, their choice being confined to the uncle, brother, son, or other near relation of the last possessor of the dignity, according to a law universally observed, that the selection should be made of one who was the eldest and worthiest of the blood of the defunct prince.”

“ And this is observable in the instances of the supreme monarchs of Ireland. For, from the advent of the sons of Milesius to the arrival of St. Patrick, a period of 1447

years, no one aspired to that dignity other than a descendant of one of his three sons, Heremon, Heber, and Ir, with the exception of three who descended from Lughaidh, the son of Ith, their near relative, and another chosen by the plebeian order. After the introduction of Christianity down to the year 1022, a period of 590 years, the throne of Ireland was filled by a succession of the descendants, forty-six in number, of Niall of the nine hostages, the four (*recte*, five) principal branches of that family alternately supplying rulers. Of these, however, as has been the case among all nations, whether Christian or heathen, some from lust of power aimed at and seized the supreme authority, asserting their pretensions by war and violence. But, saving those instances in which violent means were resorted to, the door was closed against the acquisition of supreme power by any one who did not combine in himself the necessary qualifications of hereditary descent and the suffrages of the electors."

"On choosing the prince a successor was at the same time appointed, who, in case of the decease of the former, should assume the sovereignty. This person might be either the son, or brother, or some other of the worthier descendants of the family, and was styled the Tanist ($\tau\alpha\nu\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon$)^(a) a designation adopted from the ring finger,

(a) The primary meaning and derivation of the term $\tau\alpha\nu\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon$ is involved in great obscurity. The reader will not fail to remark that O'Flaherty does not attempt an explanation of it, and only cites the authority of Sir John Davis and Sir James Ware. Skinner suspects the word to be of Irish origin, otherwise, he says, he would suppose it to come from *Thane*. Spencer, in his view of the state of Ireland (p. 6,) accounting for the term, has the following remark: "And so it may well be that from thence (*Dania*) the first original of this word, tanist, and tanistry, came, and the custom thereof hath sithence, as many others else, been continued." It seems to corroborate this view, that after a careful examination of the Irish text of the Four Masters, the writer of this note has found no

which, as in length and position it was next to the middle, so the tanist was next to the prince in position and authority. And from this circumstance Davis and Ware derive the origin of the law of tanistry. Each of the remaining members of the family was styled Righdamna, that is, the material of a king, or one who was capable of being selected to exercise the functions of royalty. In the case of an *alumnus* of a liberal science or mechanical art, he was only styled "*adbar*," which also implies material—namely, one who was capable of being bred up or trained to such and such a pursuit."

"As in the constitution of the Irish monarchy there were three orders, viz., 1st, kings ; 2nd, druids and literary persons ; and 3rd, handicraftsmen and plebeians, so there were seven degrees of the latter ranks, each regulated by peculiar laws, and possessed of peculiar privileges, the professors in which were styled "*ollamhs*."

"On the introduction of the Christian religion, as there co-existed thenceforward a supreme monarch and a primate, and in each of the provinces a subordinate prince and archbishop ; so in the several petty kingdoms throughout the country, besides the ruler who had under him the *taoiseachs* or barons, there was the bishop and abbot, with the judge or *brehon* to administer the law, and the *ollav* in the other professions, who had over him a higher order in the province, the highest being styled *ollavs* of the entire kingdom."

The commencement of the reign of Niall of the nine

trace of the word until the year 846, when it is applied to Tomhrar, "the tanist of the king of Lochlann," who, with 1200 of the Danes, was killed at the battle of Skiath Nechtain in that year. Some scholars consider it cognate with the Persian "*tan*," a country—as it were, the defender of the territory.

hostages is placed by the Four Masters at the year of the Christian æra 379. This prince had fourteen sons, of whom the following eight, the progenitors of the southern and northern Hy-nialls, left issue. The progenitors of the southern Hy-nialls were, Laeghaire, Conall Crimhthan, Fiacha, and Maine, whose descendants remained in the Meaths. Of the northern, Eoghan, Conall Gulban, Cairbre, and Enda, whose issue migrated to Ulster. During the entire of the period mentioned by O'Flaherty, the throne of Ireland was filled (with the single exception of Olioll Molt, their first cousin) by the descendants of the first two of the above-named progenitors of the southern Hy-nialls, Laeghaire and Conall Crimhthan ; and by the descendants of the first three of the northerns, viz., Eoghan, Conall Gulban, and Cairbre. From the accession of Laeghaire, A.D. 429, to the deposition, in 1002, of Maelsechlain by Brian Boroimhe, the order of succession will be seen to bear out fully the statement of O'Flaherty above referred to. To exhibit to the reader a regular series of the Hy-niall monarchs, and to shew the importance of the revolution effected by Brian, reference may be made to the table at foot of this preface. An examination of this table will shew that the princes of the southern Hy-nialls, who filled the throne of Ireland down to Maelsechlain, were, with the exception of Laeghaire and his son Lughaidh, descended from Conall Crimhthan ; while of the northerns, Eoghan and Conall Gulban alone were the progenitors of the other monarchs, after the decease of Tuathal Maelgarbh, grandson of Cairbre, No. 5 in the list of the Hy-niall kings. It will also be seen by reference to the reign, No. 12, that the conflicting pretensions of the two great branches of the descendants of Niall

of the nine hostages, were, after the death of Aedh, son of Ainmire, reconciled by the joint sovereignty of one of each of the two lines, after whom occurs a sort of fitful succession of princes, sometimes of the northern, and at other times of the southern branch, until the year 729, when the descendants of Conall Gulban disappear from the line of chief monarchs of Ireland, and the throne became thenceforward filled by a regular alternation of princes from the north and south. From the regularity thus observable in the succession to the throne for the period of nearly three centuries, it is reasonable to conclude that the hereditary principle, which, as we have seen, was one of the elements in the choice of the monarchs of Ireland, had gained ground, and that although the sovereignty could not be exclusively possessed by either of the rival branches, yet that a prince of each succeeded to his immediate ancestor after an intervening reign. One exception, and only one, to this arrangement, appears at the reign numbered 40, occasioned by the death of Muircearthach, son of Niall Glundubh, in the lifetime of the reigning monarch Donogh, son of Flann Sionna, whom Muircearthach calculated on succeeding, and whose measures to secure the succession, are related in the circuit of Ireland, printed for the Archæological Society. How far the incursions of the northmen, whose appearance on the coasts of Ireland coincides nearly with the commencement of the system of alternate succession above referred to, may have rendered such an arrangement necessary, is not apparent. It is obvious that disputes about the succession must have been prejudicial to the adoption of measures of defence against the common enemy, reinforced as they were, from time to time, by fresh swarms from "the northern

hive." However, until the prince of the Dal-gais appears on the scene, the monarchy of Ireland was held by the descendants of Niall of the nine hostages, from two of whom, namely, Maelseachlain and Niall Glundubh, sprang two of the five bloods. Such was the dynasty which Brian, led by the promptings of ambition, or invited by the demands of a people groaning under the infliction of Danish outrage, contrived to overthrow. The victory of Clontarf bears some resemblance to the earlier achievements of the Saxon monarch Alfred, between whose character and that of Brian Boromha, the reader will find a similarity in more respects than that of military genius.

It only remains to observe that the author had originally intended to confine this compilation to the mediæval portion of the memoirs. On second thought, however, it appeared to him, as well as to others whose opinions were entitled to respect, that such a plan must necessarily have excluded any mention of the celebrated earl of Inchiquin, or of the viscounts Clare, who emigrated to the continent after the capitulation of Limerick, as well as the more recent senatorial services to his country of the late Sir Lucius O'Brien. To complete the work, the addition of a modern to the mediæval part seemed necessary, and has accordingly been supplied.

The law of tanistic succession, explained by O'Flaherty as prevailing generally through Ireland in remote and mediæval times, and as observed in the instances of the rulers of the Dal-gais, will be seen by reference to the genealogical table of the O'Briens annexed to this work. The names of the successive princes of Thomond are printed

in capitals, and the descent of collateral branches is given as far as these are noticed by the annalists.

As this work may happen to fall into the hands of readers unacquainted with the orthography or pronunciation of Irish names interspersed through it, it may be advisable to state that the aspirate "h" following the letters "d" and "g" have the effect of transforming them into "y," and "b" and "m" into "v," the Irish alphabet not containing either "v" or "y." In recent manuscripts this effect is produced by a point over the above consonants. It may also be of use to remark that the letter "c" is invariably hard, as in the English word "can," and that "t" is sounded as in the word "thing."

CORRIGENDA.

- Page 50, 4th line from the bottom, for "Cincidi" read "Cineidi."
- „ 51, line 7, for "Muintercoluis" read "Muintereoluis."
- „ 116, line 7, insert full stop after "Great."
- „ 143, line 9th from the bottom, for (a) read "(A)," and refer to letter (A) in the Appendix.
- „ 151, at line 10 from the bottom, for "Gilladluv" read "Gilladuv."
- „ 254, line 4, for "were" read "was."
- „ 312, line 10 from the bottom, for "were" read "was."
- „ 341, line 3, for "prevaile" read "prevailed."
- „ 420, line 2, for "ill-concealed" read "ill-conceived."
- „ 422, line 10 from the bottom, for "were" read "was."

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MONARCHS OF IRELAND, DESCENDANTS OF NIALL OF THE NINE HOSTAGES,
ACCORDING TO THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE FOUR MASTERS.

Vide ante, p. xiii.

SOUTHERN HY-NIALLS.

- | | A. D. |
|--|-------|
| 1. Laeghaire died - | 458 |
| 2. Olioll Molt d. - | 478 |
| 3. Lughaidh, son of <i>Laeghaire</i> , d. | 503 |
| | |
| 6. Diarmid, son of Fergus Ceir-
bheoil, son of <i>Conall Crimh-</i>
<i>than</i> , d. - | 558 |
| | |
| 12. Aedh Slaine, grandson of
<i>Diarmid</i> , son of Fergus Ceir-
bheoil, and Colman Rimidh,
son of <i>Baedan</i> , son of Muir-
certach, both slain - | 600 |

NORTHERN HY-NIALLS.

- | | A. D. |
|---|-------|
| 4. Muircertach, son of Muiread-
hach, son of <i>Eoghan</i> , died - | 527 |
| 5. Tuathal Maelgarbh, son of
Cormac Caech, son of <i>Cair-</i>
<i>bre</i> , died - | 538 |
| | |
| 7. Donald and Fergus, sons of
<i>Muircertach</i> , son of Muir-
eadhach, died - | 561 |
| 8. Eochaidh, son of <i>Donald</i> , son
of Muircertach, and Baedan,
son of Muirceartach, slain - | 563 |
| 9. Ainmire, son of Sedna, son of
Fergus Ceanfoda, son of
<i>Conall Gulban</i> , died - | 566 |
| 10. Baedan, son of Ninnidh, son
of Fergus Ceanfoda, son of
Conall Gulban, slain - | 567 |
| 11. Aedh, son of <i>Ainmire</i> , slain - | 594 |
| | |
| 13. Aedh Uairineach, son of Don-
ald Ilcealgach, ^(a) son of
<i>Muircertach</i> , son of Muir-
eadhach, died - | 608 |
| 14. Maelcobha, son of <i>Aedh</i> , son
of Ainmire, slain - | 611 |

(a) Ilcealgach, utterly treacherous.

SOUTHERN HY-NIALLS—*continued.*

A.D.

18. Diarmid and Blathmac, sons
of *Aedh Slaine*, d. - - 664
19. Seachnasach, son of *Blathmac*,
slain - - - 669
20. Ceanfaeladh, son of *Blathmac*,
slain - - - 673
21. Finachta Fleadhach, (d) son of
Donogh, son of *Aedh Slaine*,
slain - - - 693

25. Fogarthach, son of Niall, son of
Cearnach Sotal, (e) son of
Diarmid, son of *Aedh Slaine*,
slain - - - 719
26. Cinaeth, son of Irgalach, son
of Conaing, son of Conall,
son of *Aedh Slaine*, slain - 721

29. Donald, son of Morrogh, son of
Diarmid, son of *Aedh Slaine*,
died - - - 758

31. Donogh, son of *Donald*, died - 797

(d) Fleadhach, giver of feasts.
(e) Sotal, haughty.

NORTHERN HY-NIALLS—*continued.*

A.D.

15. Suibhne Meann, (b) son of
Fiachra, son of Fearadhach,
son of Muiredhach, son of
Eoghan, slain - - - 623
16. Donald, son, of Aedh, son of
Ainmire, died - - - 639
17. Conall Cael (c) and Ceallach,
sons of Maelcobha, son of
Aedh, son of *Ainmire*, died - 656

22. Loingseach, son of Aengus,
son of *Donald*, son of Aedh,
son of *Ainmire*, slain - 701
23. Congal of Cean Maghair, son
of Fergus of Fanaid, son of
Donald, son of Aedh, son of
Ainmire, died - - - 708
24. Feargal, son of Maelduin, son
of Maelfithrigh, son of *Aedh*
Uairineach, slain - - - 781

27. Flahertach, son of *Loingseach*,
died - - - 729
28. Aedh Allan, son of *Feargal*,
son of Maelduin, slain - 738

30. Niall Frossach, (f) son of *Fear-*
gal, son of Maelduin (re-
signed) - - - 765

32. Aedh Oirdnighe, son of *Niall*
Frossach, died - - - 817

(b) Meann, famous, illustrious.
(c) Caol, or Cael, slender.
(f) Frosach, dark.

TABLE OF HY-NIAL KING.

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SOUTHERN HY-NIALS—continued.

- A.D.
33. Conchovar, son of *Donogh*, died 831
35. Maelseachlain, son of Mael-
ruanadh, son of *Donogh*, son
of Donald, died - - 860
37. Flann Sionna, son of *Mael-
seachlain*, died - - 914
39. Donogh, son of *Flann Sionna*,
died - - 942
40. Congalach, son of Maelmithi,
son of Flanagan, son of Ceal-
lach, son of Conaing, son of
Congalach, son of *Aedh
Slaine*, slain - - 954
42. Maelseachlain Mor, son of
Donald, son of *Donogh*, son
of Flann Sionna, deposed by
BRIANBOROIMHE (1002) after
whose death at Clontarf in
1014, he resumed the govern-
ment, and died in 1022, and
with him terminated the
reign of the Hy-niall princes.

NORTHERN HY-NIALS—continued.

- A.D.
34. Niall Caille, (drowned at Cal-
lan) son of *Aedh Ordneighe* - 844
36. Aedh Finliath, (g) son of *Niall
Caille*, died - - 877
38. Niall Glundubh, (h) son of *Aedh
Finhath*, slain - - 917
41. Donald, son of Muircertach,
son of *Niall Glundubh*, died 978

(g) Finliath, fair-haired, inclined to grey
(h) Glundubh, black-kneed.

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HISTORICAL MEMOIR OF THE O'BRIENS.

MEDIEVAL PART.

CHAPTER I.

A.D. 166-428...Contest between Con Ceadcaha (of the Hundred Battles) and Mogha Nuadhat for the sovereignty of Ireland...Division of the island. Leathcuin and Leathmogha...Olioll Olum....His descendants...Law of alternate succession to the crown of Munster...Battle of Gabhra...The three Collas...Destruction of the royal palace of Emania, and dismemberment of the kingdom of Ulster...Eochy Muighmheadhoin...Crimhthan, king of Ireland, poisoned by his sister...Niall of the Nine Hostages...Northern and Southern Hy-Niall....Dathi.

It has been the fortune of the race whose story is told in the following pages, to form an exception to those instances in which families once occupying a regal station, have, after their declension, sunk into obscurity. A reader of Irish history will find the names of the O'Briens so often mentioned in the pages of its annals, that he cannot hesitate to conclude, that whether as kings of the whole island, or later, of the southern half, or again, after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, ruling their restricted principality of Thomond with independent authority, as asserted by Sir John Davis of them and others, the descendants of Brian Boroimhe have written their names in indelible characters in the history of their country. In no part of the kingdom can so many memorials of the energy and power of the native princes be found at this day, as in the territory

of Thomond, before it was restricted to the present county of Clare. The erection of the monasteries of Manister-nenagh, Holycross, the cathedral of Limerick, the abbey of Ennis, and many others too numerous to mention, devoted to the promotion of learning and piety, exhibit to the modern traveller proofs of the genius and vigour of the descendants of Brian. And notwithstanding the various changes which the state of society has for so many ages undergone, and the downfall of so many of the ancient families of the country, we find the descendants of Brian of the Tributes still holding their own; while we may search in vain even among some of the royal houses on the continent of Europe for a line of greater antiquity, or one whose descent is more clearly traced through the historic records of their country, than that of which this work purports to record the history. To illustrate those propositions is the purpose of these pages, but for a correct treatment of the subject, a succinct account of the earlier period of the Irish monarchy is necessary.

Without attempting to penetrate the darkness in which the advent of the sons of Milesius, Heremon, Heber, and Ir, is involved, it will be sufficient, for the purpose of these memoirs, to commence at that point within the limits of authentic Irish history⁽¹⁾ at which the disputes for the sovereignty of the whole kingdom are recorded to have occurred between Con of the Hundred Battles, king of Ireland, and Mogha Nuadhat, king of Munster.

These princes, the former of whom was of the Heremonian, as the other was of the Heberian line, having been engaged in a long and indecisive struggle for the sovereignty, at length agreed to a partition of the island, in virtue of which each was to be supreme in his own moiety. The northern division was called "Leathcuin," or Con's half; the southern "Leathmogha," or Mogha's half.⁽²⁾ This division, although it lasted for practical purposes little more than a year, that is, to the death of Mogha Nuadhat, who was killed in the battle of Moylena, fought against Con of the Hundred Battles, in the next year, (A.D. 167) yet has continued, in the language of the natives, as a popular and well-

known description of the northern and southern portions of Ireland, to our own day.

Mogha Nuadhat, having fallen in battle, his successful and politic rival, Con, secured his throne by giving his daughter Sadhbh, or Sabia, in marriage to Olioll Olum, son of Mogha Nuadhat, who had now become the monarch of the whole of Munster. By this princess, Olioll Olum became the father of several sons, of whom the following three, Eoghan-more, Cormac Cas, and Cian, alone had issue. Olioll having made a law to regulate the succession now secured to his family, whereby the crown of Munster was to vest alternately in the descendants of his two sons, Eoghan and Cormac-Cas, died in the year of the common era, 234, and in the eighth year of the reign over all Ireland, of his nephew, Cormac, son of Art, son of Con of the Hundred Battles.

Of the three sons of Olioll Olum, the eldest, Eoghan, had fallen in the lifetime of his father in the battle of Maighmuccruimhe, A.D. 195. The posterity of this son, from him designated Eoganachts,⁽³⁾ occupied the southern parts of the province of Munster from Magh Feimin, the plain extending from the river Suir to Cashel, on the east, and to the mountain of Brandon, in Kerry, on the west. From Cormac Cas, the second son of Olioll,⁽⁴⁾ are descended the O'Briens and their correlatives, Cas, the sixth in direct descent from Cormac Cas, having been the father of four sons, Blod, Caisin, (or Little Cas,) Aengus Cinnathach, and Aengus Cinnaittin, respectively the progenitors of the O'Briens, the Macnamaras, the O'Deas, and the O'Quins, of Thomond.

Cian, the third son of Olioll Olum, became the progenitor of O'Carroll, of Ely; O'Meagher, of Ikerrin, (Tipperary); O'Connor, of Glengiven, county of Londonderry; O'Hara and O'Gara, of Sligo, and others.

Eoghanmore having, as already stated, died in the lifetime of his father, his son, Fiacha Muilleathan, succeeded Olioll Olum, his grandfather, on the throne of Munster. Contemporary with him as monarch of Ireland was Cor-

mac, grandson of Con Ceadcatha. Notwithstanding the closeness of relationship which subsisted between these princes, their reigns were disturbed by continual wars. In the year 241, the Four Masters make mention of no fewer than nine battles, in which Cormac was engaged against Munster alone. In one of these, fought at the place now called Knocklong in the county of Limerick, Cormac was defeated and pursued into Ossory⁽⁵⁾ by Fiacha, and compelled to deliver hostages for making reparation to Munster for the injuries sustained by the war.⁽⁶⁾

According to the rule of alternate succession established by the will of Olioll Olum, Fiacha Muilleathan was succeeded on the throne of Munster by Moghcorb, son of Cormac Cas, the ancestor of the O'Briens and Dalgais, of Thomond. This prince, like his predecessor and cousin Fiacha, was engaged in hostilities with Cairbre Liffeachair (fostered on the Liffey,) son of king Cormac. In the progress of these, and after a reign of seventeen years, Cairbre was killed in the battle of Gabhra, in Meath, A.D. 284, fought against Moghcorb and the forces of Munster. He left two sons, Fiacha Sraibhtine and Eochy Doimhlen, the former of whom, after a reign of thirty-seven years, was slain by his nephews, the three Collas, sons of Eochy Doimhlen. The eldest of these princes, who were named respectively Colla-uais, Colla-meann, and Colla-da-Crioch, ascended the throne of Ireland in the year 323, and reigned nearly four years, when he and his brothers were driven into Scotland by their cousin Muireadhach Tireach, with three hundred of their followers. Muireadhach thereupon took possession of the throne of his ancestors, and reigned for a period of thirty years. In the fifth year of this prince's reign, A.D. 331, the three Collas, who had returned about four years previously from Scotland, engaged in battle with Ferghus Fogha, king of Ulster, whom they defeated and slew, after which they burned the royal palace of Eamhain Macha, or Emania, which was thenceforward deserted. The dismemberment of the kingdom of Ulster followed closely on the destruction of the royal palace, for the vic-

tors took from the Ulstermen that part of the province extending westwards from the Righe (the Newry river), and Loughneagh.⁽⁷⁾

The long reign of Muireadhach Tireach was brought to a close in the year 356, he falling in battle by the hand of Caelbhadh, of the Rudrician race, king of Ulster. The conqueror did not long survive his victory, having in his turn been killed by Eochaidh Muighmheadhoin (Moyveon), son of Muireadhach Tireach, who reigned as king of Ireland eight years, and died A.D. 365, at Teamhair (Tara), then, and for more than two centuries after, the seat of government.

The death of Eochy Muighmheadhoin forms a remarkable epoch in Irish history. From the accession of Con Ceadcatha, in the year 123, to the death of Eochy, the crown had descended almost uninterruptedly in the same family. It was soon to be worn by a race whose descendants held firm and undisputed dominion for a period of nearly six centuries, although their advent to power was attempted to be obstructed by the commission of a crime of singular enormity.

Eochy Muighmheadhoin had two wives (polygamy being then and for a long time afterwards not uncommon.) The first of these was Mongfinn (fair tresses), sister of Crimhthan, king of Munster, who was sixth in descent from Olioll Olum, through Eoghanmore. By this princess he had four sons. 1. Brian, ancestor of the O'Conors, of Connaught, and their correlatives; 2. Fiachra, ancestor of the Hy-fiachra tribes, the O'Dowdas, O'Heynes, and O'Shaughnessys; 3. and 4. Fearghus and Oilioll. His second wife was Carinna (Carthan-cass-dubh), daughter of the king of Britain, by whom he had Niall of the Nine Hostages, by far the most illustrious of his descendants, and from whom the Hy-Niall of the north and south, who for six centuries held the sceptre of Ireland, were descended.

The issue of Eochy being too young to succeed him, his brother-in-law, Crimhthan, was raised to the throne, chiefly to protect the interests of the minors who had been committed to his charge. Being the senior of the

descendants of Olioll Olum, he, on his accession to the imperial throne, named to the crown of Munster (then vacant by his advancement to the higher dignity), Conall Eachluat, who was fifth in descent from Cormac Cas, and direct progenitor of the O'Briens. The princes of the Eoghanachts were incensed at the appointment, as being in direct violation of the will of Olioll Olum, and represented that Corc, who was of their own race, had a prior right. Conall, who could have maintained with the sword⁽⁸⁾ the crown which had been conferred on him, preferring to spare the effusion of blood, submitted the point in dispute to the arbitration of the states of Munster, promising to comply with their decision, even though it should turn out to be adverse to himself; and these having given their judgment in favour of Corc, Conall resigned his pretensions with a magnanimity which receives the praises of the annalists, and which was rewarded with the crown soon after, when the provincial throne became vacant by the death of Corc. Conall Eachluat became king of all Munster in the year 366.

Crimhthan had been on the throne of Ireland for about thirteen years, when the children of his brother-in-law had arrived at maturity. His sister, Mongfinn, who had conceived a violent desire to place her eldest son, Brian, on the throne of his ancestors, was resolved to accomplish her purpose, even at the expense of her own life and that of her brother. She accordingly, we are told, did not scruple to prepare a poisoned draught, which she gave him, and of which she previously partook in his presence, the more effectually to allay suspicion. The poison was not long in producing its effects, she dying of it on an island in the river Moy, in the north of Connaught, while Crimhthan, then on his journey to the south, was attacked with the pangs of death on the summit of the range of the Cratloe mountains, in the county of Clare, thence called in Irish history Sliabhoighidh-an-righ, (the mountain of the death of the king,) where, A.D. 378, he terminated a reign remarkable for the progress of his arms even on the continent of Europe. The object sought to be accomplished by

such criminal means was not, however, attained, no son of Mongfinn having succeeded to the throne, and the choice of the states having fallen on Niall, the son of Carinna, afterwards known by the appellation of the Nine Hostages. The annals of Clonmacnoise and the Book of Ballymote remark, that the only descendants of Mongfinn who ever attained to the monarchy of Ireland were Turloghmore O'Connor and his son Roderick, and that they were luckless monarchs for Ireland.⁽⁹⁾

Niall of the Nine Hostages having been chosen to fill the throne of Ireland, notwithstanding the criminal efforts of Mongfinn, her favorite son, Brian, was obliged to content himself with the provincial crown of Connaught. The military reputation of Niall, the early dawn of which, it is not unreasonable to presume, contributed materially to his election to the sovereignty, may be inferred from the allusions of the Roman poet Claudian, describing the incursions of the Scots into Britain in the following terms :

——“ totam cum Scotus Iernen

“ Movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys ;”

which can be attributed to no other Scotie prince than Niall, even if the term “Iernen” were wanting. The annalists assign to this monarch a long and prosperous reign of twenty-seven years, and by stating that he was slain by Eochaidh, son of Enna Ceinsellach, A.D. 405, at Muir-n-Icht (the Iccian sea) between France and England, they prove the extent to which the progress of his arms had been carried.

Although from the scanty notices to be found in contemporary chroniclers, little has been recorded of Niall, the fact is sufficiently proved that he was the founder of a dynasty which ruled over Ireland for at least six centuries. O'Flaherty (Ogyg. iii. 85) states that he had fourteen sons, of whom eight left issue, the ancestors of the Southern and Northern Hy-Nialls, who filled the throne of Ireland from the commencement of the fifth century to the deposition of Maelseachlain the Second by Brian Boromha in

the year 1002, with the exception alone of the reign of Olioll Molt, who succeeded Laeghaire, the eldest son of Niall. These sons of Niall are set down by O'Flaherty in the following order:—1. Laeghaire, from whom are descended the O'Coindhealbhains, or O'Kendellans (O'Quinlivans or Quinlans,) of Ui-Laeghaire, in Meath; 2. Conall Crimhthan, ancestor of the O'Melaghlin; 3. Fiacha, from whom are descended the Mageoghegans and O'Molloys; 4. Maine, ancestor of the families of O'Caharny (styled the Fox), O'Breen and Magawley, and their correlatives. From these four, who settled in the region around Tara, the seat of government of the monarchs of Ireland, until its desertion in the middle of the sixth century, are sprung the Southern Hy-Nialls. The other four sons of Niall, from whom are derived the Northern Hy-Nialls, were—1. Eoghan (ancestor of the O'Neills), who gave name to the territory since and still called Tir-eoghan (Tyrone); 2. Conall Gulban, ancestor of the O'Donnells and their correlatives, from whom the territory of Tirconnell derived its name; 3. Cairbre, whose posterity settled in the barony of Carbury, in the present county of Sligo; and 4. Enda, progenitor of the races occupying Tir-enda, in Tirconnell, and the territory of Cinel-Enda in Westmeath.⁽¹⁰⁾

Niall of the Nine Hostages was succeeded by his nephew Dathi, son of Fiachra (ancestor of the Hy-Fiachra), king of Connaught, who was the last of the Pagan monarchs of Ireland, and who, after a reign of twenty-three years, was killed by a flash of lightning at the foot of the Alps.⁽¹¹⁾ His remains were brought home to Ireland by his faithful followers, and were deposited, according to Mac Firbis, in Rathcroghan, the burial place of the kings of Connaught, where his grave was marked by a red pillar stone. His death is fixed at the year of our Lord 428 by the Four Masters.

CHAPTER II.

A.D. 428-1002...Conversion of Ireland to Christianity...Palladius...St. Patrick
 ...Aengus, king of Munster...Dal-gais, tribes of...Cormac MacCuillenan...
 Lorcan, grandfather of Brian Boromha...Flahertach, abbot of Iniscathy
 (Scattery Island)...Mahon, brother of Brian, murder of...Avenged by Brian
 ...Invasion of Thomond by Maelseachlain, monarch of Ireland...Cutting
 down the tree of Maghadhair...Outrages of the Danes...Invasion of Thomond
 avenged by that of Meath...Connections between the Danes and Irish...
 Danes defeated at Wicklow by Brian and Maelseachlain...Deposition of
 Maelseachlain by Brian.

WITH Laeghaire, the eldest son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, commences the series of Hy-Niall kings, and the conversion of the nation in general to the faith of the Gospel. This prince commenced his reign in the year 429, and the next year Palladius was sent, "ad Scotos in Christum credentes," to promote the progress of Christianity among the Irish, some of whom had already been converted to the faith.⁽¹⁾ The mission of Palladius was not attended with the success expected by Pope Celestine, but it paved the way for that of the Apostle of Ireland, who arrived in this country A.D. 432, in the fourth year of the reign of Laeghaire. The conversion of the monarch was followed by that of the king of Munster, Aengus, son of Nadhfraoch, who was of the Eoganacht or Eugenian line, and who fell in the battle of Killosnach, in the present county of Carlow, A.D. 489, in the eleventh year of Lughaidh, son of Laeghaire, king of Ireland. Aengus, the first Christian king of Munster, has been styled "a spreading tree," in allusion to his being the common ancestor of the Macarthys, O'Keeffes, O'Callaghans, O'Sullivans, and other families. The Eoganachts had, soon after the death of this prince, spread to so great an extent by increase of their septs, as to occupy the whole of the territory to the south and west of the river

Blackwater, while the seat of government still continued at Cashel, even down to the commencement of the twelfth century, when that place was bestowed on the clergy by Mortoghmore O'Brien, king of Munster, who claimed to be monarch of Ireland.⁽²⁾ About the same time the Dalgaiss, whose territory had been recently considerably enlarged, and of whom there were now four principal septs, occupied the districts recently acquired by conquest from Connaught. The descendants of Blod, the eldest son of Cas, ancestor of the O'Briens, inhabited the region from them called Hy-mblويد,⁽³⁾ while those of Caisin, ancestor of the Macnamaras, settled in the district of Hy-Caisin or O'Gashin, of which, until the reign of Elizabeth, they continued to be, or to be styled, the Princes. Subordinate to these were the O'Deas and O'Quins, whose descendants long occupied the northern part of the Dalcassian territory.⁽⁴⁾ While the crown of the whole kingdom descended with a remarkable degree of regularity among the princes of the Hy-Nialls of the south and north⁽⁵⁾ in a sort of alternate succession, the law regulating the descent of the provincial sceptre of Munster, as settled by Olioll Olum, was not observed by his descendants with equal strictness. The seat of government, Cashel, was in the country of the Eoganachts, and their princes, being of the elder branch, contrived to confine the election of the kings of Munster, for the most part, among themselves.

From the death of Aengus, son of Naфраoch, in 489, the kings of Cashel, that is, of Munster,⁽⁶⁾ were chosen sometimes from the family afterwards called the Macarthys, at other times from the ancestors of the O'Donoghues, while the O'Moriartys, the O'Keeffes, and the O'Mahonys, could number some of their respective progenitors as filling the provincial throne. The descendants of Cormac Cas, the second son of the common founder Olioll Olum, produced few kings of Munster between Conall Eachluat and Lorcan, the grandfather of Brian Boromha, who succeeded Cormac, the bishop-king of Cashel. The injustice with which the descendants of Cormac Cas were treated by their exclusion from the crown of Munster by the factions of the Eoganacht

or Eugenian race, was long the cause of desolating wars between these descendants of a common ancestor, and was acknowledged even by those who had been elected to their prejudice. A remarkable instance of this feeling is related to the credit of Cormac MacCuillenan, who, in addition to his episcopal functions as bishop of Cashel, was elected to the throne of Munster, when about to set out on the fatal expedition in 908 against the king of Leinster, which eventuated in the disastrous battle of Ballaghmoon.⁽⁷⁾ Keating, who cites the historical tract called "The Battle of Ballaghmoon," says, that Cormac, previous to setting out, feeling a presentiment that the undertaking would be fatal, and that he should lose his life in the engagement, assembled the princes of the Eoganachts, and having previously invited Lorcan, king of Thomond, the grandfather of Brian Boromha from Kinchora, in his presence he addressed them, and having reminded them of the law of Olioll Olum, by which the succession to the crown of Munster was regulated, and which had been too frequently disregarded, to the prejudice of the race of Cormac Cas, he named Lorcan as his successor. The Eoganachts received the announcement in silence, dissembling, as the historian observes, their repugnance to the rule of a prince of the Dalgais, but secretly determining to pay no regard to the nomination. Lorcan's claim, thus acknowledged and enforced, was nevertheless postponed to that of Flahertach, the turbulent abbot of Iniscathy (Scattery), the chief instigator of Cormac to this unfortunate campaign, who, notwithstanding that he had been made prisoner in the action by Carroll, the king of Leinster, yet had influence enough to be named successor to Cormac. His confinement was terminated by the death of Carroll, within a year, and we find from the Four Masters, at the year 920, that he went on a pilgrimage in that year, leaving the kingdom of Cashel, or Munster, to be fought for by Lorcan and his sons. The Four Masters state that this prince assumed the kingdom on the departure of Flahertach; but it may be reasonably inferred that he was unable to leave the crown to be enjoyed by his son Cineidi, as the annals contain an account of a victory

gained over the latter by Callachan of Cashel, at a place called Maghduin, in the year 942. The accession to the throne of Thomond of Mahon the son of Cinedi, on the death of the latter in the year 951, revived the pretensions of his family to the provincial throne. The Danes, the common enemy, who had often previously felt the power of this prince's arm, did not fail, unable as they were to oppose any effectual barrier to his progress by force of arms, to enter into those confederacies and engagements with the other neighbouring princes which their jealousies rendered them too ready to adopt. Unable to oppose Mahon in the field, the confederates resolved to effect his destruction by fraud. On the pretext of making peace between him and Molloy (Maelmhuidh), son of Bran, who had been recently driven out of Desmond by Mahon, the two princes were invited to a banquet by Donovan, prince of Hy-Figeinte,⁽⁸⁾ between whom, Molloy, and Ivar, lord of the Danes of Limerick, the plot had been concerted. Mahon, although he had suspicions, yet relying on the guarantee of the Bishop of Cork, Columb-mac Kieragan, who had obtained pledges both from Molloy and Donovan for their good behaviour to the guest, and who was anxious that peace should be established throughout his diocese, attended the banquet at Bruree, and was immediately seized by his treacherous host, and delivered up to his inveterate enemies the Desmonians, by whom he was speedily put to death.

The account of this treacherous and cruel proceeding which follows is translated by Dr. O'Donovan from the curious Irish work called "*Cogadh Gaeidheal re Gallaibh*," *i.e.* the wars of the Irish with the Danes, and is to be found in note (c) to that gentleman's edition of the *Four Masters* at the year 974. It is as follows:—

"When Donovan, son of Cathal, king of Ui-Fidhgeinte, and Molloy, son of Bran, king of Desmond, perceived the increasing power and influence of the Dal-gais, they were filled with envy and malice, conceiving that the crown of Munster would remain in that family for ever, if something were not done to check their career. The Ui-Cairbre in

particular, whose territory adjoined that of the Dal-gcais, saw reasons to be apprehensive that the latter would either extend their dominion over their principality, which at that time extended from Hoclan to Limerick, and from Cnamhchoill to Luachair, or wrest some portion of it from them. For these reasons Molloy, son of Bran, Donovan, son of Cathal, and Ivar, king of the Danes of Limerick, formed a conspiracy to undermine the power of Mahon, son of Cineidi, king of Munster.

“At the suggestion of Ivar, Donovan invited Mahon to a banquet at his own house (at Bruree, on the river Maigue, in the territory of the Hy-cairbre); and Mahon, although he suspected the loyalty of his host, consented to accept of the invitation, his safety having been guaranteed by Columb Mackieragan, successor of St. Barry, *i.e.* Bishop of Cork, and others of the clergy of Munster. Mahon attended the feast; but his treacherous host, violating the laws of hospitality, and the solemn compact with the clergy, seized upon his person in order to deliver him up to Molloy, son of Bran, and Ivar of Limerick, who were stationed in the neighbourhood with a body of Irish and Danish troops. Donovan's people conducted Mahon to Cnoc-an-rebhraín (Knockinrewrin), in the mountains of Slievecaein, whither two of the clergy of St. Barry, and Molloy's people repaired to meet them. Molloy had ordered his people, when they should get Mahon into their hands, to dispatch him at once, and this order was obeyed. A bright and sharp sword was plunged into his heart, and his blood stained St. Barry's gospel, which he held to his breast to protect himself by its sanctity. When, however, he perceived the naked sword extended to strike him, he cast the gospel in the direction of the clergy, who were on an adjacent hillock, and it struck the breast of one of the priests of Cork; and those who were looking on assert that he sent it the distance of a bow shot, from the one hillock to the other.

“When Molloy, who was within sight of this tragic scene, observed the flashing of the sword raised to strike the victim, he understood that the bloody deed was done, and mounted his horse to depart. One of the clergy, who

knew Molloy, asked him what was to be done. Molloy replied with a sardonic sneer, 'Cure that man if he come to thee,' and then took his departure. The priest became wroth and cursed him bitterly, predicting that he would come to an evil end, and that his monument would be erected near that very hill, in a situation where the sun would never shine upon it. And this was verified, for Molloy afterwards lost his sight, and was killed in a hut constructed of alder trees, at the ford of Bealachleachta (A.D. 978), by Hugh, son of Gevennan, of Deis-Beag (a territory lying around Bruff, in the county of Limerick); and the monument of Mahon is on the south side of that hill, and the monument of Molloy MacBran is on the north side, and the sun never shines upon it.

"The two priests afterwards returned home, and told Columb-mackieragan, the Coarb of St. Barry, what had been done, and gave him the gospel, which was stained with the blood of Mahon; and the holy prelate wept bitterly, and uttered a prophecy concerning the future fate of the murderers.

"Molloy MacBran was the chief instigator of this deed, but it were better for him that he had not done it, for it afterwards caused him bitter woe and affliction. When the news of it reached Brian and the Dal-gais, they were overwhelmed with grief, and Brian vented his grief and rage in a short elegy, in which he expressed his deep regret that his brother had not fallen in a battle behind the shelter of his shield, before he had relied on the treacherous word of Donovan, who delivered him up to the infamous Molloy to be butchered in cold blood. He then recounts Mahon's victories over the Danes at Aine, at Sulaigh in Tradree, at Machaire-Buidhe, and at Limerick, and concludes thus:

"My heart shall burst within my breast,
Unless I avenge this great king;
They shall forfeit life for this foul deed,
Or I shall perish by a violent death."

Mahon, son of Cineidi, was thus cut off by Donovan, son of Cathal, and Molloy, son of Bran, nine years after the

battle of Sulchoid (fought A.D. 968); the thirteenth year after the death of Donogh, son of Ceallaghan, king of Cashel (A.D. 962); the sixty-eighth year after the killing of Cormac MacCuillenan (A.D. 908); the twentieth year after the killing of Congalach, son of Maelmithi, king of Tara (A.D. 956), and the fourth year before the battle of Tara (A.D. 980).

“After the murder of Mahon, Brian, son of Cineidi, became king of the Dal-gcais, and proved himself a worthy successor of his warlike brother. His first efforts were directed against Donovan's allies, the Danes of Limerick, and he slew Ivar, their king, and two of his sons. After the killing of Ivar, Donovan sent for Harold, another of Ivar's sons, and the Danes of Munster elected him as their king. As soon as Brian received intelligence of this, he made an incursion into the plains of Hy-Fidhgeinte, seized on a vast spoil of cattle, and slew Donovan, king of Hy-Fidhgeinte, a praiseworthy deed. He also plundered the city of Limerick, slew Harold, king of the Danes, making a great slaughter of his people, and returned home loaded with immense spoils. This was in the second year after the murder of Mahon.”

The annals of Ulster, as well as those of the accurate annalist, Tighernach, concur as to the facts of the treachery of Donovan and his confederates, and the murder of Mahon, as above related.

Having punished the treachery of Donovan and his Danish accomplices, Brian next vented his resentment upon Molloy, the actual murderer.⁽⁹⁾ The following account of this expedition of Brian and the battle which ensued is taken from the Dublin copy of the annals of Inisfallen:

“A.D. 978. Brian, son of Cineidi, and his son Morrogh, at the head of the Dalgcais, fought the battle of Bealach-leachta against Maelmhuidh, (Molloy), son of Bran, at the head of the Eugenians, with the additional forces of the Danes of Munster. In this battle Maelmhuidh was slain by the hand of Morrogh, son of Brian; two hundred of the Danes were also slain, together with a great number of the Irish.”

By the victory of Bealach-leachta not only was the perfidious murder of Mahon avenged, but the crown of Munster fell thereby to the victor. A career so successful could hardly fail to attract the notice of Maelseachlain, surnamed Mor, who, within two years after Brian's elevation to the throne of Munster, had been elected monarch of Ireland. This prince of the Southern Hy-Niall race, whose hereditary dominions were contiguous to those of Brian⁽¹⁰⁾ and who thoroughly understood the genius and character of the leader of the Dal-gais, was alarmed at the progress of Brian's arms. To strike terror into the aspiring prince, who from small beginnings became ruler of the south of Ireland, Maelseachlain invaded Thomond with a great army in the course of the year 982. In the same year in which the annalists record this event, they inform us that Brian was on an expedition ravaging Ossory. As Maelseachlain's progress from his hereditary dominions into Thomond was by the line of the Shannon, a course directly opposite to that in which Brian was at the time engaged, it will account for the monarch's progress not having been interrupted. From the character of Brian we may be satisfied that he would not without an effort permit his territory to be insulted, and on this occasion the insult was aggravated by rooting up and cutting in pieces the inauguration tree of Aenach Maigheadhair, under the branches of which the princes of the Dalgais were used to be crowned, and to receive the homage of their subjects.⁽¹¹⁾ The outrage was repaid with interest sometime after by Brian, who from this time regarded Maelseachlain with enmity, and we may be assured that it eventually led to that prince's deposition by Brian twenty years later.

After his return from the expedition into Thomond, Maelseachlain, provoked by the violation of the monastery of Kildare, in which Ivar, lord of the Danes of Waterford, had been assisted by Donald Claen, king of Leinster, lately released by the monarch from captivity among the Danes of Dublin, led an army to punish the conduct of the marauders, and the ingratitude of Donald. The battle was gained by the monarch, who afterwards ravaged the ter-

ritory of Leinster as far as the sea. On this occasion the Danes of Waterford were encountered by those of Dublin, under the leadership of Gluniarn, son of Anlaff, king of the Danes of Dublin, who had been invited to join Maelseachlain. The Four Masters call Gluniarn the son of Maelseachlain's mother, affording another instance of those alliances by marriage, which were not infrequent between the Danes and Irish.⁽¹²⁾ While Maelseachlain was thus occupied on the east of the river Barrow (which in those remote periods of which we write, formed the boundary between Leinster and Ossory), Brian was still occupied on the other, and concluded his campaign by taking prisoner Giollaphadrig, who had plundered the monastery of Leighlin. On his return he was informed of the ravages of the Hy-Niall and the monarch, and marched into Westmeath, and ravaged and plundered it in retaliation for the injuries done to Thomond and the Dalgais the year before. These events are placed by the Four Masters in the year 983, the correct date being one year later.

In the next year, 985, Maelseachlain, whose warlike spirit could not bear inaction, invaded Connaught. The annalists relate that he destroyed its islands (those appertaining to the province which were in the lakes of the Shannon), killed its chieftains, and reduced the dwellings of Magh-aei (the level plain of Roscommon) to ashes. The Connaughtmen retaliated, and, entering his hereditary territories, plundered and burnt the country as far as Lough Ainnin (Lough Ennel). They burned Fircall, and slew the prince of the country, having thus taken ample vengeance for the unprovoked aggression of Maelseachlain.

Although the Danes settled in Ireland were reduced to comparative submission by the energy of Maelseachlain at the commencement of his reign, as well as by the prowess of Brian and his deceased brother Mahon, the country was still afflicted by the inroads and invasions of new bands of the foreigners. A party of these strangers having plundered Iona, and killed the abbot and fifteen of his monks on Christmas night, landed shortly after on the coast of Dalriada (in Antrim), from three ships, but, being promptly

encountered, they were defeated, and seven score of them hanged. And although no more than ten years had elapsed since the humiliation and submission of the Danes of Dublin, by the victories of Tara and Dublin,⁽¹³⁾ the monarch was again obliged to have recourse to arms to repress their enormities, and to enforce obedience to the terms of the convention then agreed upon. He marched to Dublin, where a battle was fought, in which the Danes were defeated, and obliged to retreat to their fortress, which was besieged for twenty days, during which they were reduced to such straits as to be obliged to drink the brine, their supplies of water having been cut off by the besiegers. At the end of this time they again submitted on the following terms, according to the Four Masters :—"At length they gave him (Maelseachlain) his own full demand, while he should be king, and an ounce of gold for every garden, to be paid on Christmas night for ever."

Having reduced the Danes of Dublin a second time to obedience, Maelseachlain again marched westwards to Thomond to attack the Dalgais. None of the annalists state whether Brian was engaged in the battle which ensued, and which was fought at a place called Carn-fordroma, but the men of Thomond were defeated with the loss of Brian's uncle, Donald, son of Lorcan, prince of Muscraighe-thire⁽¹⁴⁾ and Hy-Forgo, and six hundred slain. At the same time an army of foreigners, aided by the Irish Danes and Leinstermen, marched into Meath, and ravaged the country as far as Lough Ennell. They were, however, promptly repressed, and Donogh, king of Leinster, taken prisoner. These events occurred in the year 990.

In the second year following, Maelseachlain again invaded Connaught with a predatory army. He is said on this occasion to have seized a greater prey than any king had ever before taken. Subsequently Brian, with an army of the men of Munster and Connaught, invaded Meath as far as Lough Ainnin (Ennell) ; but, according to the Four Masters, "he did not take a cow or person, but went off from thence by secret flight." The Four Masters are here contradicted by the Annals of Clonmacnoise, which state

as follows :—“ King Moyleseaghlín, with an army, went into Connaught, and from thence brought many captives and rich booties, such as none of his predecessors ever brought. During the time the king was occupied in Connaught, Brian Borowe, with his Munster men, came to Meath, and there wasted and destroyed all places, until he came to Lough Innill, where the king's house was, inso-much that they left not cow, beast, or man, that they could meet withal, untaken, ravished, and taken away.” This is the testimony of the very annalists of the territory, and as it is against what may be conceived the prejudice of the chroniclers, if they had any, seems more entitled to credit on that account than that of the Four Masters.

On his return from Westmeath, Brian prepared a fleet of boats, by means of which he advanced in the following year, 993, to the extremity of the navigable part of the upper Shannon beyond Lochree, and thence invaded and plundered Breifney (Leitrim and Cavan).

The Danes of Dublin still continued to give annoyance to the monarch by their ravages among the monasteries of the Hy-Níall of the South, whose freedom Maelseachlainn had recently secured. They had plundered, anno 994, the monasteries of Ardbraccan, Donoghpatrick, and Muinebracan, and again repeated their visit to the second of the above-named places. Maelseachlainn retaliated, and burned Swords, in the Danish territory. He was, besides, interested in the divisions that had taken place among the Danes themselves, who had now thrust out Sitric, their prince, to whom Maelseachlainn was related by a double tie ; for he had taken to him as wife Maelmaire, the sister of Sitric, and daughter of Anlaff, who had assumed the monastic habit in Iona ; and besides, Maelseachlainn's mother had, after the death of his father, become the second wife of Anlaff, by whom he had Gluniarn, who some years previously had aided Maelseachlainn against the king of Leinster and his allies, the Danes of Waterford. These connexions involved the monarch in trouble, and obliged him to interfere in the disputes of the Danes. Ivar, who had been sent for to govern that turbulent race, in place of the ex-

pelled Sitric, was in turn expelled, and the latter restored ; and we are informed by the annalists, that as trophies of his victory on this occasion, Maelseachlain carried away from Dublin the ring of Tomar and the sword of Carlus, relics of their princes, which the Danes had preserved, and held in great veneration for nearly two centuries since their first settlement in Ireland.

Having quelled the Danes on this occasion, and returned to the royal residence on Lough Ennell, Maelseachlain, between whom and Brian an implacable feud subsisted, lost no time in again marching into Munster. On his arrival in Ormond he ravaged the territory, and plundered and burnt Aenachtete (Nenagh), and "routed before him Brian and the men of Munster along with him." Such are the terms employed by the annalists to describe his progress. The increasing audacity, however, of the Danes, who had recently, notwithstanding their frequent chastisement by Maelseachlain, violated the churches of Clonard and Kells, and in the year before treacherously slain the prince of Ossory, obliged these two princes to forego the indulgence of personal resentment, and prefer the common interest to the gratification of their own feelings. Accordingly, to the great joy of the Irish, Maelseachlain and Brian, having united their forces, marched to Dublin and carried off the hostages of the Danes, with plunder. They then separated, the former to attack the men of Connaught, whose fertile plains were as before ravaged, while Brian marched into Leinster to assert that authority, the attempt to enforce which cost Cormac MacCuillenan his throne and his life, nearly a century before.

Having returned from these respective expeditions, the two kings, Maelseachlain and Brian, with united forces, resolved to attack their Danish enemies, whom repeated chastisement could not restrain. The place of meeting agreed on by the leaders was the valley of Glenmama, in the present county of Wicklow, a name derived from the defeat there given by the Irish princes to their enemies. The Danes did not on this occasion wait to be attacked in their fortress, but marched directly to the encounter. They

were routed with considerable slaughter, having lost Harold, son of Anlaff, brother of Sitric, and other chieftains. The victorious princes immediately marched to Dublin, which they entered without opposition. They remained there a week, at the end of which they demolished the fort, burnt the town, expelled Sitric, and carried off whatever gold, silver, or other valuables the place contained, besides a great number of prisoners. This campaign took place in the year 999.

The concord established between Brian and Maelseachlain, so necessary to repress the incursions of the Danes, was but temporary. The insult offered to Brian by the cutting down of the tree of inauguration at Magh-adhair, was not forgotten, and he wanted but the opportunity to be even with Maelseachlain for that insult. Whether he thought the time for redressing that wrong had arrived or not, it is certain that he prepared a hosting of his own Munster troops, supported by those of South Connaught ⁽¹⁵⁾ and their chiefs, the forces of Ossory and Leinster, and the Danes of Dublin, to march to Teamhair or Tara, for the purpose of being inaugurated as monarch (the usual course for a prince aspiring to supreme power). This design was for the present frustrated by the premature advance of the Danish contingent from Dublin, it having been settled to rendezvous at Tara or its neighbourhood. Their cavalry, proceeding into Bregia, was encountered and defeated by Maelseachlain, and but a few escaped. Brian, who had advanced with the remainder of his army as far as Fearta-neimhidh in Bregia, near Kells, finding that the Danish auxiliaries had been defeated, retreated, as the annalists express it, "without battle, without plundering, without burning." They (the Four Masters) term this the first turning of Brian and the Connaughtmen against Maelseachlain. From this until the deposition of the latter, which occurred in the second year of the eleventh century (1002), Brian made occasional inroads into the monarch's native dominions, in one of which, on the nones of January (1001), he sustained a defeat, and was obliged to leave behind the spoils which his troops had collected in the south of Meath. In the next year, his

measures being ripe for his long cherished design, he collected a large army of the men of Munster and Leinster, together with the Danes of Dublin, under the command of his stepson Sitric, and proceeded to Athlone, where he obtained the hostages of the Southern Hy-Niall, and the Connaught forces, and was acknowledged Supreme Monarch of Ireland, Maelseachlain retaining, as matter of course, the title of king of his hereditary dominions, Meath.

It is not easy at this distance of time to estimate as it deserves the revolution by which Brian obtained the sovereignty of Ireland. Six centuries had elapsed since the decease of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and excepting his immediate successor Dathi, the last of the Pagan monarchs of Ireland, who was the nephew of Niall, and his son Olioll Molt, the sceptre had devolved during all that period on his descendants with a curious degree of regularity, not interrupted even by the ravages of the Danes, by whom so many thrones in the neighbouring nations had been subverted. Thus were formed the races of the Southern and Northern Hy-Nialls, who gave forty-five monarchs to the throne of Ireland, from Laeghaire, the first of the sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and the first Christian monarch of the island, to Maelseachlainmor, deposed by Brian Boromha, inclusive. Of these forty-five nineteen were of the Southern, and twenty-six of the Northern Hy-Niall branches, forming a line of succession hereditary in the families, although elective as to the individuals. For the first three centuries more of the Northern Hy-Nialls ascended the throne than of the Southern; but after the death of Aedh Allan, the course of alternate succession was uninterrupted, save only that instead of Donald O'Neil, there should have been elected Maelseachlain's father, or some other of the Southern Hy-Nialls. The Provincial Kings looked, we may imagine, with jealousy upon a system which transferred the supreme power from one member of the same race to another; but it was too firmly established to be easily overturned, and was, besides, sustained by the general adoption through the kingdom of a similar rule of succession to minor dynasties. The existence of the custom

of Tanistry, by which, contemporaneously with the coronation of the prince, his successor was also designated, served to support the Hy-Niall family on the throne, and we cannot in any other way account for the peaceable succession of the respective monarchs of that race, than by supposing that the general acquiescence was a consequence of such a law or custom. That Brian should have overturned a throne of such antiquity, and wrested the crown from a prince of acknowledged vigour like Maelseachlain, implies the possession of a high order of genius, for his predecessor was not deficient in courage or statesmanship, as this quality was understood at the time.^(a)

Thus was transferred the sceptre of Ireland from the descendant of Heremon, the elder of the sons of Milesius, to a prince sprung from the younger brother, Heber, and the object for which Mogha Nuadhat had contended in the second century, accomplished in the beginning of the eleventh.

(a) See table of Hy-Niall kings in the Preface.

CHAPTER III.

A.D. 1002-1014...Accession of Brian...Advance to compel the submission of the northern princes...His retreat...Again invades the north...Halts at Armagh...Offering to the Church...Obtains the hostages of the Cinel-eoghan and Ulidians...Is acknowledged monarch of Ireland "without opposition"...Progress of Maelseachlain...Union of Maelmordha, king of Leinster, and Sitric, king of the Danes of Dublin, against Brian...Appearance of the Danes at Cork...Repulsed...Invasion of Meath by the Danes and Leinstermen...Preparations for the battle of Clontarf...Parties engaged therein...Causes of the battle, according to the Irish and Danish writers...Loss of the Danes...Irish chieftains slain...Danish leaders slain...Assumption of the Irish throne by Maelseachlain...Erroneous view of his conduct...Funeral of Brian...His character.

THE Four Masters state Brian's age when he deposed Maelseachlain to be seventy-six years. This estimate is founded on the supposition that he was born, as they state, in the year 925 ; but the year of his birth given in the Ulster annals is 941, which is much more probable.

Brian having thus attained the height of his ambition, did not continue long inactive. To consolidate his power it was necessary to procure the submission of the princes of the northern half of the island. With this view, in the early part of the year 1003, he marched at the head of an army, in which Maelseachlain held a command, through the province of Connaught, to obtain the hostages and pledges which it had been the established policy of every newly-elected monarch to exact. He met with no opposition until he reached the confines of the northern Hy-Niall at Traigh-Eochaille (Ballysadare), where his progress was stopped by the appearance of the troops of the northern princes, who had been no parties to his accession, and who were disinclined to give hostages or pledges. Their hostile attitude caused him to retreat. This check did not, however, prevent him from making another campaign the following year into the province of Ulster ; but on this occa-

sion his route lay through Meath. He halted one night at Tailten (Teltown), and thence proceeding to Ardmagh, he remained a week in that city, during which time he conciliated the friendship and support of the clergy, by laying on the altar of the church an offering of twenty ounces of gold, a sum amounting to between seven and eight hundred pounds of present money. Having refreshed his troops, he marched into Ulidia ⁽¹⁾ and obtained its hostages; but, as the Four Masters notice, not those of the races of Conall or Eoghan. The army was then ordered to return to the south; the Leinster men by Bregia along the coast, the Munster and Ossorian troops through Meath homewards, while the Danish auxiliaries, whose aid was a great support to Brian in the late revolution, proceeded by sea to their stronghold in Dublin.

The energy displayed by the monarch in these campaigns, at this advanced period of his life, needed repose. His wife, Duvchovlaigh, a daughter of the king of Connaught, died, a loss which was followed shortly after (1010) by that of his brother Marcan, who is styled by the Four Masters, Head of the Clergy of Munster. Yet was his warlike spirit unquiet until he marched again into Ulster, at this time into the heart of Tirowen, to a place called Claenloch, in the present county of Armagh, where he obtained the hostages of the Cinel-owen and the Ulidians. In the following year he proceeded to Maghcorran, in the county of Sligo, with an army, and took prisoner Mael-ruanadh O'Maeldaraigh, the lord of Cinel-conall, whom he conducted to Kincora. He had thus obtained the hostages of the whole of Ireland, and was acknowledged supreme monarch "without opposition." While Brian was thus successfully employed consolidating his power, his eldest son, Morrogh, who was so soon to lay down his life for his country on the field of Clontarf, at the head of the forces of Munster and Leinster, and also the southern Hy-Nialls, and a party of northern troops, invaded the Cinel-Lughaidh on the shores of Lough Swilly, and carried off three hundred captives, with a great spoil of cattle. The death of Donald, son of Brian, cast a shade over the successes obtained in the year 1011. The annalists also mention in

this year, the death of Aedh, son of Mahon, the brother of Brian, a royal heir, or as the term strictly imports, the making of a king of Cashel.

The years which intervened between this period and the battle of Clontarf, were not devoid of interest. Maelseachlain, although reduced to a position of secondary importance, did not abandon himself to indolence. He marched at the head of an army into the territory of the Cinel-owen, as far as Tullahogue, plundered and burnt the territory, and returned loaded with spoil. In the following year he chastised the Danes ; entering their country, he burned it as far as Edar (Howth). But the advantage gained was more than counterbalanced by the loss of his son Flann, who was in command of one of the preying parties, and was overtaken and slain by Sitric and Maelmordha, king of Leinster, then in alliance with the Danes, together with two hundred of his men. This was not the only loss sustained by Maelseachlain in this year. His son Donogh was killed repelling an incursion of the neighbouring princes into Gailenga ; but the father coming up soon after to support his troops, retook the spoils, and slew the lord of Carbery, the principal among the aggressors.

We are now approaching the year rendered memorable by the battle of Clontarf. That decisive action was ushered in by a series of affairs of minor importance, but all conducing to that important event.

The king of Leinster, Maelmordha, being at this time (1013) in alliance with his nephew, Sitric, they formed the design of invading Munster, to attack and depose Brian. The monarch, to defend his territory, formed a camp at Slievemargue, on the borders of the present Queen's county, while his eldest son, Morrogh, who had by this time obtained the reputation of an able leader, made war upon the Danes and Leinster men, pushing his marauding parties as far as Glendaloch against the latter, and chasing the Danes to the very gates of Dublin, the country around Cill Maighnen (Kilmainham) being ravaged and burnt by his troops. In the midst of these operations a large fleet of Danes appeared in the harbour of Cork, with the view of effecting a diversion, and drawing the attention of Brian to the

south, from his camp at Slievemargue. The Danish troops landed and burned Cork, but were pursued to their ships by Cathal, or Charles, son of Donald, son of Duvdavoren, prince of Desmond, who slew Anlaff, son of Sitric, and Mahon, son of Dugald, with a great number of their forces, before they could re-embark. It is highly probable that the prince of Desmond, in this engagement with the Danes, was advancing his own interests, and aiming at rendering himself independent of Brian ; for the Four Masters record, that soon after the defeat of the Danes at Cork, an army was led by Donogh, the youngest son of Brian, to the south of Ireland, against Donald, the father of Cathal, from whom he carried off hostages, and pledges of submission, after an engagement in which Cathal was slain.

The year 1013 was closed by the advance of a combined force of Danish and Leinster troops into Meath, which they ravaged, whence they proceeded to the plunder of Termonfechin and the adjoining territory. Their course was, as usual, marked by desolation. They carried off the population by wholesale as captives, and made countless spoils of cattle and other property. It was now manifest that a blow must be struck which should decide the question, whether Ireland should be rid for ever of these troublesome intruders, or should submit to that iron rule under which the neighbouring nations had been so long obliged to bend.

Subsidiary to the political motives which led to the battle of Clontarf, as already noticed, Irish historians record some of a private nature, by which that memorable event was hastened. Keating and O'Halloran mention, that Brian, having had occasion to build some ships, sent to his tributary, the king of Leinster, a requisition for three masts from the forests of that province. In conveying these masts to their destination, Maolmordha himself, to encourage the bearers, lent his assistance, and in so doing, lost the fibula or button by which his robe was fastened. Requesting his sister, Gormlaith, Brian's queen, to replace the button, that princess reproached him for his mean spirit and degeneracy, in stooping so low as to put his shoulders to the mast, a subserviency which none of his ancestors, she observed,

would have been guilty of. Stung by these reproaches, the next day, when Morrogh, son of Brian, was playing at chess with Conaing, son of Donchuan, the king of Leinster suggested to the latter to make a certain point or move in his table, which caused Morrogh to lose the game. In resentment for this interference, Morrogh remarked, that if he (Maolmordha) had given equally good advice to the Danes at the battle of Glenmama, they would not have to deplore the defeat which they had to attribute to his counsels. The king of Leinster, nettled in his turn by the remark, observed, that he would take care the next time that no such mistake as Morrogh alluded to should occur, and that he would endeavour to put them in a condition to retrieve their losses, and have revenge on both himself and his father, Brian. Departing from Kincora, he devoted himself, heart and soul, to encourage the Danes to make another and a final effort to regain their lost ground, and to obtain the upper hand in Ireland.

Such is the story related by the Irish historians. Another account is furnished by the Danish writer, Torfæus, the learned historiographer of Christiern V., king of Denmark, from the archives of that country, which, as it has not hitherto been noticed by Irish writers, cannot fail to interest the reader. It is translated from the Latin of Torfæus's History of the Orkneys, (10 chap. p. 33), fol. Copenhagen, 1697. It will be seen also by this narrative, that equally with the Irish, Danes were engaged at opposite sides in the memorable battle of Clontarf. The passage in question is as follows :—

“The last expedition undertaken by Earl Sigurd into Ireland, and which proved fatal to him, was occasioned by the invitation of Sitric of the silken beard, the son by a former husband of Kormlod. [This lady is named by the Irish historians, Gormlaith.] This prince was incited by his mother to avenge the wrongs she conceived she had suffered from her husband Brian, monarch of Ireland. The cause of the war was the repudiation by Brian of Kormlod, a woman of depraved morals, an ignominy which she deeply resented. This princess is reported to have set off her attractions by ornaments which were not the products of her own skill or industry, and to have been so deeply sunk in vice, as to have destroyed, as far as she could, whatever natural gifts she had previously been endowed

with. Her first husband was Olaf Kuaran, king of Dublin and the adjacent territory, brother of Gida the wife of Olaf Trygven (whom Ware calls Olaf, son of Sitric). Sitric the son of Olaf Kuaran and Kormlod, called, either from the softness or colour of his hair, Silkenbeard, at the instance of his mother proceeded to the Orkneys to solicit Earl Sigurd to take part in the war, and promised as his reward the hand of his mother, and Brian's kingdom, in the event of success. Sigurd eagerly accepted the conditions, and fired by the prospect of glory and a kingdom, as well as allured by the insane desire of allying himself to so worthless a person as Kormlod, he promised, against the advice of his councillors, to land in Ireland at the head of an army on Palm Sunday following. At the same time, two very noted pirates of great valour and hitherto reputed invincible, Brodar and Upsœus, or Upsacus, lay on the west coast of Mona, or Mann, with a fleet of thirty ships. To these, on the return of Silken Beard from his mission to Sigurd, Kormlod sent her son with promises of large pecuniary rewards if they would join the confederacy; and on a further promise to Brodar of marriage with Kormlod and the crown of Brian, he was easily induced to comply. These latter arrangements were, of course, studiously concealed from the knowledge of Sigurd, who had not the slightest means of penetrating the designs of the respective parties. Brodar had been a professed Christian, and even ordained a deacon, but had lapsed into all sorts of wickedness, had sacrificed to idols in the camp of the heathens, to whom he had for some time deserted, and had even engaged in the practice of magic. His armour was said to be proof against all sorts of weapons; he was conspicuous for his personal strength and beauty, and such was the length of his yellow hair, that he used to bind it to the girdle which encompassed his loins. This chief, as soon as he had agreed to the proposals of Sitric, endeavoured to gain over Upsacus to his views; but the latter, although at the time a pagan, positively refused to bear arms against so excellent a monarch. For King Brian was a prince justly celebrated for clemency, lenity, and many other virtues. He was accustomed to pardon as often as three times those who had been convicted of grave offences, and it was only on the *fourth* transgression, when amendment seemed hopeless, that punishment was inflicted on the delinquent.

“When Upsacus could not be induced to join Brodar in the war against Brian, he separated himself from that chief, and with nine ships withdrew to join the monarch of Ireland, to whom he communicated a full and regular narrative of the designs which were being formed to attack him. On his initiation into the pure faith of Christianity, he was admitted to the employment and councils of the sovereign to whom he had rendered such signal service.”⁽²⁾

These accounts of the motives which led to the battle of Clontarf, it must be obvious to the reader, are not inconsistent. It can hardly be supposed that Brian's queen could have considered her brother's conduct in lending a

hand to the carriage of the masts, such a degradation on his part, as to have urged him to levy war against her husband, had she not some private grievance of her own to stimulate her to revenge. The daughter of a prince, and queen of the former sovereign of the Danes of Dublin, possessed of extraordinary personal attractions—for she is described in the Niala Saga as “*omnium foeminarum venustissima*”—her repudiation by Brian was an offence not to be forgiven. The Norse writers accordingly state, that she had frequently incited her son to murder her husband before this last great effort to deprive him of his crown and life.

The preparations made by the Danes and Irish for the approaching contest, evinced how much depended on the issue. The former summoned to their aid all of their nation in Ireland who could be spared for the purpose. They also sent to Denmark for reinforcements. Even the Orkneys and Hebrides, and the other islands of Scotland, furnished their contingents. To these were added the forces of Leinster under the command of Maolmordha, their king, and another prince, Dunlaing, son of Tuathal (ancestor of the O'Tooles), and those of Hy-Failge (Offally), commanded by Brogarvan, son of Conchovar, tanist of that country.⁽³⁾ These princes had been for some time previously in alliance with the Danes, and were related by blood to Sitric, Maolmordha being his mother's brother, and Brogarvan his cousin in the third degree. The forces withdrawn from the national cause by these princes, as their number has not come down to us, may be estimated by considering them as the military population, or “*rising out*” as it has been somewhat later termed, of the country comprehended within lines drawn from the harbour of Waterford along the river Barrow to Monastereven, thence to Clara, through Tullamore, and on to Dublin. Within this line and the Irish Sea would be contained the present counties of Wexford, Carlow, Wicklow, Kildare, and parts of the Queen's and King's counties.

To meet this formidable array, Brian marshalled the forces of Munster and south Connaught, the former com-

prising not only the descendants of Olioll Olum, the Eoganachts of Desmond, with his own trusty hereditary followers, the Dalgais, but also the inhabitants of the Deisi of the county of Waterford and the south of Tipperary. The Eoganachts of Cashel and the forces of the two Elys, completed the muster of the remainder of Tipperary, and so much of the modern King's county as was separated from Offally by the line to which we have already alluded. The forces of Connaught were contributed by the Hy-Many and the Hy-Fiachrach Aidhne ; the former of which constituted the great third of Connaught,⁽⁴⁾ and both together comprised the greater portion of the counties of Roscommon and Galway. Although the annalists of Innisfallen enumerate among the slain on the Irish side one of the Maguires of Fermanagh, we cannot discover from either the Four Masters, or the annals of Ulster, that north Connaught, or the province of Ulster, sent any troops to the aid of the common cause. Brian was, however, assisted by a small force sent from Scotland by the Eoganachts⁽⁵⁾ of that country to the relief of their correlatives of the south of Ireland. These were commanded by their chieftains, Donald son of Evan, son of Kenneth, high steward of Mar, and Murray high steward of Lennox.

Such were the forces arrayed for the defence of their homes and altars by Brian and Maelseachlain, and to oppose the united armies of "the foreigners of the west of Europe," so are they designated by the Four Masters, who note, that of the Danish troops, one thousand were clad in mailed armour. That the Danes of England as well as those for some time established on the opposite side of the coast of France, to which they had already given a name, came to the relief of their brethren in Ireland, is evident from the language of the Irish annals in the passage above cited.

Few particulars of this remarkable battle have descended to us deserving of being set down as true history. That a great and decisive victory was gained by the Irish troops is undoubted. That it was attended with severe loss to the victors is equally certain. The Four Masters

state, that "the ten hundred, clad in mail, were cut to pieces, and, at the least, three thousand others of the foreigners." This is much more probable than the exaggerated statements of the writers of the annals of Innisfallen, which give the loss of the Danes as thirteen thousand, besides three thousand of the Leinster troops. The annals of Ulster state that seven thousand perished on the side of the Danes. The annals of Boyle, a record of considerable antiquity, agree with the Four Masters, that besides the one thousand men in armour, three thousand others were killed. If to the four thousand Danes, who are thus included in the slain, we add the three thousand of the Leinster troops, it will render highly probable the correctness of the estimate of the Ulster annalists, that the whole loss on the side of the Danes did not exceed seven thousand men.

The loss on the part of the Irish leaders is nowhere stated. Besides the habitual disregard of noticing the numbers of "*plebeians*" killed in their battles, the fall of so many of their chieftains on this occasion may have inclined the Irish writers to view, with comparative indifference, the loss in common soldiers. There fell of the monarch's family, himself, his eldest son Morrogh, Torlogh, son of Morrogh, a youth of fifteen years of age, and who was, according to the annals of Clonmacnoise, "found drowned near the fishing weir of Clontarf, with both his hands fast bound in the hair of a Dane's head, whom he had pursued to the sea at the time of the flight of the Danes;" and last, Conaing, nephew to Brian, being the son of his brother Donnchuan. The other chieftains who fell were, Mothla, son of Donald, son of Faelan, lord of the Desies of Munster; Eocha, son of Dunadhach, chief of Clannscanlan; Nial O'Quin, ancestor of the O'Quins of Inchiquin, in the county of Clare; Cuduiligh, son of Cinneidigh, the last three being companions or aide-de-camps of Brian; Teige O'Ceallaigh or O'Kelly, lord of Hymany; Maelruanaidh O'Heyne, lord of Aidhne; Geibhennach, son of Dubhagan, lord of Fermoy; Macbetha, son of Muireadhach Claen, lord of Ciarraidhe Luachra (north Kerry), ancestor of the O'Conor Kerrys;

Donald, son of Dermod, lord of Corcovaskin ;⁽⁶⁾ Scanlan, son of Cathal, lord of the Eoganachts of Lochlein (Killarney) ; and the commander of the Scottish troops, Donald, High Steward of Mar.

On the Danish side were slain in this engagement the three leaders of the Leinster troops, viz., Maelmordha, Dunlaing, son of Tuathal, son of Ugaire, and Brogarvan, Tanist of Offaly. Of the Danish chieftains fell, Dugald, brother of Sitric, and his nephew Gillaciaran, son of Gluniarn ; Sichfrith or Geoffry (named Sigurd by Torfœus), son of Loder, Earl of the Orkneys, and Brodar, chief commander of the Danes of Denmark, by whose hand Brian had fallen early in the action. On the side of the Irish the loss of their principal commander was supplied by Maelseachlain, who by the fall of Brian succeeded not only to the command of the army, but to the crown of the entire kingdom, of which he had been deprived twelve years before. Instead of standing aloof from the engagement, as has been the common notion entertained of this prince, no doubt from the statement of prejudiced writers, it is more than probable the completion of the victory was in a great measure owing to him. The Four Masters, in their account of the battle, state as follows.⁽⁷⁾ "The forces were afterwards routed by dint of battling, bravery and striking, by Maelseachlain, from Tulcainn (the Tolka river) to Athcliath (Dublin), against the foreigners and the Leinster men."

In estimating this prince's conduct, and weighing in the balance of historical truth the motives by which he might be actuated, it should not be forgotten that a few years previously he had been deprived of two sons in the same year, the latter of whom, Flann, a prince of considerable promise, had been slain by the combined troops of Sitric and Maelmordha, who were now opposed to him. That the public duty, of opposing with all his might the oppressors of his country, was aided by the desire of inflicting retribution for his private suffering, is only the reasonable conclusion of common sense, and affords to the testimony of the chronicler a degree of credibility almost amounting to conviction.

Without stopping to inquire the share of each of the two principal leaders in this great achievement, it was apparent that a victory decisive of the fate of Ireland, so far as that depended on Danish ascendancy, was gained. The valour and the resources of less than half of the island,⁽⁸⁾ guided by the sagacity, and stimulated by the energy and patriotism of the monarch and his second in command, were sufficient to extinguish for ever the power and pretensions of a race who, at the time we write of, had reduced England to a state of vassalage, and placed their princes on its throne, and had established, besides, a permanent footing on the neighbouring part of the continent of Europe. The importance of the blow struck at Clontarf may be appreciated more correctly by considering it as a fair stand-up fight, in which the energies of the contending races were wound up to the highest pitch for a struggle which could not admit of being repeated. A century and a half elapsed after the power of the Danes had been annihilated at Clontarf, before the Anglo-Saxon colonists came to mingle with their conquerors, and no effort worthy of the name was made to regain their lost position in Ireland.

After the victory of Clontarf the bodies of Brian and the other members of his family, and the head of Mothla, prince of the Desies, were carried to the monastery of St. Columbkille at Swords, where they were received by the Bishop of Ardmagh and his clergy, and carried to Ardmagh, where they lay in state for twelve nights, after which they were interred in a new tomb.⁽⁹⁾

If we were to give credit to the Four Masters and the Southern annalists, the exploit of the celebrated Doge of Venice, Dandolo,

“The octogenarian chief, Byzantium’s conquering foe,”

could hardly be considered to surpass that of the Irish monarch. These authorities state that the victor of Clontarf was in the eighty-eighth year of his age when he fell, his son Morrogh being in his sixty-third, and the warlike boy, his grandson, in his fifteenth year. There is a manifest improbability in the ages of the father and grandfather, and even an inconsistency in the Southern writers themselves, when they state that Morrogh, in 977,

at the battle of Bealachleachta, was but eighteen years of age, which would make him only fifty-five at the time of his death. One of the statements cited by Dr. O'Donovan, at the year 976, in the Annals of the Four Masters, is as follows :—"This great man (Brian) was born in the year 926 ; came to the crown of North Munster in 975, *very early* ; hence was king of North Munster two years ; of the two Munsters, ten years ; of Leath Mogha, twenty-five years ; and of the whole kingdom, twelve years, until he was slain at the battle of Clontarf, on the 23rd April, on Good Friday, in the year 1014."

Now, if the tradition that Brian came to the crown of North Munster "very early," be true, it cannot be supported by a birth in 926, and an accession in 975, or in the 49th year of his age. It is more than probable then that the date of Brian's birth, as given in the Annals of Ulster at the year 941, is the true one, and that he was in the seventy-third year of his age at the battle of Clontarf.

It would be unjust to the character of Brian to consider it in a military point of view alone. Numerous and brilliant as were his achievements in war against contemporary princes before his accession to the supreme power, as well as against the common enemies of his country afterwards, on his civil administration of its affairs, will be founded his chief claim to the praise of the philosopher. According to Keatinge, the twelve years of his reign over Ireland were distinguished by several improvements in the arts of civilized life. To him has been ascribed the invention of surnames, or at least their introduction into general use in this kingdom. Instead of one appellative, by which the line of descent might be instantly known, and families distinguished one from the other, there had been used before the eleventh century a series of names of baptism of the parents, to sometimes an inconvenient extent, stopping generally with that of some ancestor distinguished by some peculiar quality, or for the performance of some exploit. To remedy these inconveniences, Brian ordained that some ancestor should be chosen as the terminal point to which families should for the future trace up their descent. The prefix "ua" (in Eng-

lish "O") for the singular, the plural being "uibh" (anglicised "Hy"), set to the ancestral name, formed the surnames of the various Irish families. Thus ua-Briain (O'Brien), ua-Neil (O'Neil), and so forth. But it is material to add that the plural, "Uibh," or "Ui," or "Hy," was as frequently applied to the territory occupied by the family, as to the inhabitants themselves.

To facilitate the advance of troops, no less than for the purposes of commerce, the building of bridges, and the construction of the public highways, occupied Brian's attention. Keatinge furnishes a long list of places erected or strengthened by this monarch, to curb the ravages of the Danes. Although some of these places are unknown at this distance of time, yet we recognize in their equivalents the names of Caher, Cashel, Roscrea, and other places in the county of Tipperary; Lough Gur, Bruree, Duntryleague and Knockany, in the county of Limerick, besides the royal residence, Kincora, in Thomond, which he secured by a stone fort.⁽¹⁰⁾ The tributes or revenues of Brian, paid by the several provincial princes, according to Keatinge, show that a considerable import and export trade existed in Ireland at this early period, and that the wines of France and Spain were imported to a considerable extent into this country. The iron in which the kingdom abounds at present, was, it is to be presumed, manufactured, to enable the tribute in that particular article to be paid. The tributes mentioned by Keatinge, who cites the ancient record entitled, "Boroimhe baile na righ," were paid by the two provinces of Munster, and the three other provinces of the island, in the following proportions:—

From Connaught, annually, on the 1st of November, eight hundred cows and eight hundred hogs. From Tirconnell, five hundred cloaks or mantles, and five hundred cows. From Tirowen, sixty hogs and sixty loads of iron. The Clanruraighe of Ulster were bound to furnish one hundred and fifty cows and one hundred and fifty hogs. The inhabitants of the Oirghiallas (Oriels), one hundred and sixty cows. From Leinster came three hundred beeves, three hundred hogs, and three hundred loads or tons of

iron. Ossory contributed sixty beeves, sixty hogs, and sixty loads or tons of iron. The Danes of Dublin were bound to supply one hundred and fifty pipes or hogsheads of wine, and those of Limerick three hundred and sixty-five pipes of red wine every year. The proportions contributed by the two provinces of Munster are not specified, but they must have been considerable. The Danish tribute shows what a high hand the Irish monarch held over the Danes, whom, according to Keatinge, (p. 483), Brian had defeated in no fewer than twenty five engagements, the last of which was the memorable one of Clontarf.

On the very day after the battle of Clontarf, the old question of the alternate succession to the provincial throne of Munster, as settled by the will of Olioll Olum, was again raised. Cian, one of the two chieftains who commanded the troops of Desmond, and who arrogated to himself the headship of the Eoganacht or Eugenian line of the descendants of that prince, conceiving that the decease of Brian afforded a favourable opportunity for the assertion of his claim to the vacant throne, lost no time in intimating to the sons of Brian his determination to assert his rights. Married to Sabia or Saidhb, their sister, neither this relationship nor the deaths of their father and other relatives, prevented his making a demand of hostages from the princes of the Dalgais, the usual mode by which the right to rule was claimed, and by the concession of which it was acknowledged. The demand was refused by the sons of Brian, who alleged, in reply, that the arrangement prescribed by the will of their common ancestor had been long since and frequently broken through by the Eoganachts themselves; that it was only by the force of his victorious arms that his father, Brian, had compelled them to recognise his title; and that by the same means they were resolved to maintain and transmit it to their posterity. Brave as the Dalgais and their commanders were, they had been so reduced by their recent victory over the Danes that they were hardly in a condition to give effect to this declaration. Donogh felt the necessity, under the circumstances in which he was placed, of operating a division

among the Eoganacht leaders, and he accordingly applied to Donald, son of Duvdavoren, the prince of the O'Donoghues, to request his aid. O'Halloran (ii. vol. 276) informs us, that on being applied to by the leader of the Dalgais, this chief demanded of Cian the cause of his interruption of the march of the Thomond troops, who unreservedly explained his views. Donald, with equal unreserve, declared that, in joining the imperial forces to give battle to their common enemy, the Danes, he had not the least intention that his co-operation should have the effect of placing him, Cian, on the throne of Munster, in case it should, by the result of the action, happen to become vacant, and he protested altogether against the present proceeding. Cian replied that he never thought of asking the advice or assistance of the other on the occasion, whereupon Donald withdrew his troops from the army of the pretender, and formed a separate camp. The consequence of this division among the Desmond troops was, that the Dalgais and their princes were enabled to pursue their march homewards without further molestation from their southern auxiliaries.

This check, which, according to Keatinge, occurred near the hill of Mullaghmast, in Kildare, was not the only interruption experienced by the sons of Brian on their return from Clontarf to Munster. On their approach to the borders of Ossory, Fitzpatrick, the prince of that territory, thought the opportunity a favourable one to renounce his dependency on the sovereigns of Munster, which, thirty-three years before, his ancestor had been forced to acknowledge to Brian. Ossory, the limits of which are known as being co-extensive with the present diocese of that name, was debateable ground. More frequently included in Munster, it had sometimes given hostages to the king of Leinster, and now the domestic calamity of the princes of the Dalgais encouraged Fitzpatrick to throw off the yoke. He accordingly sent them a message requiring them to give hostages for the good behaviour of the troops of Thomond in their passage through his territory, as well as for their peaceable conduct in future. The leader of the Dalgais replied to this message, that he was astonished at the

presumption of the prince of Ossory in daring to make such a demand ; and that, although his troops were considerably diminished in number, they were still able to chastise the presumptuous insolence of one whose ancestors had always been tributary to the crown of Munster. At what period of time, replied the son of Brian, did any one of my ancestors do homage or deliver hostages to an Ossorian ? That the posterity of Eoghan should sometimes have made such demands is not surprising, being the issue of the eldest son of our great ancestor ; but is there in history a single instance, besides the present, of a chief of Ossory daring to demand hostages from the posterity of Olioll Olum ?

Having delivered this reply to the ambassadors of Fitzpatrick, Donogh gave orders to prepare for an engagement. The wounded men were ordered to be removed to a place of safety, along with the baggage, but as soon as Fitzpatrick's message became known, indignation spread through the whole army. The wounded refused to be separated from their comrades. They required to be sharers of the contest, and for that purpose they suggested that stakes should be cut from the neighbouring wood and planted in the line of battle ; that to these stakes a wounded man should be tied, and a sound warrior set at his side, who should not be at liberty to stir from his post so long as the wounded man who was bound to it remained. This extraordinary order of battle had such an effect on the Ossorians, that nothing could induce them to try their strength with the Dalgais. No inducements could urge them to engage with troops whose undaunted resolution was displayed in so conspicuous a manner. They withdrew, and their leader was unable to do more than cut off a few of the stragglers of the Thomond troops in their march.⁽¹¹⁾

CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1014-1064...Dissension among the sons of Brian...Invasion of Thomond by the Desmonians...Their defeat...Invasion of Thomond by the army of Connaught...Kincora plundered and demolished...Murder of Teige, elder brother of Donogh..Invasion of the Cock O'Ruarc...His defeat...Donogh opposed by his son-in-law, Diarmid...Plunder of Clonmacnoise by the men of Thomond...Satisfaction for the outrage...Condition of the kingdom...Synod of Killaloe...Decline of the power of Donogh...Progress of Turlogh O'Brien, son of Teige...Advance of the king of Connaught to Kincora...Destruction of the town and church of Killaloe...Deposition and retirement to Rome of Donogh.

SCARCELY had the royal remains been deposited in their last resting-place, when dissension sprung up between the sons of Brian. The quarrel was espoused by the Dalgais, who ranged themselves on either side around Teige and his youngest brother, Donogh. A battle was fought, in which the latter was defeated with considerable loss, including therein Rury O'Donnagain, lord of Ara.⁽¹⁾ The capacity of the defeated prince surpassed that of his brother Teige, and had been proved both in the battle of Clontarf and before that, in the engagement with the prince of Desmond ; but there existed among the Dalgais a great degree of respect for seniority, although not to such an extent as to disregard the pretensions of a junior of overwhelming abilities on proper occasions. To this feeling Teige was in the present instance indebted for the victory over his brother. The defeat, however, rankled in the breast of Donogh, and led, it is supposed, to the crime of murder, Teige having been, in the year 1023, as the Four Masters state, treacherously put to death by the Eili, at the instigation of his own brother, Donogh. Previous to this catastrophe their common interest obliged them to unite their forces to oppose the advance of Donald, son of Duv-

davoren, the father of the young prince of Desmond, slain by Donogh the year before the battle of Clontarf, who had advanced as far as Limerick to avenge the death of his son by making war on the Dalgais, now weakened by the severe battle of Clontarf. An engagement ensued between them and the Eoganachts, and troops that had been engaged the year before against the common enemy were now (1015) to be seen turning their arms against each other. The fortune of the Dalgais prevailed. The troops of Desmond were defeated, and their leader slain.

This was not the only attack which the sons of Brian were called on to repel. The year after the defeat of the Desmonians brought an unexpected descent of the troops of Connaught. The annalists record that, in 1016, Kincora, which had been some time before fortified by Brian, was plundered and demolished, as well as the town of Killoe, by an invasion of the Connaughtmen. This was the commencement of those efforts made by the princes of Connaught to obtain the supreme power, in which they were in the end successful. And the dissensions between the sons of Brian afforded a favourable opportunity for advancing their pretensions to the supreme monarchy.

The quarrel between the princes of Thomond had not been composed by the necessity which obliged them to unite their partisans against the prince of Desmond. The feud lasted to the death of Maelseachlain, on whom the crown of Ireland had devolved after the fall of their father; and the decease of this monarch, in the year 1022, tended to ripen the plans of Donogh, and to open a view to him of the supreme power. To free himself from a rival in the person of his brother Teige, Donogh (as already observed) concerted measures by which that unfortunate prince was murdered. Freed from this obstacle, Donogh began to advance his pretensions, and with such success that, in the short space of three years, he obtained the hostages of the several provinces of Meath, Bregia, Leinster and Ossory, together with those of the Danes of Dublin. The year 1026 saw him king of the southern half of Ireland, and the object of his ambition almost within his grasp, when the

Ossorians revolted, and Donogh, marching to reduce them to obedience, was encountered, and defeated with loss. Although he had smoothed, as he conceived, the road to power by the murder of his brother, the pretensions of that prince still survived in the person of his son, Torlogh, who now began to give signs of that energy of character which eventually placed him on the throne of his grandfather. In the year 1031, he slew O'Donnagan, lord of Arathire, a partisan of his uncle Donogh, while the latter was engaged on an expedition along the line of the upper Shannon to check the advance of Art O'Ruarc, nicknamed the Cock, prince of Breifney,⁽²⁾ who, having designs on the throne of Connaught, had descended the Shannon as far as Clonfert, and menaced Thomond. While engaged in the plunder of that place and its monks, the Cock was attacked by Donogh and defeated with loss, and the vessels in which he had descended from his mountains burnt. This was a victory of great importance to Donogh, as it was a step to the supreme power ; for, although he was king of Leathmogha, that is, of the southern half of Ireland, his pretensions, according to the canons by which the succession to the monarchy was regulated,⁽³⁾ must be enforced by the possession of the hostages of Connaught or Ulster.

An obstacle to his designs, however, presented itself from a quarter whence he least expected it. Diarmid, son of Donogh, surnamed Maelnambo, afterwards king of Leinster, who had married Dervorghal, daughter of Donogh, being a conscientious prince, and aware of the weakness of the title of his father-in-law to the crown of Thomond, gave all his support to Torlogh, son of Teige. Continued hostilities between the son and father-in-law were the consequence, in the progress of which Donald Reamhar (the Fat), brother of Diarmid, was killed by Donogh's auxiliaries, while he himself marched into Hy-Kinsella (Wexford), and burnt Ferns. These events are placed by the annalists at the year 1041.

Diarmid, who had not yet attained the crown of Leinster, retaliated on Donogh's allies in that province, by attacking the monastery of Glenussen (in the present county

of Carlow), and carrying off seven hundred captives. He also stirred up the Ossorians, whose position between the contending princes rendered them obnoxious to the attacks of each, to revolt and withdraw themselves from their allegiance to Donogh. The latter, at the head of an army, invaded Ossory, marched as far as Moyairbhe,⁽⁴⁾ and took the hostages of its people. In his absence from Thomond the monastery of Clonmacnoise was plundered by a predatory band of his subjects. Donogh, on his return, being informed of the outrage, and aware of the importance of cultivating the good opinion of the clergy, made satisfaction by giving "perfect freedom of the church to God, and to Kieran,⁽⁵⁾ till the day of judgment, and forty cows immediately." The value to the monks of the remaining part of the satisfaction of Donogh may be questioned. It was his curse to any of the men of Munster who should ever inflict any injury upon the clergy of Kieran.

The condition of Ireland in the middle of the eleventh century (1050), at which this outrage is recorded, appears to have reached its lowest point of physical and moral depression. The annalists, noticing the holding of a synod at Killaloe in the above year, contain the following passage :—

"Much inclement weather happened in the land of Ireland, which carried away corn, milk, fruit, and fish from the people, so that there grew up dishonesty among all, that no protection was extended to church or fortress, gossipred or mutual oath, until the clergy and laity of Munster assembled with their chieftains under Donogh, son of Brian, that is, the son of the king of Ireland, and Cele, the son of Donnecan, the head of the piety of Ireland, at Kildalua, where they enacted a law and a restraint upon every injustice against great and small. God gave peace and favourable weather in consequence of this law."⁽⁶⁾

Braen, son of Maelmordha, who fell at Clontarf, having been deprived of sight by his cousin Sitric, retired into the monastery of Cologne, in Germany, where he died A.D. 1052. By his decease the throne of Leinster became vacant. Diarmid, son of Maelnambo, who had shortly before

been chosen king of the Danes of Dublin, immediately thereupon mounted the vacant throne. To check his progress, Donogh, aided by Conor O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, who was his half brother,⁽⁷⁾ marched into the Danish kingdom of Fingal, which they ravaged, and returned into Meath with many prisoners taken out of the Damhliag (the great stone church) of Lusk, where they had taken refuge. Diarmid retaliated by leading a powerful army of Leinster, Ossorian, and Danish troops into Munster as far as Emly, when he burned Duntryleague, which had been fortified by Brian Boromha, and returned without having sustained any loss. Donogh, during this incursion into his dominions, was in Desmond, and unable therefore to offer any opposition to his son-in-law. But this was not the only disaster that befel him. Aedh (Hugh) O'Conor, while the king of Leinster was occupied in middle Munster, accompanied by Torlogh O'Brien, son of Teige, invaded Corcovaskin and Tradraighe,⁽⁸⁾ and seized, according to the annalists, innumerable spoils, concluding with the plunder of Tomfinlough (Fenloe). Torlogh, having thus obtained a footing in Thomond, established himself by support of his Connaught allies in the northern part of the territory, from which Murrough of the Short Shield, son of Donogh, vainly endeavoured to dislodge him. The Dalgais troops, under the command of the latter proceeded into Corcomroe,⁽⁹⁾ where they were encountered by Torlogh, and defeated with great slaughter, four hundred men and fifteen chieftains being left dead on the field. Henceforward the fortunes of Donogh O'Brien were on the wane. Yet did he endeavour to meet his misfortunes, and to resist the combinations formed on all sides for his deposition, with a fortitude and a prudence worthy of the sire from whom he sprung.

The year 1056 beheld another expedition of the men of Leinster, led by Diarmid, into Munster. On this occasion he burned the fort on Lough Gurr, which had been erected by Brian, and proceeding northwards, demolished Aenachtete (Nenagh) and other places. Resolved on accomplishing his object, the deposition of Donogh, he returned to Munster in less than two years. After burning

Limerick and Emly, he attacked Donogh, who was advantageously posted in the passes of Slieve Grot, (now the Glen of Aherlow,) and defeated him with great loss. Misfortunes now began to accumulate on Donogh. Aedh O'Connor (of the broken spear) led an army to Kincora and demolished the fortress, destroyed the church and town of Killaloe, and filled up the well, "after having eaten its two salmons." To complete his ill-fortune, his nephew, Torlogh, and his patron, the king of Leinster, renewed their operations in the south, and after again burning Limerick in the year 1063, they obtained the hostages of the several chieftains through the plain of Munster, even to the Brandon mountain in Kerry. A last effort for that power which he so greatly coveted, and for the sake of which he had not scrupled to be accessory to the horrid crime of fratricide, was made by Donogh. Aided by his son, Murrogh of the Short Shield, a not degenerate scion of this warlike race, he again engaged Torlogh and the king of Leinster, but in vain. His army was routed; he submitted to his fate, and abandoning all further notions of royalty, he retired to spend the remainder of his days in monastic seclusion at Rome, seeking from the consolation of religion that peace which the pomps and vanities of the world could not give. According to the annals of Clonmacnoise, he died in the Abbey of St. Stephen, the proto-martyr, in the year 1063 (the true year being 1064), having left with the Pope the crown and regalia of Ireland, which remained in Rome until Adrian the Fourth gave the crown to Henry the Second, on his acquisition of Ireland more than a century after.⁽¹⁰⁾

Besides Dervorghal, who died in 1080, the wife of Diarmid, son of Maelnambo, Donogh had a numerous progeny of twelve sons, nine of whom left no issue. The other three were—1. Lorcan, whose decease is noticed by the Four Masters in 1078. 3. Morrogh of the Short Shield. 3. Donaldbane (the Fair). The first of these, Lorcan, or Laurence, left two sons, Conor and Cineidi, the former of whom became lord of Cineleoghain and Tulloghoge, and was slain in 1078 by his subjects, the Cinel Binnigh of the

valley. ⁽¹¹⁾ He was succeeded, according to the annals of Inisfallen, by his brother Cineidi ; and the Four Masters state, at the year 1078, that Cineidi also assumed the lordship of Gailenga. ⁽¹²⁾ He, Cineidi, was killed, according to the Four Masters, at the battle of Moinecruinneoge (Monecronock), near Leixlip, in 1084.

Donogh's second son, Morrogh of the Short Shield (an scith-ghirr), became, by his only son Brian, denominated of Glanmire, ancestor of the O'Briens of Cuonagh (Coonagh, in the county of Limerick), and Aherlow (in Tipperary). Morrogh was also, according to the annals of Inisfallen, father of Mor, wife of Morrogh O'Melaghlin, the mother of the celebrated Dervorghal, wife of Tiernan O'Ruarc, prince of Breifny.

Of Donogh's third son, Donaldbane, no further notice is found in the annals.

CHAPTER V.

A.D. 1064-1142... Accession of Torlogh O'Brien... Visitation of Munster by the Bishop of Ardmagh... Torlogh O'Brien prepares to invade the north... Abduction of the head of Conor O'Melaghlin from the monks of Clonmacnoise... Curious incident, and its consequences... Invasion of the north by Torlogh, and his defeat... Second invasion and engagement with the Ulidians... Head of the Cock, O'Ruarc, brought to Limerick... Invasion of Thomond by the northerns... Death of Torlogh O'Brien... His issue... Accession of Mortoghmore... Invasion of Thomond by Rury O'Conor... Also invaded by Donald Macloughlin, prince of Aileach... Demolition of Kincora, and retaking of the head of the Cock, O'Ruarc... Progress of Mortogh O'Brien on the Upper Shannon... Its failure... Congress of the Irish princes, and their submission to Macloughlin... War between Mortogh O'Brien and Donald O'Melaghlin... Victory of O'Melaghlin, and invasion of Munster... Advance of the army of Munster to Dublin... Expulsion of Godfrey Meranach... And of O'Melaghlin... Re-edification of Kincora... Advance of Mortogh O'Brien to the north... Demolition of the royal palace of Aileach... The circuitous hosting... Grant of the royal palace of Cashel to the Church... Invasion of Ireland by Magnus, king of Norway... His alliance with Mortogh O'Brien... Defeat of Mortogh at Moycobha... Synod of Uisneach... Invasion of Thomond by Donald Macloughlin... Sickness of Mortogh O'Brien... Assumption of the power by his brother Dermot... Death of Dermot... of Mortogh... His character... His issue... Accession of Conor-na-Cathrach... Invasion of Munster by Torlogh O'Conor... Defeat of the King of Desmond.. Supported by Conor O'Brien... Opposes Conor... Dermot Macmorrogh assists Conor O'Brien... Assassination of Cormac, king of Desmond, the founder of the chapel on the Rock of Cashel... Death of Conor-na-Cathrach... His issue.

THE deposition of Donogh gave peace for a time to Munster, and enabled the Dalgais, now that their throne was occupied by its rightful owner, to take measures for punishing their northern neighbours of Connaught for the insults recently suffered at Killaloe. The king of Leinster did not consider Torlogh O'Brien secure on the throne of Thomond, until he had humbled the king of Connaught, Aedh of the Broken Spear. He accordingly levied a powerful army, styled by the annalists the great army of Leathmogha, and attended by Torlogh and his cousin, Morrogh of the Short

Shield, who remained in Ireland after his father's departure to Rome, marched into Connaught. Aedh, having had notice of the intended invasion, laid an ambuscade for his enemies, into which they fell, and being defeated with loss, were obliged to retreat, having left behind among the slain another O'Connor, ⁽¹⁾ the lord of Kerry, who had commanded a division of the southern army. The king of Connaught did not survive long to enjoy his triumph, having fallen in his turn in a battle fought at Turlogh-Aidhne, near Oranmore, when attempting to repel an invasion of Art O'Ruarc, prince of Breifny. All these events occupied the year 1067.

The year 1068 beheld Torlogh O'Brien without a competitor for the crown of his paternal dominions, his cousin Morrogh of the Short Shield having been killed in a predatory incursion into Teffia. ⁽²⁾ The annalists state that his head was carried to Clonmacnoise, and his body to Durrow, as a satisfaction for the ravages of the Dalgais some time before.

A visitation of Munster by Maelisa, ⁽³⁾ successor of Patrick (*i.e.* Bishop of Ardmagh), is recorded in this year, and his obtaining a full tribute in "screaballs" ⁽⁴⁾ and offerings. This instance of the extent of the primatial jurisdiction, so long before the arrangements made at the synod of Kells in 1152, is deserving of notice.

The grandson of Brian Boroimhe having at length overcome the obstacles which impeded his progress to the throne of his hereditary dominions, determined to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious ancestor. He had lost a powerful friend in the king of Leinster, who fell in the battle of Odhbha in February 1072, fought against Conor O'Melaghlin king of Meath, the half-brother of the exiled and deposed king of Munster, Donogh, son of Brian. This loss was, however, counterbalanced by the fall of Conor in the next year (1073) by the hand of an assassin. Freed from the opposition of this prince, who was one of several competitors for the crown of the whole kingdom, Torlogh made preparations for a campaign into Ulster to reduce to obedience the princes of that province, and procure their acknowledgment of his title to the crown of Ireland. Before he set

out on this expedition, he desired to obtain possession of an extraordinary object of cupidity, the head of his former foe, Conor O'Melaghlin. A party of his troops proceeded accordingly to the monastery of Clonmacnoise, where the remains of the king of Meath had been interred a short time before, and forcibly carried off the head on the night of Good Friday, 1073. The object so coveted was restored within two days through fear, and was accompanied with a present of gold rings to the monks. The Four Masters, in the following notice, afford us a clue to the cause of the restoration :—

“Anno 1073. A great disease seized the king Torlogh O'Brien, which caused his hair and beard to fall off through the miracles of God and Kieran, for, when the head of Conchobhar was brought in his presence, a mouse issued from it, and went under Torlogh's garment, which was the cause of his disease.”

The king's health being restored, he lost no time in setting forward on his projected expedition to Ulster. On his way to the North he attacked the Gailenga, from whom he took preys, and slew their leader, the lord of Bregia. His next affair was not equally prosperous. Although at the head of an army composed of the fighting men of Meath, Connaught, Leinster, Ossory, and Munster, together with a Danish contingent, the whole commanded by his son Mortogh, afterwards distinguished by the appellation More, he was signally defeated by the Ulidians and people of Oirghialla at Ardmonann, near Ardee, and obliged to return home without hostages or spoils. Better fortune, however, awaited him in the next year (1076), when he invaded Connaught, and obtained the submission of Rury or Roderick O'Conor.⁽⁵⁾

The interval between this and the year 1080 was one of comparative inaction, being diversified by a short campaign into Connaught in the year 1079, during which Roderick, the king of Connaught, was dethroned and expelled from his dominions by Torlogh, and the Cruach⁽⁶⁾ plundered.

In the next year, 1080, Torlogh, attended by the clergy of Munster, marched at the head of an army into Meath,

and received the submission of Maelseachlain, king of that province. On this occasion the latter was accompanied by the successor of Patrick (Bishop of Ardmagh), who brought with him the Bachall Isa (staff of Jesus). From these preparations, and the attendance of the clergy, it would appear that the coronation of Torlogh, as monarch of Ireland, was contemplated. It is not certain, however, that the inauguration took place. In the notice of his death five years later, Torlogh is styled "King of Ireland with opposition;" and it is quite certain that his title was not acknowledged by the princes of the North, two of whom, Donald O'Loughlin, prince of the Cineleoghan, and Donlevy O'Heoghy, chieftain of Ulidia, began at this time to make a figure among their contemporaries. It is highly probable that the latter of these princes accompanied Torlogh on the expedition into Meath, for the Four Masters, at this year, state that Donlevy O'Heoghy and the chiefs of Ulidia went into Munster to serve for pay. Four years later the Ulidian troops were brought into the field at Drogheda against the forces of Torlogh O'Brien, their prince who had been a few years previously the stipendiary of Torlogh, having in 1084 engaged the services, in his turn, of Donogh, the son of O'Ruarc, nicknamed the Cock. Besides the Ulidians, O'Ruarc also commanded the forces of East Connaught, the Cairbri and the Gailenga. With these troops he marched into Leinster⁽⁷⁾ and encamped at Moincruinneoghe (Monecronock). Here he was encountered by Mortogh O'Brien, son of Torlogh, at the head of the troops of Leinster, Ossory, and Munster, together with the Danes of Dublin, when a bloody battle was fought on the twenty-ninth of October, which, however, does not appear to have been decisive. That the action was severe is proved by the fact, that four thousand persons were left dead on the field. Among these were the commander of the Ulidian army, O'Ruarc, whose head was carried to Limerick, where it was exposed on the high grounds of Singland, near the city. Cincidi O'Brien, grandson of Donogh, and his son Teige, and a great many "nobles and plebeians," not enumerated, fell on the side of the Southern.

While the army of Torlogh was engaged in Leinster, a party of the Northerns entered Thomond, which had been left unprotected, and burned Killaloe, Tomgraney, and Moynoe. This insult was avenged in the next year (1085) by Torlogh himself, who led an army in person into the North, ravaged the territory, and took Muireadhach, prince of Muintir-coluis,⁽⁸⁾ prisoner. This was his last campaign, his death being recorded to have occurred at Kincora, in the thirty-second year of his reign, and seventy-seventh of his age, after having suffered from a lingering illness, occasioned, according to the annalists, by the incident which occurred when the head of Conor O'Meloghlin was brought into his presence.

Torlogh O'Brien was twice married: by Gormlaith, daughter of O'Fogarty, prince of the Southern Ely, he was the father of Dermot and Donald, the latter of whom is called Donogh by the Four Masters, who record his death at Moycobha in the army of his brother Mortoghmore, in the year 1103. By Dervorghall, daughter of Teige Mac-Giolla-Phadraig, prince of Ossory, he had Teige and Mortogh, the latter of whom became his successor. His son Teige died within a month after the decease of the father.

Mortogh O'Brien, second son of Torlogh, succeeded his father on the throne of Thomond, and in his pretensions to that of the entire kingdom. The new king, who had occasionally commanded his father's troops, lost no time in notifying to his neighbours his accession to the rule of his subjects. This was done by marching an army into the territories of whichever of the surrounding princes was most obnoxious to his resentment, and ravaging them.⁽⁹⁾ In the the present instance the men of Leinster and the Danes of Dublin were attacked and defeated at Rathedair, near Howth. This victory was counterbalanced in the next year, 1088, by the invasion of Thomond. Rury O'Conor, who had been dethroned by Torlogh O'Brien nine years before, and who had maintained himself in the meantime in the northern parts of Connaught, deeming the decease of his powerful enemy a fair opportunity for the re-establishment of his authority, if not also for retaliation, advanced

into Munster, and took possession of a strong post on the Shannon. This was an island called Inish-ayarcach (Horned Island). Mortogh, endeavouring to dislodge the Connaught troops from their position, was defeated. He next attempted a diversion in the west of Connaught, and fitted out a small fleet for the purpose of making a descent on the sea-coast. A second time he was destined to be defeated, his sailors being far inferior to those of West Connaught, who even at this early period had acquired considerable reputation as mariners, and the men of Connaught, carrying the war into Thomond, ravaged Corcomroe thrice in a year. Mortogh had not time to retrieve his losses, when he was assailed by a new and unexpected opponent in the person of Donald Macloughlin, prince of Aileach,⁽¹⁰⁾ who, equally with Mortogh, was a competitor for the throne of Ireland.

This prince, at the head of a powerful army, entered Connaught, and compelling Rury O'Connor to give him hostages, marched with the latter to oppose the title and pretensions of Mortogh O'Brien. Entering Munster, they proceeded to Limerick, which they burned. Laying waste the country as far as Emly, Lough Gur, and Bruree, they besieged, took, and demolished Kincora, and returned home with one hundred hostages of distinction of both Irish and Danish extraction. Among the spoils taken by Macloughlin on this occasion, was the head of O'Ruarc, nicknamed the Cock, which had been exposed to public view at Singland (Saingeal).

The next year (1089) did not pass without the resumption of hostilities by Mortogh, who smarted under his defeats, and was resolved to punish the king of Connaught at least, as being more within his reach. Despatching a fleet as far as Loughree on the Shannon, he plundered the churches on the various islands of the lake, viz., Inisclohran, Inisbofin, Inis-aingin, and Clonown. Having omitted to observe sufficient precautions in securing their retreat, the Dalgais were intercepted by the king of Connaught, who had occupied Inishayrcach and Raghra, attacked and obliged to turn back to Athlone, where they had to encounter Donald O'Melaghlin, king of Meath. From this prince they

obtained a safe conduct to Thomond, on condition, however, of leaving behind their vessels. This protection extended no farther than the safe conduct of the men to their own territory, for Munster was immediately after ravaged by O'Melaghlin in conjunction with O'Conor, who employed the vessels abandoned by Mortogh O'Brien in descending the Shannon and invading Thomond.

The ill-success which attended Mortogh to this time obliged him to abate somewhat of his pretensions, and to remain content with the position of a provincial sovereign. A great meeting or congress was held in the year 1090, at which Donald, son of Macloghlin, king of Aileach, Mortogh O'Brien, king of Cashel, Donald O'Melaghlin, lord of Meath, and Rury O'Conor, king of Connaught, attended. At this congress the last named three princes agreed to give hostages to the northern prince in token of submission, and in acknowledgment of his superior title to the crown of Ireland; after which, according to the annalists, they parted in peace and tranquillity. Between the subordinate princes this peace was of short duration. The year had not expired before O'Brien invaded Meath on a predatory expedition, and was met by O'Melaghlin at Moylena, near the present town of Tullamore, when a battle ensued, in which his usual ill luck attended the king of Munster. The victor carried the war into that province, and proceeding to the extremity of the county of Tipperary, he burned Dunnaskiath, which had been fortified by Brian Boromha, and subsequently ravaged all Ormond. His colleague, Rury O'Conor, who had, in concert with him in the previous year, invaded Munster, again entered that territory, and burned Dun-aiched.⁽¹¹⁾ O'Brien, in the absence of the king of Connaught, entered his territories and ravaged the islands of Loughreagh. The year closed with a joint expedition of the men of Munster, and their allies the Danes of Dublin, against Meath, which they plundered as far as Athboy, but were obliged to purchase the protection of O'Loughlin, the king of Aileach, in their march homewards, by the delivery of two hostages.

The incursions of the men of Connaught into Thomond

had been encouraged by the nephews of Mortogh, who had retired, on the death of their father Teige, into that province. These princes, Morrogh and Donald, looking on their uncle as an usurper, excited against him, as far as lay in their power, the hostility of his neighbours. A peace had been patched up between the uncle and nephews ; but the latter are related to have acted with treachery to the men of Thomond on their return homewards, by inciting the forces of Connaught to plunder them. This outrage and treachery were repaid with interest in the next year (1092) by Mortogh, who ravaged the neighbouring parts of Connaught, and within a twelvemonth made prisoners of the chieftains of the Sil-muireadhaigh (Sil-murrey),⁽¹²⁾ and banished the population, who took refuge in the mountainous parts of Tirowen, where they were sheltered by the power of Donald Macloughlin.

Notwithstanding the acknowledgment, by Mortogh O'Brien and the other provincial kings, of the supremacy of this prince, who, as chief of the descendant of Niall of the Nine Hostages, claimed the crown of Ireland, the former only awaited a favourable opportunity for throwing off the yoke. As the possession of the lordship of Teamhair (Tara) was indispensable to the completion of the title to the supreme power,⁽¹³⁾ and all pretenders to that dignity directed their course thither, Mortogh O'Brien, in 1094, with the forces of all Leathmogha, that is, of Munster, Leinster, and Ossory, marched to Dublin, whither also came Macloughlin, his rival, the acknowledged monarch of the kingdom. The forces of the latter consisted of the northern Hy-Niall tribes, the Cinelconall and Cineleoghan, the Southern Hy-Nialls, under the command of Donald O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, and the Ulidians or people of East Ulster. In addition to this formidable array, Macloughlin was supported by a fleet of the Danes of the Hebrides, amounting to ninety sail, under the command of Godfrey Meranach, who laid claim to the rule over the Danes of Dublin. These overwhelming forces marched into the plain of Leinster, and advanced to Oughterard in Kildare, which they burned. The army of the south, unable to cope with

such a force, retreated in good order. The northern troops did not deem it necessary to expedite the flight of the retreating army, and returned home without subjecting Leinster to the ravages of war. As soon as the northern army had left the neighbourhood of Dublin, the troops of the king of Munster returned and expelled Godfrey from that city, and also deposed from the throne of Meath, Donald O'Melaghlin, who had become obnoxious to his subjects in the eastern part of the province. O'Melaghlin returning shortly after to regain his authority, was slain, and the throne being thus vacant, Mortogh O'Brien divided the province between two nephews of the deceased prince, and returned from an indecisive but not inglorious campaign, to recruit his strength for further exertions by a short stay at his palace of Kincora.

The prevalence of a remarkable pestilence caused the years 1095 and 1096 to pass away without hostilities. The annalists state that this visitation extended over the whole of Europe, and carried off about a fourth of the population of Ireland. The names of a great many persons of distinction are given, who fell victims to this plague, among whom was Godfrey Meranach, the expelled lord of the foreigners. During the inaction produced by the pestilence, Mortogh O'Brien was occupied in the re-edification of the royal palace of Kincora, which had been razed to the ground eight years before by his enemy Donald Mac-loughlin. On the completion of this work, he led an army composed of the forces of Leathmogha and Meath, which now lay at his disposal, to claim the crown of Ireland. His forces penetrated into Louth, and were met by those of Mac-loughlin, but the effusion of blood was prevented by the interposition of the Bishop of Ardmagh, who, however, could only procure from Mortogh a suspension of hostilities for one year.

After ineffectual expeditions frustrated by the interposition of the Bishop of Ardmagh and his clergy, which occupied the closing years of the eleventh century, the year 1101 witnessed the completion of the designs of Mortoghmore O'Brien. Pursuing the western route that led to Ulster,

through Connaught, he marched to Assaroe ⁽¹⁴⁾ to attack Macloughlin. He was once more repulsed, and a fleet of the Danes, which, at his instance, had entered Loughfoyle to attack Derry, was intercepted and defeated with loss. The repeated attacks on the northern prince, who, in addition to the efforts made to repel his powerful foe from the south, was obliged to repress the revolt of some of the northern chieftains, were at last crowned with success. That object, which from the pertinacity with which it had been pursued, must have lain next his heart, was at length attained. The palace of Aileach was utterly demolished, and the insult offered thirteen years before at Killaloe, was wiped off by Mortogh. ⁽¹⁵⁾

Having satiated his vengeance, and imitated the conduct of his greatgrandfather Brian on a similar occasion, Mortogh marched into Ulidia, took its hostages, and made a triumphant circuit of the entire kingdom, within the space of six weeks, without receiving the slightest opposition. This progress, in which Mortogh most likely imitated that of his namesake the ancestor of Donald Macloghlin about a century and a half before, was called in after times "the circuitous hosting."

Whether the event about to be narrated occurred before or after the destruction of the royal palace of Aileach, is uncertain. But its importance deserves our notice. A synod was convened at Cashel, at which, as at Killaloe fifty years earlier, the laity as well as the clergy assisted, the latter headed by O'Dunan, their bishop. At this assembly Mortogh made a grant of Cashel to the clergy in general; being such, the annalists observe, "as no king had ever made before." It was a grant of the palace, "without any claim of layman or clergyman upon it, but the religious of Ireland in general."

The nature of this grant may be better understood if we bear in mind that, although the clergy had been exempted from liability to attend the princes of Ireland on royal hostings, and expeditions, and military service in general, three centuries before, by the monarch Aedh Oirdnighe, yet the obligation to pay cesses and contribute a

portion of their wealth, still continued, and was frequently enforced. That much severity was practised on these occasions there can be no doubt. The grant, therefore, by Mortogh of the royal residence, with its appurtenances, to the use of religious persons in general, was a gift of the highest importance. Pilgrimages to various places of reputation for sanctity were in those days common, and there are numerous instances of pious persons of all ranks from the ruler repenting of those crimes by means of which his power was often attained, to the humble subject seeking a better opportunity to prepare for another world; and to commune with his Maker, resorting to those places sacred to the memory, and inhabited by the successors of Patrick, Kieran, Kevin, Columba, and the other holy men by whom the Christian religion was introduced into the country and established. Although the various religious orders with their rulers had not yet appeared, communities of cœnobites existed at Ardmagh, Clonmacnoise, Glendaloch, Scattery, Roscrea, and a great many other places, to which pilgrims resorted, and in which they sometimes lived and died. For the support of these persons, as well as of the family, as it was termed, grants, such as this now made by Mortogh, were not uncommon. The Book of Kells contains some such, and particularly one made by a contemporary prince, Maelseachlin, son of Conchovar, or Conor O'Melaghlin, king of Meath.⁽¹⁶⁾ The concession of the royal residence itself, the seat of so many princes, the place in which the Apostle of Ireland preached the gospel to Aengus, king of Munster and his court, thenceforward to be devoted to the interests of religion, so far transcended similar gifts, as to deserve the distinction given to it by the annalists.

Mortogh had scarcely consummated his title to be deemed monarch of Ireland by the destruction of Aileach, and his subsequent triumphant progress, when an unexpected rival appeared in the person of Magnus, or Maghnus, king of Lochlan or Norway, who invaded the kingdom with a large fleet, and threatened to plunder the country, if not to restore the fallen power of his countrymen.

Mortogh, without delay, on hearing of this descent, levied an army, and marched to Dublin to encounter the invader. Instead of war, however, a peace ensued, as usual in those times, for only one year. In addition, a matrimonial alliance was agreed upon, and Sichfraid or Geoffrey, son of Maghnus, received in marriage, with a large dowry, a daughter of the monarch of Ireland. This is another instance of the readiness with which connexions of this nature were established between the Danes and the people of Ireland.^(16a)

War having broken out between the Cineleoghain and the Ulidians, Mortogh advanced with the troops of the southern half of Ireland, in the year 1103, to the aid of the latter. This led to the battle of Moycobha, in which a signal victory was gained by the northerns, who captured the royal tent, the standard, and many valuable jewels. Mortoghmores lost, besides, his brother Donogh, and several of his nobility in this campaign.

The feud which had subsisted between Mortogh O'Brien and his nephews, had not abated after the lapse of seventeen years. In 1107 the annalists state that Donald, son of Teige O'Brien, was fettered by Mortogh O'Brien at Athcliath (Dublin), but they add that he was released immediately.

The almost equally balanced authority of the two princes between whom the kingdom was now divided rendered an arrangement of the ecclesiastical divisions necessary. This occasioned the synod of Uisneach, in Westmeath, which was attended by Celsus (Ceallach), Bishop of Ardmagh, Maelduire O'Dunan who had been also at Cashel when that city was granted to the religious by Mortogh O'Brien, fifty other bishops, three hundred priests, and three thousand students, and by Mortogh O'Brien and the chiefs of Leathmogha. The Abbe Macgeoghegan states (ch. 14) that Gilbert, Bishop of Limerick, presided at this synod, that the number of bishops was reduced to twenty-four, with two archbishoprics, those of Ardmagh and Cashel, which had an equal number of suffragans, and that the jurisdiction of each bishop was prescribed by the synod.

Campaigns, productive of no results of importance between Mortogh and his northern rival, being rendered abortive by the interposition of the clergy, fill up the interval of the following few years. In 1114 it is recorded, that "a great fit of sickness attacked Muircertagh O'Brien, so that he became a living skeleton, and resigned his kingdom ; and Diarmid (his brother) assumed the kingdom of Munster after him, without permission." It may be safely presumed that the condition of Mortogh was not unknown to his foe. Relying on the inability of the southern leader to appear at the head of his forces as usual, his rival marched with his tributaries, Macmahon and the Ulidians, O'Loingsy and those of Dal-araidhe, O'Ruarc, and the men of Breifney, and Morrogh O'Melaghlin, and the men of Meath, by Athlone to Dunlo on the river Suck, where they were met by Torlogh O'Conor and the men of Connaught, and by Macloghlin's son Niall, with the chieftains and forces of the Cinel Conel. The entire force marched into Thomond to Tealach Deadhaidh (Tully O'Dea) among the Dalgais, when as usual one year's truce was made with the northerns, who, considering this an advantage gained, returned to their respective homes.

The assumption of the royal authority in Thomond by Dermot O'Brien, in consequence of the illness and resignation of Mortogh, was not pleasing to the latter, who, in the following year (1115), resumed his sovereignty, having taken Dermot prisoner. The monarch, who seemed to enjoy existence nowhere so much as at the head of an army, marched into Leinster and Bregia, in order, by the exhibition of his power, to shew he had not abandoned his kingdom. The forces of Munster, on this occasion, burned the great church of Ardbraaccan, with "its full of people," and many similar edifices throughout Bregia, but not without sustaining considerable loss in chieftains and men. Of the former are enumerated as slain on this expedition, Mortogh O'Ciarmaich (or Kerwick), lord of Aine, Donald O'Conor Kerry, and the lord of Muskerry, in the county of Cork. While Mortogh was engaged in ravaging the eastern part of the kingdom, his own territories of Thomond having been

left exposed, were invaded by Torlogh O'Connor, king of Connaught, who plundered the country as far as Limerick, and carried off spoils and prisoners. In this invasion of Thomond, Donald O'Brien son of Teige, who had been fettered but soon after freed by his uncle Mortogh, in the year 1107, lost his life in the defence of the country.

The year following (1116) again beheld the army of the king of Connaught in Thomond. Torlogh O'Connor, on this occasion, taking advantage of the condition of the Dalgais, whose prince was incapacitated by a long illness from appearing as he desired at the head of his troops, advanced without any resistance to Kincora, which he demolished, as well as the fort of Boromha, erected by Brian in the beginning of the previous century. A feeble resistance was offered at these places, and Torlogh took a considerable quantity of cattle and prisoners. The latter, however, he restored from motives of piety, offering them, according to the language of the annalists, "to God and to Flannan." The insult to the Dalgais, in the destruction of the royal palace, was attempted to be avenged by Dermot, brother of Mortogh O'Brien, who led an army into Connaught to Roveheagh, a fortress of the Connaughtmen; but after skirmishing with the people, a few of whom were slain, he was obliged to retreat with the loss of horses and provisions, and some of the troops, to facilitate their flight homewards, were even obliged to throw away their armour.

Ever since the battle of Clontarf, a connexion, which, indeed, had its origin before that event, had subsisted between the foreigners and the O'Briens. The princes of this house had been connected by marriage with those of the Danes, had taken part in their military operations, and been occasionally elected to command their forces. An instance of the sort occurred in the same year (1115), in which Torlogh O'Connor made his first campaign against Thomond, Donald O'Brien, son of Mortogh the monarch, having with the foreigners of Dublin gained a victory over the Leinster army, in which were slain Donogh (the father of the afterwards celebrated Dermot Macmorrogh), lord of Hy-Kinsella, and Conchovar or Conor O'Connor, lord of Hy-Failge

(Offaly), with his sons, and several others. The death of this Donald is noticed at the year 1135, where he is said to have been "lord of the foreigners, and previously of Leinster, and to have died in Lismore in the clerical habit, at an advanced age." He seems to have been raised to his position of lord of the Danes by his father, on the expulsion in 1094 of Godfrey Meranach, who came to the assistance of Donald Macloghlin in that year. He had retired from the world to Lismore in the year 1118, and the annals of Clonmacnoise record that Conor O'Brien (na Cathrach), his cousin-german, was elected king of the Danes, at Dublin, in the year 1133.

To return to the affairs of Thomond. The illness of the monarch Mortogh continued to exercise a depressing effect on the Dal-gais. Their territory was invaded in 1117 by the forces of Connaught, commanded by Brian, son of Morrogh O'Flaherty, and the son of Cathal O'Conor, and a battle was fought at Leacan, in the west of Thomond, wherein Torlogh, son of Dermod, and nephew to the monarch, making his first campaign was defeated. His father Dermod, leading a body of his troops against the men of Connaught, was obliged to retire before them. The Connaught army pursued their advantage, and a stand was at length made at Latteragh, in Ormond, the Munster army having received a reinforcement, but the southern troops, notwithstanding, were defeated with great loss.

We now arrive at the commencement of the decline of the power of the O'Briens, when the star of the O'Conors began to ascend. The year 1118 witnessed the death at Cork of Dermod O'Brien, styled king of Munster, and all Leath-moye. He was the half brother of Mortogh, and had succeeded to the rule of the Dalgais by the continued illness of the latter. His reign was so brief that very little is known or recorded of him, and he only serves to transmit to posterity the illustrious line of his greatgrandfather, the conqueror of Clontarf, his son Torlogh having eventually become king of the Dalgais.

On the death of Dermod being made known to Torlogh O'Conor, that prince, at the head of the army of Connaught,

joined by Morrogh O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, and by Aedh O'Rourke, with the forces of Breifney, marched to Glanmire, in the vicinity of Cork, and settled the affairs of Munster by giving Desmond to Macarthy, and Thomond to the sons of Dermot O'Brien, and carrying with him the hostages of both, in token of their submission and acknowledgment of his supremacy. On his return he marched to Kincora, and hurled it, "wood and stone," into the Shannon. He then proceeded to Dublin, and obtained the hostages of the Danes of that place, including among them a young prince Donald, son of Morrogh O'Melaghlin (who had accompanied him to Cork), and who had been a prisoner with the foreigners for some time. Torloagh completed the subjugation of Leath-moye (the southern half of Ireland) by numbering with the rest of his hostages and pledges those of Leinster and Ossory.

The decease of Dermot O'Brien was followed in a year by that of his brother Mortogh, who departed this life on the 11th of March, 1119. The character of this prince ranks high not only among the chroniclers of his own nation and time, but also among contemporary writers in England. Malmesbury says that he was held in such respect by the English monarch, Henry the First, that that prince frequently availed himself of the wisdom and advice of Mortogh. Nor were his talents in war less conspicuous than the wisdom of his councils. His reign appears, until his powers were subdued by disease, as one career of persevering energy, unnerved by defeat, and only stimulated by reverses to still greater efforts. We have seen that at his accession, his powerful rival Donald Macloghlin was possessed of so much authority over the rest of the kingdom, as to lead an army into his hereditary territory of Thomond, and raze to the ground his palace of Kincora, and carry away the hostages of the Dalgais in token of their subjection ; and that, neither subdued nor daunted, he advanced from step to step, frequently with reverses, until he repaid with interest the demolition of his palace, by razing to the ground the royal residence of Aileach, the very stones of which he brought back in token of the retribution he exacted. He may be

regarded as the last of the O'Briens who filled the throne of Ireland, and by the vigour of his mind and the renown of his achievements, he earned the not-unmerited title of More. His ashes repose in the cathedral of Killaloe, which since the gift of Cashel to the clergy, became thenceforward, until the arrival of the English, the residence of the descendants of Brian Boromha.

Mortoghmore O'Brien left three sons, Donald, nicknamed Gearlamhach (Shorthanded), Mahon, the ancestor of the Macmahons of Corcovaskin, in the west of Thomond, whose obit is given at 1120, and thirdly, Kennedy Oghar. Of the last two little is known, but the first, Donald, had been king of the Danes of Dublin, and also of Leinster for some time, until the year 1118, when he resigned the crown and retired to Lismore to pass a religious life, where, as already noticed, he died at an advanced age in 1135. Donald Gearlamhach left two sons, Conor and Ludhaigh, the latter of whom was killed in the battle of Moinmor in 1151, fighting in the army of his cousin Torlogh, son of Dermot O'Brien, then king of Thomond. The elder, Conor, after a life of great vicissitude and exertions to attain what he was undoubtedly entitled to by right of inheritance—the crown of his grandfather Mortoghmore—was, A.D. 1158, together with his son, deprived of sight by Torlogh; and being thus incapacitated from ruling according to the laws and usages in force, the succession continued in the family of Dermot, next brother of Mortoghmore by the half blood.

Dermot O'Brien, in whose family eventually the rule over the Dal-gais centred, left six sons—1. Conor na-Cathrach, nicknamed Slaparsallach (Spattered robe); 2. Torlogh; 3. Teige Gle; 4. Dermot Fionn; 5. Dermot Donn; 6. Donogh.

On the decease of both Mortoghmore and Dermot O'Brien, and the retirement from the world of Donald, son of the former of these princes, Conor na-Cathrach was proclaimed king of Munster in 1120. His brother Torlogh was at the same time elected king of Thomond, and Tanist of Munster. With a view to weaken the power of so formidable a rival as Conor O'Brien, Torlogh O'Conor sowed

dissension in his family, and set up Teige Gle as king of Thomond in opposition to Torlogh. Advancing into South Munster he plundered the territory between Ossory and Tralee, and in the next year, 1124, having constructed a fleet of boats on Loughderg, he conveyed these across the falls of the Shannon at Eas-danainne (Doonas), plundered the country of the Hy-Conaill at Faing (Foyne's Island), and captured the fleet of Desmond. Cormac Macarthy, then king of Desmond, having vainly endeavoured to oppose the progress of O'Connor, was defeated near Kilkenny, and his camp burned, when he was obliged to bend before the storm and take refuge with the monks of Lismore. In this posture of affairs Conor na-Cathrach O'Brien contrived means to reconcile the princes of his family, by giving to Torlogh the kingdom of Thomond, west of the Shannon, while the other brother was contented with the possession of Ormond. Having thus counteracted at home the designs of the king of Connaught, he proceeded in the same year (1127) to Lismore, and, with the concurrence of O'Sullivan, O'Donoghue, O'Mahony, O'Keeffe, O'Moriarty, and other chiefs of the Eugenian race, together with O'Faolan, lord of the Desies, he took Cormac from his cell, restored him to his kingdom, and dethroned his usurping brother Donogh, who had been set up by O'Connor, and forced him to fly into Connaught,⁽¹⁸⁾ along with two thousand of his adherents. O'Connor in revenge, and aware that the change in the affairs of Desmond was owing to the intervention of Conor O'Brien, launched the "great fleet" of Connaught upon Loughderg, and devastated the adjoining cantreds of Munster. The unusual spectacle was also seen of two fleets at sea contending for mastery—those of Connaught and Munster; but the issue was not long doubtful, the superiority in naval tactics of the sailors of the Umhals (west of Mayo) being universally acknowledged. Notwithstanding the reverse at sea, it appears, from a year's peace being concluded at the instance of Celsus, the bishop of Ardmagh, that the campaign was not discreditable to the king of Munster.

Notwithstanding the obligations conferred by Conor na-Cathrach on Cormac Macarthy, the old jealousy, so fatal

to the interests of both branches of the descendants of Olioll Olum broke out afresh, and the latter lent his aid to place Conor, son of Donald, son of Mortoghmore, on the throne of his ancestors. These two princes invaded Thomond in the year 1131 and ravaged it, while Conor na-Cathrach was, at the head of his army, engaged in taking the hostages of Leinster. The latter entered Meath, engaged the cavalry of Connaught, and defeated it. Some further advantages gained by the king of Munster, as Conor na-Cathrach claimed to be considered, had the effect of inducing a conference between him and Torlogh O'Conor, at which a peace, or rather suspension of hostilities for one year, was agreed on. This armistice, which took place in 1133, did not comprehend Cormac Macarthy, between whom and his former friend and deliverer, Conor na-Cathrach, hostilities still raged. In the progress of these, Donogh O'Brien, grandson of Morrogh of the Short Shield, with his son Diarmid, were killed in a night attack on the camp of Conor na-Cathrach by the forces of Cormac Macarthy. From the year (1134) in which this event happened, the war was prosecuted with various success ⁽¹⁹⁾ until 1137, when a new actor appears on the stage in the person of Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinster. This prince, who now began to make a figure, and who was afterwards celebrated for introducing the English into Ireland, gave his support to Conor O'Brien against Donogh Macarthy, and they besieged Waterford, having, in addition to a land force, a fleet of the Danes of Dublin and Wexford, amounting to two hundred sail. So imposing a force obliged Macarthy to submit, and he gave them the hostages of the Desies, and also of the Danes of Waterford. In return for the services thus rendered by Macmorrogh, Conor, who is styled on this occasion lord of Thomond and Ormond, gave hostages to the king of Leinster for defending Desmond for him from the incursions of the Macarthys. Thus was resigned deliberately by Conor all pretensions, for the time at least, not only to the crown of Ireland, which his ancestors claimed for more than a century, but even to the half sovereignty, that of Leath-mogha.

To such a pitch of animosity had the war which raged between the O'Briens and Macarthys now proceeded, that it became stained with the crime of assassination. In 1138 the Four Masters record the murder, by treachery, at his own residence in Cashel, of Cormac, the king-bishop, the founder of a church on the royal residence,⁽²⁰⁾ heretofore consecrated to religion by Mortoghmore O'Brien. The perpetrator of this combined murder and sacrilege was Torlogh, son of Dermot O'Brien, the brother of the ruler of the Dalgais, who in a few years succeeded to the crown of Thomond. It is stated that he was aided in the commission of the crime by the two sons of O'Conor of Kerry. By such means on the side of Thomond, we are informed that the Macarthys were expelled from Munster in the year 1139, by the race of Brian.

Conor O'Brien, thus left without a rival in Munster, turned his thoughts to the Danes of Dublin, with whom, and their ancestors, so many of his own had been allied. He led an army to Dublin in the year 1142, obtained the submission of the Danes, and was acknowledged as their king. That position had been recently filled by his cousin Donald, son of Mortoghmore, who had, about seven years before, died at Lismore in the clerical habit, and the rule of the foreigners was of the utmost importance to any prince about to advance pretensions to the crown of the kingdom. If these were the views of Conor, they were rendered vain by his decease, which followed within a year, at Killaloe. He is known in the genealogical table of the family of the O'Briens as Conor na-Cathrach (of the fort on Loughderg), and is styled supreme king of the two provinces of Munster, an extent of authority vastly more circumscribed than that acquired or enjoyed by any of his predecessors since the reign of his great ancestor Brian. For the sovereignty even of these he was indebted to the aid of Dermot Macmorrogh. He was succeeded on the throne of Munster by his next brother Torlogh, by whom the line of descent was prolonged.

Conor na-Cathrach married Sabia, or Sarah, daughter of Conor O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, and by her had Mortogh, the only son of whom any mention is made in the

annals. This prince became king of Thomond on the accession to the crown of Munster of his uncle, whom he supported against Teige Gle, king or prince of Ormond. Mortogh fell at the battle of Moinmor in 1151, and was succeeded as king of Thomond by his uncle Teige Gle. He left two sons, Conor and Torlogh, the former of whom, on the principality of East Munster becoming vacant by the accession of Teige Gle to the kingdom of Thomond, became prince of Ormond. On the death of Torlogh O'Brien, his grand-uncle, in 1167, Conor claimed the crown of Munster, as grandson and heir of Conor na-Cathrach. For this right he contended against Mortogh, eldest son of Torlogh, whom, aided by a band of conspirators, he slew, but was himself shortly after (A.D. 1168) put to death, together with seven sons of the chieftains who abetted him, by Dermot Fionn, the uncle of his victim. O'Faelain, prince of the Desies, instigated by Rury, or Roderick O'Conor, afterwards, monarch of Ireland, who was half-brother to Mortogh, lent his aid to the murder of Conor.

Conor, son of Mortogh, son of Conor na-Cathrach, had one son, Mortogh, who is said by the annalists to have been smothered in a snow-drift in the year 1181.

Torlogh, the brother of the foregoing Conor, and son of Mortogh, had a son, Mahon, or Mathew, who with Dermot, son of Teige Gle, was deprived of sight in 1175, by Donaldmore O'Brien, king of Munster, who thus rid himself of competitors for the thrones of either Thomond or Munster, and thus terminated the line of Conor na-Cathrach O'Brien.

CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1142-1172...Accession of Torlogh O'Brien...Confines his brother, Teige Gle...Deposition of Torlogh...Fatal battle of Moinmor...Chiefs of the Dalgais killed there.. Torlogh O'Conor divides Munster between the O'Briens and Macarthys...Synod of Kells...Elopement of Dervorghal, wife of Ternan O'Ruarc...Restoration of Torlogh O'Brien...Campaign of Mortogh Mac-loughlin...Teige Gle deprived of sight...Death of Torlogh O'Conor, and accession of Roderick ..Thomond invaded by Mortogh Mac-loughlin, and Torlogh O'Brien deposed...Division of Munster by Mac-loughlin...Altered by Roderick O'Conor...Deposition of Torlogh by his own son...His death and issue...Invasion of Ireland by the Anglo-Normans...Disregarded by the Irish princes...Arrival of Strongbow...His progress...Execution of the Leinster hostages...Defection of Donald O'Brien from Roderick ..Death of Dermot MacMorrogh...His character...Landing of Henry the Second.

ALTHOUGH Conor-na-Cathrach left issue at his decease capable of inheriting and filling the throne of Munster, yet so little value was ascribed to the claims of seniority or of inheritance in those times, of which we write, that his brother Torlogh became his successor in the kingdom of Munster, while his son Mortogh was obliged to content himself with that of Thomond, rendered vacant by the promotion of his uncle.

The first recorded act of Torlogh O'Brien after his accession was the banishment of Conor, son of Donald of Lismore, to Connaught. This prince was the grandson of Mortoghmores O'Brien, and his claim was prior to that of Torlogh himself. His cause was espoused by Torlogh O'Conor, king of Connaught, who was glad of an occasion for intervening in the affairs of Munster, and who accordingly made a progress into that province, but which failed of any result of importance. This aggression was punished shortly after in 1143 by Torlogh O'Brien, who marched into Connaught, and cut down the Ruaidh-Bheithigh⁽¹⁾ and demolished its stone fort, but returned, as his enemy

O'Connor did the previous year from Munster, without booty or hostages. The intervention of the clergy produced a cessation of hostilities, and the two princes met in 1144 at Terryglass, in Ormond, and subscribed to conditions of peace dictated by the clergy.

Notwithstanding these appearances, a hostile feeling pervaded the minds of the kings of Munster and Connaught. Teige Gle, who had been set up as king of Thomond some years before, in opposition to his eldest brother Torlogh, by the power of the king of Connaught, being detected in promoting the views of that prince, was made prisoner by Torlogh, and confined for two years ; but was, at the solicitation of the clergy, viz. of Malachy O'Morgair, Bishop of Ardmagh, Muireadhach O'Duffy, Bishop of Connaught (Tuam), and Donald O'Lonergain, Bishop of Cashel, restored to his principality of Ormond ; "for," adds the annalist, "he was taken prisoner while under their protection."

The enmity arising from rivalry between the kings of Munster and Connaught still subsisting, the former led an army, in the year 1149, into Connaught, and carried off a great spoil of cattle. In this campaign O'Brien demolished the castle or "dun" of Galway, in the river of which, called the Gaillimh, O'Loughlin, lord of Corcomroe, was drowned.

The next year, 1150, beheld Torlogh O'Brien at the head of an army in Meath, when he plundered Slane, notwithstanding the opposition of Ternan O'Ruarc, lord of Breifney, and of O'Carroll, lord of Oirghialla. In this campaign he marched to Dublin, when the Danes of that city submitted to him, and gave him hostages. In his absence Teige Gle, his brother, who had been, a few years before, imprisoned and afterwards discharged by Torlogh, plotted against him, and aided by the king of Connaught, succeeded in deposing him in the next year, 1151. Torlogh, who had so recently displayed the power of his arms in Meath and at Dublin, little dreaming of the reverse of fortune that awaited him, had in the course of this year gone into West Munster to oppose the Macarthys. Torlogh O'Connor, invited by Teige Gle, prince of Ormond, and joined by the forces of Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Lein-

ster, advanced into Munster, and ravaged the country until they reached Moinmor⁽²⁾ (the great bog). The confederated armies of Connaught and Leinster were here met, without his having received any previous intimation, by Torlogh at the head of the Dal-gais alone, the expedition on which he had set out being merely a predatory one. A battle ensued, the like of which had not been seen since the memorable day of Clontarf.

The Munster army was greatly inferior to that of the king of Connaught, who had the troops of the two provinces of Connaught and Leinster under his command, together with a contingent of that of Meath. The result was not long doubtful. The valour of the Dalgais was obliged to give way to superior numbers, and they left on the field seven thousand of their warriors, a proof of the severity of the contest, as well as of their courage. In a memoir of the house of O'Brien, it would be unpardonable to omit the mention of those families who lost relatives on that fatal day. And although seven centuries have passed away since the slaughter of Moinmor, it will be seen that the names of those who perished there still survive, and are borne by their descendants at the present day—a circumstance perhaps without parallel in the history of Europe. The Four Masters, transcribing the account from the book of Lecan, at the year 1151, state as follows :—

The following were the chieftains that were here slain :—Muircertagh, son of Conchovar O'Brien, the second best man of the Dalgais ; Lughaidh, son of Donald O'Brien ; two of the Hy-Kennedigh (O'Kennedys) ; eight of the Hy-Deaghaidh (O'Deas), with Flahertach O'Dea ; nine of the Hy-Seanchain (O'Shannons) ; five of the Hy-Cuinn (O'Quins) ; five of the Hy-Grada (O'Gradys), with Aneslis O'Grada ; twenty-four of the Hy-O'Gain (O'Hogans) ; four of the Ui-Aichir (O'Hehirs) ; the grandson of Eochaidh Ua-Loingsy (O'Lynch or Lynch) ; four of the Ui-Neill Buidhe (Yellow O'Neills) ; and five of the Ui-Eachthiarn (Ahearnes or O'Hearns) ; with numbers of good men besides them."

The annalist further states that there survived but one shattered battalion of the army. The losses on the side of the victors were considerable, but a few only of their chieftains are named. By this victory the chief sway over Munster fell, of course, to the king of Connaught; and we read before the close of the year, that Rury or Roderick O'Connor, his son, who afterwards succeeded his father as the last monarch of Ireland of Milesian descent, entered Thomond, and proceeded as far as Croom, which he burned, and returned with great spoils. Torlogh O'Brien, thus dethroned and defeated, attempted to procure shelter among the Danes of Limerick, but to no purpose. He accordingly retired into the north to await the turn of events, and carried with him, according to the Four Masters, many jewels and valuables to the number of sixty, besides the drinking horn or goblet of Brian Boromha, and one hundred and twenty ounces of gold, a large sum for those times, which he divided among the chieftains of the country which afforded him shelter.

Torlogh O'Connor thus become the disposer of the crown of Munster, entered that province in the next year (1152), and, dividing it into two parts, gave Desmond to Dermot, the son of Cormac Macarthy, and Thomond to Teige O'Brien. The Macarthys had been expelled more than twelve years previously from Munster by the O'Briens, but had maintained a sort of continual claim to the rule over Desmond. Their restoration by the aid of the king of Connaught gave some repose to Munster, which had suffered much as well in temporal as religious concerns, by the struggles of the contending dynasts. A general dearth was the consequence, followed by famine, and the people dispersed through the northern parts of the kingdom in quest of support, died in great numbers.

A century had passed since the holding of the synod of Killaloe under Donogh, son of Brian Boromha, and a similar condition of society in 1152, contributed to the convening of another assembly of the like nature at Drogheda in this year.⁽³⁾ The business transacted at this synod, which was convened by the successor of Patrick, and the

Bishops of Ireland, and at which Cardinal John Papiron, or Paparo, attended from the Pope, is thus mentioned by the Four Masters :—"They established some rules thereat, *i.e.* to put away concubines and lemans from men ; not to demand payment for anointing or baptising, (though it is not good not to give such if it were in a person's power) ; not to take simoniacal payment for church property ; and to take tithes punctually." The synod was attended by three thousand ecclesiastics.⁽⁴⁾ In this year also occurred the elopement of Dervorghal, the wife of Ternan O'Ruarc, which has been generally, although erroneously, considered the cause of the advent of the Anglo-Normans, an event which took place twenty years later. The husband had been attacked, defeated, and stript of Conmhaicne (Longford), a considerable portion of his territories, by Mortogh Macloughlin and Torlogh O'Conor, who affected to parcel out the adjoining provinces, before the wife had been carried away by Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinster ; and it is distinctly stated by the annalists, that he, Dermot, "took with her according to the advice of her brother Maeleachlin." The Four Masters state that she returned to her husband in the next year, but it is more likely that she retired into the abbey of Mellifont, where she died at the advanced age of eighty-five years, in 1193.⁽⁵⁾ Four years before the occurrence of the event to which her elopement is so romantically considered to have led, O'Ruarc agreed to receive one hundred ounces of gold, a sum equivalent to nearly four thousand pounds of the modern currency, as "*eineach*," compensation, or, in modern language, damages, for his supposed wrong, from Dermot Macmorrogh.

To return to the affairs of Thomond. Torlogh O'Brien, on his deposition by the king of Connaught, retired into the north, and claimed the protection and assistance of Mortogh O'Loughlin or Macloughlin, the powerful prince of Aileach. The northern, flattered by this appeal of the descendant of Brian, was not slow in acceding to the request, and, accompanied by Torlogh, promptly marched to the south. An inspection of a map of the kingdom, even

at the present day, will afford a good idea of the general plan of the campaign which ensued, and of the positions of the respective leaders. The northern troops took post at Craeveteine (Creeve, in the parish of Ardnurcher, county of Westmeath). Torlogh O'Connor, with the army of Connaught, had already entered the territory, and was not far distant from the place occupied by the northern army. Teige O'Brien, summoned by his allies, the princes of Connaught, to join in the campaign on the issue of which his usurped power was to depend, had arrived at Rahan, not far from the present town of Tullamore. To prevent the junction of the troops of Thomond with those of the king of Connaught, Macloughlin marched at once with two battalions of the flower of his army, gave battle to Teige at his encampment, and defeated him with slaughter. He then returned to his own camp at Creeve, and set out to attack the Connaught army. On his march he encountered Roderick, son of Torlogh O'Connor, (afterwards monarch of Ireland), who at the head of the battalion of West Connaught, and the newly-raised levies of the Silmurrey, (O'Conors), was advancing to support his father. This prince was pitching his camp at Fordrum, in the direct route of the northern army, when he was suddenly attacked by Macloughlin, and defeated with great slaughter. The king of Connaught, on hearing of the defeat of his son, retreated to Athlone, and withdrew across the Shannon. The northern prince then marched to Lough Ennell, the accustomed residence of the princes of Meath, and received the submission of O'Melaghlin (son of the lately deceased ruler Morrogh), to whom he gave all Meath, from the Shannon to the sea, with the additional territories of Ui-faolain and Hy-failge (Offaly). To Tiernan O'Rourk he gave back Breifney and Connhaicne (Leitrim and Longford), taking as usual their hostages. The troops of Munster, after the defeat of Teige O'Brien, having joined the standard of the liberating army of the north, were billeted by Macloughlin on the men of the following territories, viz., Meath, Breifney, (Leitrim and Cavan), Airghialla (Monaghan), Ulidia (Down), Tirconnell and Tirowen (Donegal and Tyrone);

for Torlogh O'Brien was disabled by illness from returning to Munster. On the return of Teige O'Brien into Thomond after his defeat by Macloughlin, he was seized by his brother Dermot Finn, and deprived of sight, a barbarous infliction, of which he died in the next year (1154), having enjoyed but for a brief period the fruits of his treason. His brother Torlogh, thus restored to his rightful power by the aid of the northern prince, on recovering his health returned into Munster to share a divided authority with the Macarthys, who had for some time been settled on the throne of Desmond.

Three years after the restoration of Torlogh O'Brien to the rule over half of Munster, his persevering enemy Torlogh O'Connor died, and was succeeded by his son Roderick, the last of the monarchs of Ireland of the race of Milesius. To the new ruler of Connaught, the prince of Thomond made his submission, and left with him twelve of the principal men of the Dalgais as hostages. This step on the part of Torlogh O'Brien could be considered by Mortogh Macloughlin, his benefactor, in no other light than as a disclaimer of his authority, and it accordingly drew down the vengeance of that powerful prince, who in the same year (1156) in which these events occurred, accompanied by Dermot Macmorrogh, and the troops of Leinster, marched into Desmond and obtained the submission of the Macarthys. Turning northwards, he laid siege to Limerick, then chiefly inhabited by Danes, who were obliged to submit, and even to drive out Torlogh O'Brien, who had taken shelter among them. He expelled the Dalgais from Thomond, and having the entire of Munster at his disposal, he divided it between Dermot, the son of Cormac Macarthy, the murdered king-bishop of Cashel, and Conor, the son of Donald O'Brien, who had been treacherously made prisoner by Dermot Macmorrogh four years previously, but released from captivity at the instance of Macloughlin. This Conor, whose father retired into Lismore, where he died in 1135, was the senior descendant and true heir of Mortoghmores O'Brien, and Macloughlin, in substituting him for Torlogh, his father's first cousin, only restored the right line of succession.

The northern prince had scarcely reached his palace of Aileach, when Roderick O'Connor entered Munster, overturned all Macloughlin's arrangements, and restored the deposed prince of Thomond, Torlogh O'Brien. No sooner had this barbarous prince been restored than he put out the eyes of his predecessor and near kinsman, Conor, and also those of his son, to disable them, by the disqualification, from ever again giving him any trouble by the superiority of their pretensions. This cruel deed was perpetrated against the protection of the clergy and laity of the province, who guaranteed the safety of Conor, and deprived Torlogh himself of any sympathy, when, seven years later, he was dethroned by his son, Mortogh, and banished into Leinster. The deposition of the father by his son Mortogh, which occurred in the year 1165, was followed by the death of the former in 1167, when Mortogh was acknowledged successor to his father. His reign was, however, brief, having been slain in the next year by his kinsman, Conor, son of Mortogh, son of Conor na-Cathrach, aided by a band of conspirators. Neither Conor nor his associates in crime long survived this act, having been shortly after put to death by Dermot Fionn, brother to his grandfather, aided by O'Faelain, prince of the Desies, both set on by Roderick O'Connor, king of Connaught, half brother of the murdered Mortogh.

By Ragnailt, daughter of O'Fogarty, prince of the southern Ely, Torlogh O'Brien had issue five sons. 1. Mortogh already noticed. 2. Donaldmore, afterwards king of Munster. 3. Brian na-Sleive, who became king or prince of Ormond in 1168 on the death of Conor, grandson of Conor na-Cathrach, and who was blinded by Donaldmore, his brother. 4. Dermot, of whom the annalists are silent; and 5. Constantine or Consadin, Bishop of Killaloe, who attended the third general council of the Lateran in 1179, and from whom the family of Considine is descended.

The year 1169 saw the arrival in Ireland of the advanced guard of the Anglo-Norman invaders, who were destined to overturn the Milesian dynasty of the kingdom. The first draft of these strangers is thus described by the

Four Masters :—"The fleet of the Flemings came from England with the army of Dermot Macmorrogh, to contend for the kingdom of Leinster for him ; they were sixty heroes, clad in armour." The annalists continue to relate that Roderick, the monarch,⁽⁶⁾ at the head of an army, with O'Ruarc, O'Melaghlin, and the Danes of Dublin, advanced to meet the invaders, that they "thought nothing of the Flemings," and that Dermot Macmorrogh gave his son to O'Conor, as an hostage for the maintenance of peace.

This narrative bears on the face of it a great likeness to truth. It is not probable that the Irish princes ever entertained the least idea of the objects contemplated by Henry the Second, or considered the facility with which a descent might be made, and a position secured in the country matters of any real moment. The seaports were for a long time in the possession of foreigners, from whom they had nothing to fear, whose powers had been for a century and a half on the decline, and which could not, they thought, be materially increased by the advent of a few ships with their crews, and a handful of soldiers. Besides, the Irish monarch, with his provincials, had, only two years before, encountered and defeated an invasion of foreigners, with the loss to them of the royal heir of the Welsh prince, Ap-Griffith, and had received hostages and obligations of fidelity from Dermot. And it appears not unnatural that Roderick should, on the present occasion, be satisfied with the additional security given by Dermot, in handing over his only son to the keeping of the former in proof of the sincerity of his conduct, and of his pacific intentions.

If Roderick had any ideas such as we are describing, they were speedily dissipated by the arrival of Richard, son of Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke and Strigul, commonly nicknamed Strongbow, or *De arcu forti*, who came "with many knights and archers" to restore Dermot, and re-establish him on the throne of Leinster. The progress of the invaders was rapid and successful. The Four Masters state, that they took Lochgarman (Wexford), and entered Portlairge (Waterford) by storm. The officer in command of the tower, Gillemaire, a Dane, Ua-Faelain (O'Phelan),

lord of the Decies, and his son, were put to the sword, with seven hundred men. The victorious Normans next proceeded to Dublin and compelled the Danish occupants of that city to submit; and being thus beforehand with Roderick, that prince, who had, on hearing of the arrival of the strangers, levied a force in conjunction with O'Ruarc and O'Carroll, and marched into the Danish territory, was obliged, after a siege of three days, to retire from Dublin. The Danish ruler of that city, Asgall, as he is called by the Irish annalists, or Asculphus, as Cambrensis terms him, was deposed by Dermot, who assumed authority over the foreigners. He proceeded with his auxiliaries shortly after into Meath and Breifny, and they plundered Clonard, and burned Kells, Killtailten, Dowth, Slaine, Tuilen, Killscire, Castlekieran, and other places, and returned to their camp in the neighbourhood of Dublin with prisoners and spoils. Roderick, incensed at the proceedings of the king of Leinster, did not hesitate to sacrifice to his resentment the hostages which the latter had some time before given him, and the unfortunate prince, Conor, only legitimate son of Dermot Macmorrogh, with his grandson, the son of Donald Kaevanagh, and O'Ceallaighe, the son of his foster brother, were all deprived of life at Athlone. A similar fate awaited the hostages of East Meath, who were put to death by O'Ruarc on the defection and flight to Dermot of Donald Breaghach, the prince of that district. In the meantime, Waterford having been left slenderly guarded, was attacked by Macarthy with the troops of Desmond, and a victory gained, but productive of no great advantage.

The part acted on the arrival of the English by Donald O'Brien, king of Thomond, did not reflect credit on the O'Briens and their followers. Instead of strengthening the hands of the monarch of Ireland, by giving him the assistance which the emergency demanded, and following the example of the illustrious hero and patriot whose name they bore, the Dalgais and their prince turned against Roderick. To punish them for this defection, the monarch launched a fleet on the Shannon, and invaded Thomond, directing the advance, at the same time, of an army from West Connaught

upon that province, and of the Hy-Many upon the eastern province of Munster. The Hy-Manians on this occasion plundered Ormond, and destroyed the wooden bridge of Killaloe. With these operations the year 1170 closed.

The demise of Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinster, the author of a great portion of his country's miseries, occurred in the early part of the following year. This prince's obit is mentioned in the following terms by the Four Masters :—"Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinster, by whom a trembling sod was made of all Ireland—after having brought over the Saxons—after having done extensive injuries to the Irish—after having plundered and burnt many churches, such as Kells, Clonard, and others, died before the end of a year, (after his ravages through Meath), of an insufferable and unknown disease, for he became putrid while still living, through the miraculous power of God, Columbkille and Finneen, and the other saints of Ireland, whose churches he had violated and burned some time previously, and he died at Ferna-mor without making a will, without repentance, without the body of Christ, without being anointed, as his evil conduct merited." These particulars of the last moments of Dermot are supported by the additional testimony of the annals of Clonmacnoise, but it is only just to state that in a manuscript catalogue of the kings of Leinster, preserved in the library of the University of Dublin,⁽⁷⁾ he is said to have "died at Ferns after the victory of unction and penance." His appearance and character are thus summed up by his contemporary Gerald Barry, who had the advantage of personal observation and knowledge, and who, in the description he gives of Dermot, appears entitled to credit :—

"Dermot was a man of lofty stature and of large person. He was warlike and spirited in his own nation. From frequent and continuous use of the military shout, his voice was harsh and coarse. Preferring to be feared rather than loved, he was the oppressor of the nobles and the supporter of the poor. A terror to his own people, he was hated by strangers ; his hand was raised against every man, and every man's against him."

By the decease of Dermot without male legitimate issue, Strongbow, who had married his daughter Eva, soon after his landing in Ireland, became in right of her, according to the doctrine of the feudal law, of which this was the first application in this kingdom, sole heir to the territories over which the deceased prince claimed sovereignty.

The description of Ireland, "a trembling sod," given by the Four Masters, was fully borne out by the state of the kingdom after the death of Dermot. From north to south war blazed out. The princes of the north, unacquainted with or regardless of the events in the south and east of the kingdom, were employed in turning their arms against each other, and asserting their petty dignities. In the west, the defection of Donald O'Brien was punished by the incursions of the Hy-Many (the immediate tributaries of the monarch Roderick) into Ormond, and seven predatory expeditions are recorded to have been made by that people into the territories of O'Brien, in the fortnight which intervened between Palm Sunday and Low Sunday of the year 1171. In the east of the kingdom, where the new-comers were exerting themselves to hold their ground, the Danes afforded them considerable occupation ; and on the occasion of a plundering excursion to Duleek by the knights of Milo Cogan, some of these were slaughtered by the pious valour of the Danes, who thus revenged the insult offered by the English to Cianan, the patron saint of Duleek. In the meantime, Asgall, or Asculphus, who had been obliged to withdraw the year before from Dublin, unable to resist the advance of Dermot and his English auxiliaries, returned this year with reinforcements procured from the Danes of Man and the Hebrides, and gave battle to Milo Cogan, in which the former was, after a short resistance, defeated and slain, together with the leader of his auxiliaries.⁽⁸⁾

No resistance to the progress of the English being offered from the southern portion of the kingdom (Leath-mogha), Roderick was obliged to collect the troops of so much of the northern division of the island as owned his authority. Accordingly, with Tiernan O'Ruarc and O'Carroll of Oirghialla, he marched to give battle to the Earl,

(Strongbow) and Milo Cogan, and to besiege Dublin. The hostile armies were occupied in occasional skirmishes which led to no result, for the space of a fortnight, when Roderick determined to cut off the supplies of the English by destroying and burning the standing corn of the Leinstermen, on which his enemies had calculated for subsistence during the winter and following spring. With this view he entered the cultivated district of Leinster, at the head of the cavalry of Breifny and Oirghialla, leaving his camp slenderly guarded by the infantry and a few of the cavalry. This was the moment of victory to the English. Strongbow and Cogan, apprised of the departure of Roderick, with a great portion of the army, assaulted the Irish camp, slew its defenders who were unprepared for the attack, and carried off a great booty in "provisions, armour and horses." Regan, a contemporary writer, states that the supplies thus obtained were so abundant that they sufficed to victual the city of Dublin for one year. A second army was conducted by O'Ruarc, composed of the men of Breifny and Oirghialla, to Dublin, to repair the previous disaster, when he was defeated with great loss by Cogan, and his son Aedh (Hugh), Tanist of Breifny, slain. Success attended on all sides the efforts of Henry's commanders; and that politic prince, now assured from the reports of his officers that the acquisition of the country was of easy attainment, and deeming that the time had come to reap the fruits of their victories, determined on visiting in person a land, the conquest of which had long been an object of his ambition. With a fleet of two hundred and forty ships he set sail, and on the 18th of October, 1172, landed safely at Crook, in the present county of Waterford.

CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1172-1194...Submission of the Irish princes to Henry...He proceeds to Cashel...Submission of Donald O'Brien...Synod of Cashel—The five bloods...Dublin granted to the citizens of Bristol...Arrangements of Henry...His departure...Death of Tiernan O'Ruarc...Defeat of the English at Thurles by Donald O'Brien...Siege and capture of Limerick by Raymond le Gros...Submission of Roderick O'Conor, and treaty of Windsor...Irish view of it...Cruelty of Donald O'Brien...Driven out of Thomond by Roderick O'Conor...Raymond le Gros in Kerry—Death of Strongbow...Burning of Limerick by Donald O'Brien...William Fitzadelm de Burgo appointed to succeed Strongbow...Arrival of Cardinal Vivian...Rebellion of the son of Roderick...His punishment...Settlement of the Anglo-Normans in the south and west of Ireland...Resistance of Donald O'Brien and the Dal-gais...Repulse of the English from Thomond...Erection of the castles of Lismore, Tibroghney, Ardfinnan, Kilfeacle, and Knockgraffon—Death of Donaldmore O'Brien.

As soon as the arrival of Henry became known to the neighbouring Irish chieftains, and that he was at the head of an army which it would be impolitic, if not dangerous, to resist, a general submission on their part became a matter of necessity. And the sooner this was testified, the more gratifying it would be to the pride of that monarch, and the more advantageous to the Irish princes themselves. Accordingly they lost no time in waiting on Henry, who had fixed his quarters in the castle of Waterford, so recently the scene of Strongbow's nuptials with Eva, and which, with the whole city, had been formally surrendered by that nobleman to his liege lord, on his landing from England.

Foremost among the Irish princes in his submission, as indeed he happened to be the nearest to the residence of the monarch, was Dermot Macarthy, the prince of Desmond. This toparch surrendered to Henry the city of Cork, did homage to the king, and consented to pay the usual tribute and services, on condition of being permitted

to enjoy the rest of his territory without further molestation. Henry, having despatched a garrison to the ceded city, advanced to Lismore, so long famous as the retreat of learning and sanctity, and after a survey of the neighbourhood, gave orders to erect a fortress for the security of his recent acquisition, which might afford the means of keeping in awe the turbulent natives, whose allegiance could not be calculated on for a longer period than there existed the power to compel it. Crossing the mountainous region which separated the valley of the Awenmore (Blackwater) from the level plain of Tipperary, he arrived at Cashel, the residence of Donald O'Lonergain, the archbishop of Munster, and had an interview with that prelate, in which he assured him of gracious intentions towards the church, and the interests of the clergy, and the religious in general. The news of the arrival of the monarch in the ancient capital of Munster, that city so long the residence of the rulers of Leathmogha, the southern half of Ireland, spread with extraordinary quickness. Donogh MacGillaphadrig, prince of Ossory, and O'Faolain of the Desies, severally waited on the son of the Empress to make their submissions, and to be admitted to his protection ; and Donald O'Brien, who had a short time before asserted his independence of Roderick O'Connor, and evinced a disposition to ally himself with the English, did not think it prudent to remain behind. An additional reason for his repairing to Henry, and joining the other Irish princes in their voluntary submission, might be found in the fact of his having previously formed an alliance ⁽¹⁾ with Dermot Macmorrogh, through whose influence an English force was despatched to aid Donald, when the forces of Roderick invaded Thomond to punish the defection of the Dalgais. The king of Thomond, accordingly, we are informed, advanced with a numerous retinue to the banks of the Suir, and before Henry's return to Waterford, surrendered the city of Limerick, and did homage, undertaking to pay tribute to Henry as to his sovereign lord. That in so doing he was only going with the tide, and awaiting a favourable opportunity of resuming his independence, is clear enough from his subsequent

history. At all events the authority with which he was invested as leader of the Dalgais, did not confer on him the powers necessary to transfer the allegiance of his people to a stranger unconnected with the country by blood or language. And it is not to be wondered at that the Dalgais, whose princes, like those of the rest of the kingdom, were elected with limited powers, and whose territory was to be the subject of a new partition on the death of each chief, should not have deemed themselves bound to a perpetual dependence on the crown or realm of England, merely because their king went through the form of an investiture which had been introduced into England itself little more than a century, the import of which was unintelligible to them. Henry having received the homage of several of the Irish princes of the southern part of the kingdom, and anxious to take such measures as might be calculated to obtain the approbation of the Holy See, his relations with which, in consequence of the murder of Becket, were on a precarious footing, assembled a synod of the clergy at Cashel. Christian O'Conarchy, bishop of Lismore, who held the commission of legate from the pope, presided. Various rules were adopted for the regulation of affairs concerning the discipline of the church, and the enforcement of morality among both clergy and laity. And the payment of tithes, so strenuously enforced at the instance of Cardinal Paparo, at the synod of Kells, twenty years before, was again solemnly enjoined. The distribution of personal property, which still in cases of intestacy subsists as a part of the common law, was here shadowed forth, and the concluding regulation of this assembly was one which enjoined a conformity of the church of Ireland with that of England, in usages, rites, and ceremonies, the particular diocese selected for a model, being that of Salisbury.⁽²⁾

The proceedings of the synod of Cashel are on record, and therefore entitled to credit. Other acts of the monarch do not appear to possess equal authenticity, such as the promulgation and acceptance of the laws of England, which, according to Mathew Paris, were offered at a council or synod held at Lismore, and gratefully, and under the

sanction of an oath, accepted by all the Irish. So far from this being the case, and so unfounded is the idea of a general promulgation of the common law among the Irish people, that the very contrary is evident from the regulations adopted at Cashel respecting the immunity of the church and clergy, which provide that they should be free from the cesses, coigny and livery, demandable by the Irish princes, as well as from the contributions for homicides, or the *erics* which were leviable on the lands of the relatives of the slayer. The laws theretofore in force among the Irish people were no farther interfered with than as concerned the clergy. The benefits of English law, even at a later period than the sojourn of Henry in Ireland, were conferred as a favour, and enjoyed only by a select few, who were described as of the five bloods ; “quinque sanguines qui gaudent lege Anglicana quoad brevia portanda.” These were, O’Neil of Ulster, O’Conor of Connaught, O’Brien of Thomond, O’Melaghlin of Meath, and Macmorrogh of Leinster. We need go no farther with the argument than to quote the words of the most conclusive authority on the subject, Sir John Davies, the Attorney-General of king James the First, who, speaking of the Irish princes, observes :—

“They governed their people by the Brehon law ; they made their own magistrates and officers ; they pardoned and punished all malefactors within their several countries ; they made war and peace one with another without controlment ; and this they did not only during the reign of Henry the Second, but afterwards in all times, even until the reign of Queen Elizabeth.” Fortunate alike would it have been for the people of Ireland and England had the English monarch been able to confer, on his arrival in this country, the blessing of those laws, for which the Irish afterwards so often and so vainly craved. These would not have been plundered and preyed on by their own rapacious chiefs, the sport of a barbarous system of policy and laws, under which life was not protected, nor property capable of being acquired ; nor would the world have beheld, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the humiliating spectacle

which the nominal union of Ireland with England presents—a union accomplished by corruption—not acquiesced in by the people, the country, the sport of English factions, the field on which to fight the battles of their parties, handed over from one oligarchical combination to another, instead of being united by bonds of mutual interest, in the enjoyment of common blessings appreciable by all, and calculated to reach the hearts, and nerve the hands and arms, of those who would then feel an interest in their maintenance.

Henry, after his conference with the clergy at Cashel, directed his course in the next place to Dublin. The Danes, having submitted to the English monarch, were invested with the rights and privileges of the subjects of England; and as that city was so favourably situated with respect to the northern and southern parts of the island, besides its other advantages, Henry was anxious to plant it with a colony of his English subjects, removing the Ostmen to some situation more in accordance with his views. He accordingly, by a charter which is on record,⁽³⁾ conferred Dublin on the inhabitants of Bristol, to be held of him and his heirs in as full and ample a manner, and with the same free customs and liberties as they enjoyed in the latter city; while, by another charter, he confirmed to the Ostmen, whom he removed to Waterford, the rights and immunities of Englishmen, and all the privileges of free subjects. Having made such other arrangements as necessity required to secure his conquests, he turned his attention next to selecting those officers who were to be placed over the towns and cities already ceded by the English settlers, or surrendered by the native princes. To the government and safe keeping of Waterford, he appointed three of his barons, Humphrey de Bohun, Robert Fitz-Bernard, and Hugh de Gundville, with a train of twenty knights. Wexford was committed to the charge of William Fitz-Adelm (ancestor of the Burkes), Philip of Hastings, and Philip de Braosa, or Philip of Worcester (Unserra), as the Four Masters term him, with a similar retinue as in Waterford. Meath was granted to Hugh de Lacy, to be

held of Henry and his heirs in as full and ample a manner as it was possessed by the last independent prince of the Irish race, Morrogh O'Melaghlin; and annexed to it was the government of Dublin. As the care of his newly-acquired territory might be naturally expected to occupy a great part of De Lacy's time, Robert Fitz Stephen and Maurice Fitzgerald were assigned to him as assistants, in the charge of the city and adjacent territory of Dublin, and John De Courcy's passion for war was gratified by having conferred on him a roving commission, authorising him to push his conquests in the northern part of the island, and granting him the entire province of Ulster, on the previous condition of winning it by his sword. Over all was placed, in little more than a nominal authority, the real conqueror of those parts of the island which owned the sway of the English monarch, Richard, Earl of Strigul (Strongbow), to whom Henry felt sentiments of jealousy sufficiently evidenced by the appointments already noticed. His affairs being thus arranged, Henry bade farewell to Ireland, and embarked at Wexford on the feast of Easter 1173 for England, arriving a few days after in Pembrokeshire, on his way to meet the Cardinals deputed by the Pope, to make inquiry into the circumstances attending the murder of Becket, and whose summons to appear before them the king had received while in Ireland.

The hostility of the native Irish to the English adventurers, which had been suppressed but was still smouldering while Henry remained among them, burst forth soon after his departure. De Lacy, who proceeded to parcel out his grant of Meath among his retainers, and make such dispositions as were necessary to secure his acquisition, encountered the opposition of Tiernan O'Ruarc, the prince of Breifney, on whom Roderick had, some time before the arrival of the English, conferred the eastern part of that province. This prince, whose violent temper was ill-calculated to endure the spectacle of an English settlement established in his territory without his permission, and in disregard of his rights, repaired to Dublin to demand redress from De Lacy for the violation of his territory. The interview was,

as might be expected, unsatisfactory, and a further conference was appointed to be held at Athboy,⁽⁴⁾ where the pretensions of both parties, the Irish and English, might be discussed and settled. On the appointed day O'Ruarc and De Lacy came to the place agreed on, attended by the armed followers of each. Maurice Fitzgerald accompanied de Lacy on the occasion. Leland,⁽⁵⁾ in his account of the interview, citing the English historians, says that the night before the conference, Griffith, nephew of Maurice Fitzgerald, dreamed that he saw a number of wild boars attack his uncle and De Lacy, and that one greater than the rest would have destroyed them, had he not stepped forward and killed the monster, and on this account dissuaded them from attending the conference, and exposing themselves to danger. It is added that De Lacy treated the dream as idle, and, disregarding the young man's fears as superstitious, persisted in going to the meeting. That Griffith, nevertheless, was so possessed with its reality, that he chose seven of the bravest of the attendants to be in readiness when called on to act. That O'Ruarc, after a time, pretending a necessity to retire from the presence of Fitzgerald and the other, privately made a signal to his followers, who rushed up the hill, and attacked the English at the instance of their chief, who, while assailing De Lacy with his battle-axe, was himself slain by Griffith. Leland observes, with the sagacity of an historian, that the circumstance of the dream, and the minuteness with which the transaction is related, are calculated to create suspicions that the English party were the aggressors, and that the narrative was framed to throw the blame on the Irish. Had the learned and impartial writer the advantage possessed by his successors of the present day, in the publication of the works of the ancient annalists, he would have found ample corroboration in the fact of a relative of O'Ruarc's being one of his murderers, instigated thereto by the English. The entry of the Four Masters, describing the death of O'Ruarc, is as follows :—⁽⁶⁾

“Tiernan O'Ruarc, lord of Breifny and Conmhaicne (Leitrim and Longford), a man of great power for a long

time, was treacherously slain at Tlachtga by Hugo De Lacy and Donald, the son of Annadh O'Ruarc, *one of his own tribe.*" That the English adopted thus early the maxim of government which had become the rule of their policy down to our own times, is obvious from another entry in the annals of the same year (1172), in which we find the same son of Annadh O'Ruarc joined with the English in "*treacherously*" plundering the inhabitants of Annaly, who were the subjects of the slaughtered prince Tiernan.

The murder of O'Ruarc, and of Donald O'Farrell, one of his tributary chieftains of Annaly, about the same time, shewed the Irish natives what they had to expect from the new settlers. The necessities of Henry having obliged him to withdraw the garrison of Cork, that city was taken possession of by Macarthy, while Donald O'Brien followed his example in dispossessing the English of Limerick. The whole of Munster was in full revolt against English authority, and threatened to shake off the yoke, when Strongbow, alarmed for the safety of the interests confided to his charge, and dreading that the flame might extend to his own territories in Leinster, determined to bring the whole of his force to bear on the insurgents, and by the severity of his chastisement, to strike terror into those who might be preparing to follow their example.

With this view he summoned to his assistance the Danes of Dublin, and at the head of the united armies marched towards Munster. The operations of the English commander were perfectly known to the Irish chieftains. Roderick O'Connor advanced into Ormond to oppose the march of the English into Munster, and Donald O'Brien, at the head of the Dal-gais, approached to Thurles, through which the route of Strongbow lay. The English army were immediately set on by the Dal-gais, and after a severe resistance, defeated with great loss. The accounts which have been handed down to us of this action are conflicting; but they are all agreed as to the Irish having gained a victory. Giraldus Cambrensis, who is followed by the later English historians, states, that Strongbow sent to Dublin for a reinforcement from the Danish garrison; that these

soldiers, on having reached Ossory, encamped for the night, and were suddenly, at day-break, attacked by O'Brien and the Dal-gais while sleeping in their tents, and four hundred of them slain. The account of the battle in the annals of Ulster under the year 1174, is extremely brief, merely stating, without saying to what side the victory fell, that a battle was fought by Donald O'Brien and Conor Moinmoy, against the people of the son of the Empress. The annals of Inisfallen of older date, as well as those known by the name of the Dublin edition, agree in stating that a victory was gained by the Irish, and concur in the amount of the loss to the English. The translation of the entry in the latter work is as follows :—

“A.D. 1174. A great army was led by the Earl of Strigul to plunder Munster; and he sent messengers to Dublin desiring all the Galls left there to join him; and a battalion of knights, officers, and soldiers, well armed, came to him, and they all marched to Durlas O'Fogarty (Thurles). But Donald More O'Brien there defeated the earl and the knights, and slew four of the knights and seven hundred of their men. When that news came to the hearing of the people of Waterford, they killed the two hundred that were guarding the town. Then the earl went on an island that was near the town, and remained there for a month, and then went back again to Dublin.”

The account given by the Four Masters of this affair will conclude our extracts. Under the year 1174 they state as follows :—

“The earl led an army to plunder Munster; Roderick marched with another army to defend it. When the English heard of Roderick's arrival in Munster for the purpose of giving them battle, they solicited to their aid the Galls (Danes) of Dublin; and these made no stay until they reached Thurles. Thither came Donald O'Brien and the Dal-gais, the battalion of West Connaught, the great battalion of the Sil-Murrey, besides a considerable body of troops left behind by the king Roderick. A determined engagement was fought between the English and Irish at this place, in which the English were eventually beaten by

dint of fighting ; seventeen hundred of the English were slain in this battle, and only a few of them survived the engagement along with the earl. He returned in sorrow to his house in Waterford, and O'Brien proceeded home in triumph."

Notwithstanding the general accuracy of the Four Masters, and the adoption of their statement of the English loss by the Abbé Macgeoghegan in his account of the battle of Thurles, it is probable that seven hundred, according to the annals of Inisfallen, was the true number. The addition of four Irish letters, "*decc*" (ten), to the manuscript, would have magnified the loss to seventeen hundred, and proportionally enhanced the victory of their adversaries, and may have been owing more to a mistaken notion of patriotism, than to a mere error of transcription.

It was, however, a decided victory. Being the first regular encounter in which the Irish measured their strength with the invaders, it mightily increased the reputation of O'Brien, and served as a signal to the oppressed natives to rise up in arms against their masters. Several of the chieftains, who had made their submission to Henry, now disclaimed their engagements, and to such an extent did the defection reach, that Donald Kaevanagh, natural son of Dermot Macmorrogh, who had constantly sided with the English, now declared against them, and asserted his title to the dominions of his deceased father. Roderick O'Connor also used his utmost exertions to rouse the northern princes to the support of their country's cause, and a general combination of the Irish being apprehended, Strongbow was driven to humble himself by appealing for support in his emergency to Raymond le Gros, whose suit for the hand of his sister Basilia, the Earl had somewhat contemptuously, a little time before, rejected.

Raymond thus appealed to, his pride flattered at the prospect of being viewed as the deliverer of his countrymen, and the feeling of love (for we are told that the heart of this rude soldier had been touched) being excited, made no difficulty in complying with the Earl's request. He returned from Wales, whither he had retired on the rejection

of his suit for the sister of Strongbow, and after solemnising his union with that lady, marched to Dublin to repel an incursion of the Connaught troops, which had passed the Shannon, and were devastating Meath. The advance of Raymond and the Earl checked the further progress of the Irish ; and Strongbow, having returned to Dublin, Raymond proceeded to Limerick, now in possession of its former king, Donald O'Brien, and laid siege to it. Here he found the bridges broken, the garrison deeming the rapidity of the stream a sufficient security against the approach of an enemy. A few attempts to ford the river being unattended with the success he expected, Raymond dashed across, and being followed by the main body of his troops, thus stimulated by the intrepidity of their leader, shortly made himself master of the place, his enemies in consternation having fled without striking a blow.

This prompt advantage was increased by the death of Donald Kaevanagh, the pretender to the territory of Leinster, who had been attacked by two chieftains of that province (induced by Strongbow to range themselves with their partisans on the side of the English), and, according to the Four Masters, treacherously slain. O'Foirterchern (O'Foran) and O'Nolan were the names of the chieftains who conferred the favour of murdering Kaevanagh on his brother-in-law.

Roderick O'Connor, convinced at length by the successes of the English, and the facility with which they repaired their losses, that it was not in his power to offer effectual resistance to their further progress, determined to treat for the independence and security of his own hereditary dominions at least. Having kept aloof from any intercourse with the English adventurers, he disdained to apply to Henry's deputies in Ireland ; and with the dignity and pride of an independent prince, although of far inferior power, he despatched ambassadors to Henry, who was at the time resident at the royal palace of Windsor. The deputies who were accredited to the English monarch on this occasion were, Catholcus or Cayley O'Duffy, archbishop of Tuam, the abbot of Clonfert, and Master Laurence, chan-

cellor to Roderick. The treaty entered into by these ambassadors on the part of Roderick with the English monarch is to be found in Rymer (vol. I). By it Roderick covenanted to do homage and pay tribute to Henry as his liege lord, on condition of holding the kingdom of Connaught and its dependencies in as full and ample a manner as before the arrival of the English. It was also stipulated that Roderick's vassals should hold under him in peace, so long as they paid their tribute, and remained obedient to the king of England. This obedience was to be enforced by Roderick, who was empowered to call to his aid, if necessary, the whole force of the English governors for the time being. From Roderick's authority, however, were to be exempted those parts of the island which were under the king's immediate dominion, viz., Dublin, with its territory, including Meath, Wexford, and the rest of Leinster, and Waterford, with the adjacent lands, as far as Dungarvan, which for a long time had formed the boundary of the Danish territories in that neighbourhood.

What appears most worthy of note in the articles of this treaty is, the looking upon Roderick as competent to enforce authority on the whole of the island, and through him setting up the doctrine of obedience to the English power as binding on the various provincial princes. This was, however, nothing more than laying a foundation for asserting by treaty the right to a dominion over the whole island which it was not yet, at least, possible to attain by force of arms. The English monarch could be no stranger to the system of government used in Ireland, and the very slight power possessed over the provincial kings by the supreme monarch. Besides, the very submissions of the inferior princes, such as Macarthy and O'Brien, and the chieftains of Ossory and Decies, to Henry himself when in Ireland, derived whatever value they might have possessed, from the notion that they were independent of Roderick's authority. The view taken in Ireland of this celebrated treaty was, that supreme authority was conferred by Henry on Roderick, while to the provincial princes was secured an independent rule over their native districts. This

appears from the following extract from the Leinster annals:—

“Anno 1175. Catholicus O'Duffy came out of England from the Empress's son, with the peace of Ireland and the royal sovereignty of all Ireland to Rory O'Connor; and his own Coigeadh (province) to each provincial king in Ireland, and their rents to Rory.”

Whether it was in the power of Henry to have done more than to obtain a vague sovereignty by the treaty of Windsor, may be open to question. That the treaty was deficient in reciprocal advantages is obvious. For the obedience claimed to the crown of England, no corresponding benefits were offered. No mention is made of the extension of English law to those who were nevertheless accounted as subjects of the crown, who were left to be ruled, as of old, by the hereditary brehons of the country. Although the mutual obligations contained in the doctrines of the feudal law were perfectly known at the time, and of general application to one portion of his subjects, we are drawn to the conclusion, of necessity, that it was no part of Henry's design to impart their benefits to the people of his newly acquired territories in Ireland.

The fame of the victory of Thurles, by which Donald O'Brien had acquired such great reputation, was obscured by the dissensions and the crimes of the princes of the Dal-gais. After Donald's return from the neighbourhood of Thurles, we are informed by the Four Masters that he deprived of sight Dermot, the son of Teige O'Brien, and Mahon or Mathew, the son of Torlogh O'Brien, in their own residence at Castleconnell. The former of these unfortunate princes died shortly after. Another prince, not, however, of his own family, was, as the same authorities relate, treacherously put to death by Donald. This was Gilla-phadrig, son of Donald, lord of Ossory. Another neighbour of the king of Thomond, the son of O'Connor, lord of Corcomroe, was slain on the same day in which the princes of the house of O'Brien were deprived of sight. These outrages at length reached the ear of Roderick O'Connor, who, armed with the powers of the treaty of Windsor, entered Thomond

with an army, and drove out Donald, laying waste the whole territory after the custom of warfare usual on such expeditions. O'Brien, driven out of Thomond, learning that the garrison of Limerick was badly provided with supplies of food, laid siege to that city, and was on the point of again regaining the seat of his dominion, when Raymond le Gros, who lay under the king's displeasure, was, nevertheless, a second time solicited to place himself at the head of the troops who were reluctant to march under any other leader, and directed to proceed to the relief of Limerick. Raymond, at the head of a force consisting of fourscore knights, two hundred horse, and three hundred archers, with the Irish auxiliary troops of Ossory and Hy-Kinsella (Wexford), set forward on their march. O'Brien, dreading to be placed between two fires, abandoned the siege of Limerick, and led his forces towards Cashel, to stop the advance of the English and their allies. Posting himself in strong ground through which the enemy must needs pass, Donald quietly awaited the arrival of the English troops, having taken care to secure his position by strong entrenchments. The Ossorian contingent, inspired with a violent hatred against the Dalgais and their leader, on account of the recent murder of their prince, apprehensive that Raymond was about to decline the encounter with the Thomonians, whose position and appearance were not the most inviting, threatened to join the enemy if he did not immediately begin the attack. The threat was not needed; Raymond gave the onset as usual, and notwithstanding a vigorous defence by the Dalgais, who were reminded of their recent victory about two years before, a few miles to the northward of the place in which they were now opposed, they were obliged to give way, and were pursued with slaughter. On arriving at Limerick, Raymond had the gratification of receiving the submission of the prince of Thomond, now convinced of his inability to maintain his ground against the victorious English. While there he received an invitation to compose a quarrel which had broken out among the princes of Desmond. Dermot Macarthy, who had made his submission to Henry on his arrival in Ireland, was taken prisoner by

his own son, Cormac Liathanach, and he now claimed the assistance of Raymond to be reinstated in his dominions, and promised rewards to this general and his followers, if by their aid he might be restored to his kingdom. Raymond, urged by his knights to avail himself of so tempting an offer, did not hesitate to give the required assistance. Marching into Desmond with a strong force, he restored the father to his throne, and received for his services a valuable grant of lands in that part of Dermot's territory, now the county of Kerry, in which his descendants continue to our day. The unnatural son, deprived of his usurped authority, was thrown into prison, and shortly afterwards murdered.

While Raymond was thus employed in the south, intelligence reached him of the decease of his brother-in-law, Strongbow, who died in Dublin, in the month of May of this year (1177), after a lingering illness. This untoward event rendered it necessary for Raymond to proceed without delay to the seat of government, and as the garrison of Limerick could not be left behind, he was under the necessity of addressing the prince of Thomond, and confiding to him the care of so important a place. In resigning into his hands the custody of Limerick, Raymond informed O'Brien that he had by his late submission been raised to the dignity and importance of one of the king's barons, and, as a further mark of distinction, was favoured by the confidence of his master in having such a trust reposed in him. The descendant of the conqueror of Clontarf, removed from that illustrious hero by only six degrees in the line of descent, concealed his contempt for the alleged dignity of an English baron by an affected humility, and bowed his assent. Raymond, whose departure was obliged to be hastened, had, however, no sooner passed over the bridge of the Shannon, than it was cut down by O'Brien, and the city, which had been amply stored with supplies of all kinds by Raymond, set on fire in four different quarters, the prince of Thomond declaring that it should no longer be a nest for foreigners. Raymond had the mortification of beholding the flames, but his necessities obliged him to go forward. He hastened to

Dublin, and after performing the obsequies of his relative, was chosen by the council—to whom Henry had before his departure confided the power whenever its exercise should become necessary—successor to Strongbow in the chief government of the island.

Notwithstanding the eminent services rendered to his master by this distinguished soldier, such were the jealousies entertained towards him by Henry, and so successful were the artifices of his enemies, that the king determined on superseding him in the government, by sending over as his deputy William, the son of Andelm, or Adelm de Burgo, the founder of that family which has since made so great a figure in the west of the kingdom. Considerations of blood had a great share, we are informed, in determining this selection, William being the great-grandson of Harlowen de Burgo, the husband of Arlotta, mother of William the Conqueror, from whom the monarch was descended in equal degree. John de Courcy, Robert Fitzstephen, and Milo de Cogan, were ordered to attend the deputy, and accompanied by these he landed at Wexford, where Raymond was in readiness to receive him, and to hand over the sword of state. About the same time Cardinal Vivian, the Papal legate, arrived in Ireland, having on his way hither paid a visit to Gottfred, king of Man, where, according to the chronicle of that island, he passed the Christmas before his arrival in Ireland. Landing in Down, he was, we are told, when on his way to Dublin, made prisoner by the troops of De Courcy, who were, according to the permission of Henry, pushing their conquests in the province of Ulster. The Cardinal's rank and character being made known, he was instantly released, when he proceeded to Dublin, and held a synod, at which the brief of Pope Alexander was read, confirming the king's title to the dominion of Ireland, and denouncing the sentence of excommunication on those who should oppose it. The clergy, moreover, were ordered to furnish the English troops with the provisions and supplies stored up in the monasteries, on being paid for their value, a mandate which had the effect of making the natives set fire to the churches, that the enemy

might be deprived of shelter as well as food. This species of defence was especially resorted to in Connaught, where an English army had been invited by the son of Roderick O'Connor, from resentment to his father. This prince, named Morrogh, had induced Milo de Cogan and his knights to march to Roscommon, in order to depose his father. To deprive the foreigners of their expected supplies, the Connaught troops set fire to Tuam, and to the surrounding churches, and Donald O'Brien, with the troops of Thomond, having been called to the aid of Roderick, the English were obliged to retreat with considerable loss, leaving the unhappy author of the movement, Morrogh, a captive in the hands of his incensed father, who immediately ordered his eyes to be put out, a punishment which, without depriving him of life, by unfitting him for the throne, effectually extinguished the aspirations of his ambition.

But it was not in Connaught alone that the spirit of civil discord raged. The southern province was devastated by the cruel wars of the Eoganachts and Dal-gais, whose feuds seemed destined never to end. These desolating wars are stated in the annals of Inisfallen, at the year 1178, to have extended throughout the whole province from Limerick to Cork in one direction, and from Roscrea to Brandon-hill, in Kerry, in another. The part borne in these conflicts by the O'Briens and the Dalgais is narrated by one of their own descendants⁽⁷⁾ as follows :—"A.D. 1178. Donald O'Brien, at the head of the entire Dalcassian tribes, greatly distressed and reduced all the Eugenians, laid waste their country with fire and sword, and obliged the dispersed Eugenians to seek for shelter in the woods and fastnesses of Ive-Eachach, on the south of the river Lee. In this expedition they routed the O'Donovans of Ive-Figeinte, or Cairbre Aedhbha, in the county of Limerick, and the O'Collins of Ive-Conail Gabhra, or Lower Connello, in said county, beyond the mountain of Mangerton, to the western parts of the county of Cork : here these two exiled Eugonian families being powerfully assisted by the O'Mahonys, made new settlements for themselves in the antient properties of the O'Donoghues, O'Learys, and O'Driscolls, to

which three families the O'Mahonys were always declared enemies, to the borders of Loughlene, where Auliff Mor O'Donoghue, surnamed Cumsinach, had made some settlements before this epoch."

Notwithstanding the submission of the princes of the south and west of Ireland and the acknowledgment of Roderick's authority by the treaty of Windsor, before three years had elapsed, Henry parcelled out among his knights the greatest portion of Connaught and Munster. Robert Fitzstephen and Milo Cogan or De Cogan, obtained "the kingdom of Cork from the river of Lismore to the sea," except the city of Cork and an adjacent district, which the king reserved to himself and his heirs. William Fitzadelm de Burgo received a considerable portion of Connaught. To Robert de la Poer was granted the territory of Waterford, except the city itself and the cantred of the Ostmen; and Herebert Fitz-Herebert was gratified by the gift of the kingdom of Limerick, except the city, which, like Cork, was reserved to the crown. This grant, which comprised the kingdom of Thomond, belonging to Donald O'Brien, was resigned by Fitz-Herebert, and conferred by Henry on Philip de Braosa, called by the Four Masters "De Un-serra," or of Worcester. This baron, with Fitzstephen and Cogan, soon after arrived in Ireland, and on the latter proceeding to Cork then occupied by an English garrison to take possession, the Irish chieftains, who had made their submissions to Henry in person, and whose rights, then recognised, the monarch now coolly disregarded, remonstrated loudly against the injustice, and boldly insisted on retaining their possessions. The grantees of Henry were not possessed of sufficient power to compel the obedience of the Irish chiefs, and a compromise was in consequence entered into, by which seven cantreds adjacent to the city were given to De Cogan and Fitzstephen, the native chieftains retaining the remainder of the territory, amounting to four and twenty cantreds. Fitzstephen and De Cogan, having thus settled their own affairs, had leisure to attend to those of their compatriot, and escorted him and his retainers to the confines of Thomond to take possession of his grant.

The Dalgais, however, unlike the men of the south, who were content with a compromise, met the English barons and their troops with a determined defiance; and, following the example set them two years before by their prince on the withdrawal of Raymond, set fire to the city, that it might not afford shelter to the intruders. The English, who had not calculated on such an act of self-denial, retired, shocked and astonished, to their friends in Cork.

As in the south and west discontent marked the progress of the English, so in the centre, their settlement was viewed with dissatisfaction. The policy so uniformly and successfully practised of setting the natives by the ears, was, about the year 1184, resorted to, and the lord of Westmeath, Art O'Melaghlin, treacherously slain by Dermot O'Brien, the brother of Donaldmore king of Thomond, "at the instigation of the English." This foul murder was speedily avenged by Melaghlinbeg (the Little), who had succeeded to the now little more than nominal authority of the ancient princes of Meath, for in three days he defeated Dermot in an engagement, in which several of the Thomonians were slain, along with the son of Mahon or Mathew O'Brien.

The disorders which prevailed in the adjacent province of Connaught, arising out of the dissensions which had sprung up among the sons of Roderick O'Connor, afforded a fair opportunity to the English settlers in Leinster to extend their power into the kingdom of Thomond. In the year 1192 they entered that territory, and were laying it waste, until tidings reached Donald O'Brien, who checked their progress by a defeat at a place called Magh-ua-Torelaigh (the plain of Torlogh), near Killaloe. Not content with repelling the invaders, he carried the war beyond the Shannon, and coming up with the main body of the enemy at Thurles, the scene of his former victory, he showed that twenty years had not subdued his spirit, or diminished his power of meeting the invaders in the field. A battle ensued, in which the English were defeated, who, although obliged to retreat, were nevertheless permitted, unmolested, to strengthen their positions by the erection of strong castles.

In addition to those of Lismore, Tibroghney, and Ardfinnan, erected during the brief sojourn of King John in Waterford, the English, in the campaign of 1192, laid the foundations of the castles of Kilfeacle and Knockgraffon.⁽⁸⁾

Within two years after the second victory of Thurles, the reign of Donaldmore O'Brien was closed by his decease. Its long course of six and twenty years was marked by continued opposition to the invaders of his country. As his reign witnessed the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland, so the pretensions of his family to fill the throne of this kingdom, bequeathed from father to son ever since the memorable victory of Clontarf, and maintained by several of his progenitors with a spirit and determination worthy of their great ancestor Brian, terminated with his death. In the same year which witnessed the decease of Donaldmore, his youngest brother Constantine or Consadin, bishop of Killaloe, paid the debt of nature.

By Urlacam, daughter of Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinster, Donaldmore O'Brien was father of nine sons and one daughter. The sons were—1. Mortogh Dall (the blind); 2. Conor Roe (the red-haired); 3. Donogh Cairbreach (fostered in Carbery); 4. Mortogh Fionn (the fair-haired); 5. Torlogh Fionn; 6. Donal Connachtach (fostered in Connacht); 7. Brian Boirneach (of Burren); 8. Conor; 9. Dermot.

The daughter was Mor, or Mary, married to Cathal Crovderg O'Conor, brother of Roderick, and, for a time, king of Connaught.

CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 1194-1267...Accession of Mortogh Dall...William de Burgo and the O'Briens enter Desmond...They invade Connaught...Desecration of the abbey of Boyle...Disputes of the O'Briens for the chieftaincy...Murder of Conor Roe...Landing of King John in Ireland...Submission of Donogh Cairbreach O'Brien...Building of the castle of Killaloe by the English...Donogh Cairbreach establishes his residence at Clonroad...Erection of the Franciscan abbey of Ennis...Death of Donogh Cairbreach O'Brien...Accession of Conorna-Siudaine...Uprising of the Macarthys, and victory of Callan...Congress of Caeluisce...Conor O'Brien defeats the English at Kilbarron...Brian Roe demolishes Castleconnell...Death of Conor O'Brien at Siudan, in Burren...Accession of Brian Roe.

DONALDMORE was succeeded on the throne of Thomond and Ormond by his eldest son Mortogh or Muircertagh. Among his first acts was the putting to death his cousin Donogh, the son of Mortogh, his father's eldest brother, who was advancing pretensions founded on his father's seniority. In 1196, within two years after his accession, aided by his brother-in-law Cathal Crovderg (the Red-handed) O'Conor, Tanist of Connaught, he joined Donald Macarthy, the prince of Desmond, against the English, and the three leaders, marching to Cork, threatened to fire that city. It was evacuated on conditions, one of which was, that the English garrison should be permitted to depart without molestation. The English were also defeated in two other places, Limerick and Kilfeacle, the castle of which latter place had been only recently erected; and the territory of Imokilly, between Cork and the Blackwater, being plundered and overrun by the Irish troops, hopes were formed that the intruders might be expelled from the possession of the seven cantreds of land, which, in virtue of the recent compromise, were ceded to De Cogan and Fitzstephen. But the union which had produced these successes was not of long duration. William

Burke (De Burgo) found means to detach the princes of the Dal-gais from the alliance of the Desmonians. After a campaign in Connaught, in which it is needful to remember he had received a large grant from the crown, and whither he had gone to support the cause of Cathal Carragh, the son of Conor Moinmoy, and grandson of the lately deceased monarch Roderick, who was opposed by his granduncle Cathal Crovderg, Burke marched into Desmond to succour the English settlers. On this expedition he was accompanied, according to the annals of Inisfallen (see the year 1200), by three of the sons of the late king of Thomond. These were Donogh Cairbreach, Conor Roe, and Mortogh Fionn, whose hostility to the race of Eoghanmore was not surpassed by that of any of their progenitors. Their progress is stated by the annalists at the above-named year, as follow :—

“ They (the princes of the house of O'Brien) and William Burke encamped for a week at Kinneigh, where Auliff Mor O'Donovan, king of Cairbre Aedha, and MacCostello, were slain. Then came Mahon O'Heney, the Pope's legate, and the bishops of Munster, and made peace between the O'Briens on the one hand, and the Macarthys, O'Donoghues, and the rest of the Eugenians on the other.”

The campaign in Desmond was scarcely concluded when the quarrels of the rival branches of the house of O'Conor rendered the presence of De Burgo in Connaught again necessary. On this occasion his position with respect to the contending parties was changed. Having recently assisted in setting up Cathal Carrach, he now exerted himself for the deposition of that prince, and the restoration of his granduncle Cathal Crovderg. The motives for such a change may be found in the policy of encouraging rival claimants, and demonstrating the power of the new-comers in making and unmaking these puppets of an hour. And it is not unreasonable to presume, as an additional motive, that having procured the assistance of the princes of Thomond in his campaign against Desmond, he now repaid those services by giving his assistance to raise their brother-in-law, Crovderg, to the throne of Connaught.

Be the motives what they may, the first year of the thirteenth century (1201) beheld Cathal Crovderg and William Burke at the head of an army of English and Irish, on their march from Limerick to Connaught. This force did not halt until it reached the abbey of Ath-da-lorg (Boyle), which it occupied and desecrated. The annals of Kilronan, which are those of the district in which that abbey is situated, furnishes the following account of the outrages perpetrated on this occasion :—

“A great army was led into Connaught by Cathal Crovderg, joined by William Burke, the sons of Donald O'Brien, viz. Mortogh and Connor Roe, and by Finean Macarthy. They marched to the monastery of Athda-lorg, on the river Boyle, and took up their quarters in it, and remained there for three days, during which time they profaned and defiled the entire monastery. Such was the extent of their profanation that the archers (common soldiers) of the army had women in the hospital of the monks, in the houses of the cloister, and in every apartment throughout the whole monastery ; and they left nothing in it which they did not either break or burn, except the roofs of the houses alone. They left no part of the monastery to the monks, except only the dormitory and the house of the novices. On this occasion William Burke commenced the erection of a “cashel” around the great house of the guests, on which he bestowed two days' work. On the third day after the commencement of this wall, Cathal Carrach, king of Connaught, was killed by the English, as were also Dermot, son of Gilchreest, son of Dermot, son of Teige O'Mulrooney, and Tomaltagh, son of Taileach O'Dowda, and many others. They then departed from the monastery, after which William Burke dismissed the sons of O'Brien, and Macarthy, and their forces.”⁽¹⁾

The death of Cathal Carrach and the accession of Crovderg, gave some repose to their partisans. The princes of the house of O'Brien, having no occupation among their neighbours, were at liberty to prosecute their own quarrels, and give free scope to the spirit of discord which raged in Thomond, as violently as in the neighbouring province.

Mortogh Dall, the eldest of Dónaldmore's sons, having been deprived of sight by the English (from which misfortune the epithet "Dall" was given), and consequently unfitted to rule, the succession was fiercely disputed by the rest of his brethren. Conor Roe, the next in order, claimed, as of right, the sovereignty of the Dal-gais of Thomond and Ormond, which was disputed by his next brother Donogh Cairbreach, who was seized and imprisoned by Conor, but soon after released, and a reconciliation made between them. This was, however, of little avail, for Conor was put to death shortly after by, according to the Four Masters, his brother Mortogh Fionn, but agreeably to the annals of Inisfallen, by Mortogh, son of Mortogh Dall, his nephew. This event is placed in the year 1202 by the former of these annalists, and they state that about six years later, Mortogh, who had committed the grievous crime of fratricide, to mount a throne over the heads of two of his brothers who were his seniors, was taken prisoner by the English of Limerick in violation of the guarantee of three bishops, at the instigation and by the procurement of Donogh Cairbreach. Thenceforward this prince is regarded as the ruler of the Dal-gais, and prince of Thomond. King John having found it necessary to repair a second time into Ireland, landed at Dublin in the month of June, 1210, and was attended by the petty princes of the kingdom. Some of these came to renew their allegiance, others to obtain grants of the territories then held by them. Among the latter was Donogh Cairbreach O'Brien. It was this prince's good fortune that William De Braosa, to whom, with the exception of the city of Limerick, the territory of Thomond had been granted, should have fallen under the displeasure of the king, and been obliged to fly into France to avoid the vengeance of his sovereign. On the appearance of the prince of Thomond to submit to John and take the oath of fealty, he received a charter to hold the fortress and lordship of Carrigogonnell to him and his heirs, at the yearly rent of sixty marks. The kingdom of Thomond was also conferred on him and his heirs; and all his brothers who claimed any title thereto, were excluded, and declared usurpers and enemies to the crown of England.⁽²⁾

While Donogh Cairbreach was practising with the English of Limerick against the liberty of his brother Mortogh, another prince of this name, the son of Brian-an-tsleive (Brian of Slievebloom), was endeavouring to procure the dominion of Ormond for himself. It will be recollected that hitherto the kingdom of Thomond extended from the Atlantic ocean to the foot of Slievebloom mountain, a range of territory co-extensive at this day with the diocese of Killaloe, which at this point meets the diocese of Meath, representing the ancient kingdom of that name. So early as the year 1127, the part of Thomond east of the Shannon, had been made a separate principality under the name of the kingdom of Ormond (East Munster), and conferred on Teige Gle by his brother Conor na-Cathrach on the accession of the latter to the kingdom of Munster, in order to reconcile Teige to his brother Torlogh, who had obtained the western portion, since more particularly designated as Thomond. On the accession of Donaldmore, he put out, as has been already mentioned, the eyes of his brother Brian an-tsleive, who had succeeded to the principality of Eastern Thomond or Ormond, on the death of Conor, grandson of Conor na-Cathrach. Brian having died in 1169, his son seems to have made claim to his father's principality, as appears by the last three of the following extracts from the annals of Clonmacnoise :—

“A.D. 1207. The English of Meath and Leinster, with their forces, went to Killaloe to build a castle near the Borowe (beal boiuma),⁽³⁾ and were frustrated of their purpose, did neither castle nor other thing worthy of memory, but lost some men and horses in their journey, and so returned to their houses back again.”

“Moriertagh MacBrien an-tsleive besieged the castle of Byrre, and at last burnt the whole town.”

“The castle of Athroyny in Leise (Ballyroan, in the present Queen's county), was spoyled altogether by the said Mortogh and the sons of O'Conor of Connaught, who slew many of the inhabitants, and after taking away all the cowes, sheep, harnesses, and other things therein, they burnt the town.”

"The castle of Kinnety, the castle of Byrre, and the castle of Lorrha, were broken down and quite destroyed by the said Mortogh O'Brien."

The object mentioned in the first of the foregoing extracts, was accomplished soon after the submission of Donogh Cairbreach to King John. In addition to the castle of Roscrea, built in the year 1212, in a very judicious position, (the gap or passage through the continuation of the Slievebloom chain), the Four Masters inform us that Geoffry Mares, the Lord-Justice, erected the castle of Killaloe in 1216. The same entry also states that "the English Bishop also built a house there *by force*." The annals of Clonmacnoise, too, corroborate the Four Masters in their statement of this fact.

From this period must be dated the merging of the three sees of Iniscatha (Scattery island), Roscrea or Eile, and Killaloe into one. Besides the island itself, so famous in ancient church history, with its seven churches, the see of Iniscatha extended over a considerable portion of the territory on both sides of the estuary of the Shannon. The part of this diocese in Thomond was co-extensive with Corcovaskin,⁽⁴⁾ the principal families of which had their place of sepulture in Scattery. The see of Roscrea comprised, besides the present barony of Ikerrin in Tipperary, the whole country of Ely or Ely-O-Carroll. It must have been a matter of policy with those who had the charge of the English interests, that these three sees should be united under one head, who should reside at a central place like Killaloe. It seems to corroborate this view, that from the close of the twelfth century no mention is made, throughout the Irish annals, of a bishop of either of the dioceses of Iniscatha or Roscrea, the last occupants of those sees named by the Four Masters being Isaac O'Cuainan, bishop of Eile and Roscrea, who died in 1161, and Aedh or Hugh O'Beaghan, bishop of Iniscatha, whose obit is at the year 1188.

To this period also must be referred the removal of the residence of the house of O'Brien to Clonroad, near the present town of Ennis. This place, at the extremity of the tideway of the river Fergus, or Forghus, is situated at the

northern end of a reach of the river of about three miles in extent. On the east of this reach is a well-known bog, and on the west the limestone rock penetrates the surface, so that at the early period under consideration, the river must have been the highway and the scene of considerable toil, particularly when the rowers were obliged to ply their oars against the tide and current. It is not a far-fetched etymology that the plain, or meadow, at its termination, was denominated from this cause the plain of the long rowing (Cluainramh-foda). Here Donogh Cairbreach fixed his residence, and shortly after commenced the erection of the beautiful Franciscan abbey the chancel of which with its singularly graceful oriel window is an object of admiration at this day, on the adjacent island from which the town, Ennis, is named.⁽⁵⁾

The contentions of the sons of Roderick O'Connor with their cousins, the sons of Cathal Crovderg, for the nominal sovereignty of Connaught, rendered the interference of Donogh Cairbreach O'Brien and the Dal-gais necessary, the prince of Thomond being the uncle of the sons of Crovderg. This relationship involved him in repeated conflicts with the petty princes of Connaught and their auxiliaries, to the close of his life, which took place in the year 1242, three years after the decease of his blinded and incapacitated brother Mortogh Dall, and two after the death of his wife Sabia, daughter of Donogh O'Kennedy, lord of Ormond, nicknamed Na-fichile, the chess-player, from his skill in that game. By this lady he was the father of five sons:—1. Conor na-Siudaine;⁽⁶⁾ 2. Torlogh, who died soon after his father; 3. Mortogh; 4. Dermod; and 5. Teige Dall, of the last three of whom nothing farther is recorded by the annalists. He had one daughter, Sabia, married to Geoffrey O'Donoghue, prince of Loughlene (Killarney), who, with his wife, was burned to death in their residence by Fineen Macarthy, of Ringrone, in the year 1253.

Donogh Cairbreach O'Brien was succeeded as ruler of the Dalgais by his eldest son Conor, denominated na-Siudaine, from the place where he met his death. He was not more than three years on the throne of Thomond when he

was invited, or summoned, to attend with his disposable force to aid Henry the Third in an expedition against the Scots, as his name appears in Rymer (tom. I. p. 426) along with those of twenty other Irish princes similarly summoned. This expedition was rendered unnecessary by the timely submission of the king of Scots, so that it is uncertain how far Conor O'Brien was disposed to aid the king, or acknowledge the obligation of attending on his liege lord. The English administration of Henry was so feeble and corrupt, that the great lords, to whom the government of Ireland was entrusted, pursued their own interests, and made peace and war as independent princes. Aggression naturally produced resistance, and we learn from contemporary annalists, both of the English and Irish races, that the natives, driven to oppose the attacks of their masters, exerted a vigour in the field which threatened to wrest from the oppressors their ill-gotten acquisitions. Grace, an English authority, adverting to the uprising of the Maearthys of Desmond, in 1257, against the new settlers, says that in one battle in that year the Geraldines lost their chief, John Fitz-Thomas, his son Maurice, eight barons, and fifteen knights, in chieftains alone.⁽⁴⁾ The spirit of resistance spread also through Thomond, and the Four Masters record that "a great war broke out between Conor O'Brien and the English of Munster, and they were slaughtered by him. Teige O'Brien (his son) also committed great depredations upon them." In these struggles, the scene of which was sometimes changed from Munster into Connaught, the towns of Ardrahin and Kilcolgan in the latter province, belonging to Owen O'Heyne, prince of Hy-Fiachra Aidhne, were burnt, as also were "much corn and many street towns." The feeling of common danger, growing out of the increasing power and rapacity of the English settlers, appears to have at length made some impression on the minds of the Irish princes. Of the five great families, or bloods, as they were termed, the heads of which were, from the earliest times, acknowledged as kings of the respective provinces, there remained in the enjoyment of this title, about the middle of the thirteenth century, but

the representatives of the O'Neils, O'Conors, and O'Briens. The territories of the O'Melaghlin of Meath, and the Macmorroghs of Leinster, had long since been partitioned among the descendants of the early Norman invaders. With the view of concerting measures for a comprehensive union of the entire Irish race, and to root out the English from the whole country, an achievement which after the occupation of nearly a century and the establishment of so many garrisons to say nothing of the alliances entered into between the English and Irish races seemed all but impossible, there was held in Ulster, at a place called Caeluisce (narrow water), where the river Erne issues from the lower or northern lake of that name, before it falls into the sea, a meeting of the princes of Tirowen, Connaught, and Thomond. Brian O'Neill, at the period in question (1258), was the head of the antient royal race of the Hy-Niall princes, and he was met, at the place above mentioned, by the sons of the kings of Connaught and Thomond, viz., Hugh, son of Felim O'Conor, and Teige, son of Conor O'Brien, who were invested by their fathers, respectively, with full powers to treat with O'Neill respecting the proposed confederation. The account given of this congress by the annalists of Inisfallen (Dublin edition), is somewhat at variance with that contained in the annals of the Four Masters, which is as follows :—

“A.D. 1258. A great host was led by Hugh, son of Felim, and Teige O'Brien, to meet Brian O'Neill at Caeluisce. The aforesaid chieftains, with one accord, conferred the sovereignty over the Irish on Brian O'Neill, after having made peace with each other ; for the observance of which agreement the hostages of Hugh O'Conor were delivered up to him, and the hostages of Muintir Reilly,^(s) and of all the Hy-Briuin from Kells to Drumcliff.”

It is obvious that this is a more probable account of the congress of Caeluisce than that contained in the Dublin copy of the annals of Inisfallen, which state that Teige, son of Conor na Siudaine O'Brien, on his arriving at the Erne, sent one hundred horses over the river to O'Neill as wages or subsidy ; that O'Neill, rejecting the offer, sent them back

with two hundred others furnished with harness and golden bits to O'Brien, in token of the subordination due from him to O'Neill; and that, on the rejection by O'Brien of the presents so sent by O'Neill, the congress was broken up without the election of a king of Ireland. The annals of Ulster, and those of Clonmacnoise, confirm the account of the Four Masters; and it is by no means probable that either Teige Caeluisce or his father who met his death in the effort to subdue his own rebellious tribes of the circumscribed territory of Thomond, could have entertained the exaggerated notion that the Irish princes or chieftains would select either of them, to the exclusion of the far more powerful prince of the Hy-Nialls, who acknowledged no obedience to English authority, and had hitherto kept aloof from any contact with the descendants of the invaders.

The congress of Caeluisce led to no results of importance. The English, who were aware of the proceeding, did all in their power to frustrate the objects of the confederacy, and detached from it as many of the Irish chieftains as they could influence. Before the year was over, we learn that they had entered into conditions of peace with the Irish, in which Felim O'Connor was not comprehended. His son Hugh, determined on adhering to his engagements with O'Neill, held a conference with this prince in the following year (1259), at Devenish, in Lough Erne, where the plan of operations for the ensuing campaign was arranged. The battle of Druimdearg (the red ridge), near Downpatrick, was the result. It ended in a total defeat of the Irish, who lost their chief O'Neill, and a great number of other chieftains, there being no less than fifteen of these numbered among the slain of the family of O'Cahan (O'Kane) alone. The loss of the Connaught contingent was not inferior. That of the victors is not mentioned.

Teige Caeluisce O'Brien, who had attended the congress in the previous year, was disabled by sickness (ending in death) from taking part in the operations against the English. His decease is noticed by the Four Masters at the year 1259, where he is styled "roydamna," or making of a king, of Munster.

A different issue attended the operations of the English in the southern part of the kingdom in the same year. The annalists state that an army was led by MacMaurice (Fitzgerald) into Thomond to attack Conor O'Brien. This prince, attended by the Macnamaras and others of his chieftains, encountered the English on their march from Connaught, and defeated them with great loss at Kilbarron, in the parish of Feakle, in the present county of Clare. Several of the Welsh settlers, in what now forms the county of Mayo, fell in this engagement. The prevalence of military ardour, even among the clergy, may be inferred from the parson of Ardrahin who had accompanied Fitzgerald from Connaught on this expedition being enumerated among the slain.

On the death of Teige Caeluisce, eldest son of Conor O'Brien, his second son, Brian Roe, or the red-haired, succeeded his brother as Tanist of Thomond. The hostilities which prevailed between the English and the Dal-gais the year before were not concluded in 1261 ; for we find that Brian Roe, in this year, "burned and demolished Caislen ui-Chonaing (Castleconnell), and killed all that were in it."

The struggle which had existed for more than two centuries between the principle of primogeniture and the custom of Tanistry, and which had set at variance so frequently the descendants of Brian Boromha, brought the reign of Conor O'Brien to a premature close. He had, soon after his defeat of the English at Kilbarron, compelled the reluctant states of Hy-bloid and Ormond to acknowledge his authority, and pay the accustomed tribute.⁽⁹⁾ In the campaigns undertaken against these tribes, he was opposed by his relatives, the descendants of Brian of Slievebloom, who had settled east of the Shannon, as well as by Dermot, the son of Mortogh O'Brien, his uncle, who laid claim to the sovereignty of Thomond on the ground of seniority. The year 1266 beheld him victorious over these septs, but a similar attempt the next year to enforce his authority in the northern parts of Thomond, proved fatal to him. The inhabitants of the district of Corcomroe, then divided into eastern and western, the former since denominated Burren,

and ruled by the O'Loughlins, the latter owned by the O'Conors, were of a different descent from the Dalgais,⁽¹⁰⁾ and gave but a reluctant submission to the O'Briens. In the year 1267, accompanied by the O'Deas, the O'Hehirs, and other tribes of Hy-Cormaic and Cinel-Fermaic, Conor marched into Burren to enforce the submission of the inhabitants, and was opposed by Conor Carrach (the Scabbed) O'Loughlin, who had been informed by his scouts that the prince of Thomond had but a comparatively small force. O'Loughlin, besides his own followers, was assisted by the sons of Donald Connachtach O'Brien, uncle to Conor, the reigning prince, who had settled in the north-west of Thomond for some time past. The armies met at the wood of Siudan, in the present parish of Drumcreehy, and a battle ensued, in which Conor lost his life. With him, according to the annalists of the Four Masters, who record the event at the year 1268, perished his son, Seoinin (little John), his daughter, her son, and several others ; after which Brian Roe assumed the lordship of Thomond.⁽¹¹⁾

By his wife Mor (Mary), daughter of Macnamara, Conor na-Siudaine had issue—1. Teige Caeluisce ; 2. Brian Roe ; 3. Morrogh, of the last of whom the annalists furnish no account.

CHAPTER IX.

A.D. 1267-1318...Deposition of Brian Roe by the adherents of Torlogh, son of Teige Caeluisce...Brian engages the aid of Thomas de Clare...First footing of the English in Thomond...Cession of part of the territory by Brian to de Clare...Building of Bunratty Castle...Defeat of the Anglo-Thomsonian army by Torlogh O'Brien, and death of Fitzmaurice...Perfidious murder of Brian Roe by de Clare...Avenged by the sons of Brian...Contentions between the sons of Brian and Torlogh...Victory of the latter...Building of the castle of Ennis...Fall of de Clare, and other English leaders...Abbey of Ennis enlarged...Death of Torlogh O'Brien, and accession of his son Donogh...Opposed by the Hy-mblod...Wars of the O'Briens...Thomond partitioned between them by the Earl of Ulster and Richard de Clare...Battle of Tullyodea...Invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce...Invited to Thomond by Donogh, grandson of Brian Roe...Opposed by Mortogh, son of Torlogh, and the council of Rathlahine...Mortogh acknowledged king of Thomond...Battle of Corcomroe...Battle of Dysertodea, and final overthrow of the English and de Clare...Departure of de Clare's wife from Bunratty, after setting fire to the castle...Migration of Brian Bane O'Brien and the Hy-mblod eastward of the Shannon...Operations of Brian Bane...His death.

BRIAN ROE O'BRIEN, second son of Conor na-Siudaine, was proclaimed king of Thomond without opposition in the year 1267, on the death of his father. His elder brother, Teige Caeluisce, had, however, left issue two sons, Torlogh and Donald, who were in fosterage with the O'Deas, chieftains of Cinel-Fearmaic, and the eldest of whom, Torlogh, on the accession of his uncle Brian, was of too tender an age to prefer his claims, or offer any opposition to the pretensions of the uncle. The powerful tribes, nevertheless, by whom he was protected, did not permit his claims to lie dormant, and the assertion of these and the struggle made by the issue of Brian Roe to perpetuate the rule over the Dalgais in their own family, form one of the most interesting passages in the history of the O'Briens. This struggle continued with various success for the best part of a century, and was the occasion of giving the English the first solid

footing they acquired in Thomond. For notwithstanding the grant of this territory in 1275 by Edward the First to Thomas de Clare, brother of the Earl of Gloucester, it was the appeal to de Clare, made by Brian Roe, that was the cause of his intervention in the wars of the O'Briens. By the result, which was worked out through years of bloodshed and rapine, the right of the elder branch of the house of O'Brien was eventually established, and the de Clares, one of the most powerful of the Norman families of those times, utterly rooted out of Thomond. This will, however, best be seen in the sequel.

Shortly after Brian was inaugurated at the accustomed place, Magh-adhair, the annalists state that he turned against the English, and committed great depredations against them. In the course of these proceedings, in the year 1270, he seized the fortress of Clare castle (Clar-atha-da-charadh).⁽¹⁾ Maurice Fitzgerald, the founder of the two noble families of Desmond and Kildare, whose ancestors had acquired, through the quarrels of the Macarthys, great power and large possessions in Desmond, and one of whom had experienced the prowess of the Dalgais twelve years before at Kilbarron, repaid this capture by invading Thomond, and taking away the hostages of the Dalgais in 1273; and, within the next two years, the arrival of Thomas de Clare, a young nobleman, who had married Juliana, the daughter of Fitzgerald, and to whom king Edward the First had granted all Thomond, (provided he could win it by his sword), seemed likely to reduce that country to the condition of Desmond. Gloomy as was this prospect, it was rendered still darker by the impending dissensions of the O'Briens themselves.

Torlogh O'Brien, the son of Teige Caeluisce, was, by his mother, allied to the Macnamaras, princes of Clancuilen, the next most powerful family of Thomond after the O'Briens themselves. Nine years had passed since the death of his grandfather and the accession of his uncle Brian to the throne of Thomond, and he had in 1276 grown to man's estate, and was deemed by his allies and fosterers fit to assume the place unjustly occupied by his uncle.

Aided by the powerful sept of the Clan Cuilen, under the command of his relative Sioda Macconmara and by Loghlin O'Dea,⁽²⁾ chief of Cinel Fearmaic, with the O'Deas and O'Quins, he marched to Clonroad, and surprised Brian, who fled with his family eastwards across the Shannon, to the territory of Ormond, among the descendants of Brian of Slievebloom, and the Hy-mblويد, by whom he was temporarily sheltered. Torlogh, thus established in the enjoyment of his rights, made preparation for the maintenance of his power by soliciting support from the chieftains of the several cantreds of Thomond, through which he made a progress after the flight of Brian Roe.

The deposed prince, as soon as he had recovered from the suddenness of the blow thus struck by his nephew, called a council of his friends to advise with them as to the course best suited to the emergency. The result of their deliberations was, that Brian and his son proceeded to Cork to solicit the aid of Thomas de Clare, who had recently arrived from England with a numerous band of followers. Whether Brian was aware that de Clare had in his possession letters-patent from Edward the First granting to him the territory of Thomond, is not certain. But at all events the required succours were promised, and the annals of Inisfallen, whence this account is extracted, inform us that, in consideration thereof, Brian, by a solemn deed, conveyed to de Clare and his heirs, the whole of that part of Thomond lying between Assolas and Limerick, and bounded on the west by the estuary of the river Fergus, constituting at present the barony of Lower Bunratty. De Clare lost no time in proceeding into Thomond, and among the first of his acts was the erection of the castle of Bunratty, in a position evincing the sagacity of its founder. With the fighting men of Oguanach⁽³⁾ and Hy-mblويد, who accompanied de Clare and the English, Brian Roe made a night march to Clonroad, and was replaced in his residence and ostensibly in his power, his rival Torlogh being at the moment in the Bascnigh⁽⁴⁾ whither he had gone to solicit the aid of Teige bue (Yellow) Macmahon and his brother Rury, the chieftains of Corcovaskin.

Torlogh, thus in his turn deposed, applied to his neighbours of Connaught for assistance. The paramount families of the Irish race, whose territories bordered on Thomond, were, at that time, the O'Kellys and O'Maddens or O'Madigans, both descended from the same stock, and inhabiting the territory called Hy-Many from their common ancestor, Maine Mor (the Great)⁽⁵⁾ Conchobhar or Conor, O'Kelly, the lord of this territory, whose decease is recorded in the same year with that of Conor na-Siudaine, had for his second and third wives respectively, daughters of chieftains of Thomond, viz., O'Loughlin of Burren, and Macnamara, chieftain of the Clancuilen. With these tribes were united the powerful family of the De Burghs, who had been for some time at feud with the Geraldines, now closely united by the ties of marriage and interest with Thomas de Clare, the royal grantee of the kingdom of Thomond. These powerful septs, uniting at the call of Torlogh, and joining their forces to the Macconmaras, O'Deas, O'Quins, O'Hehirs, and Macmahons, marched into Thomond, and gave battle to Brian Roe and de Clare at Maghgresain, and defeated them with the loss of de Clare's brother-in-law, Fitzmaurice. On the arrival of the defeated leaders at Bunratty, the wife and father-in-law of de Clare, incensed at the loss they had sustained, and laying the blame on Brian Roe, instead of considering it the result of the ambition as well as ardour of his English allies, insisted on Brian's being put to death. The ferocity and cruelty with which the sentence was executed, and the perfidy of de Clare, are thus depicted in the annals of Clonmacnoise :—

“ A.D. 1277. The Earle of Clare, his son, took Brian Roe O'Brien prisoner very deceitfully, after they had sworn to each other all the oaths in Munster, as bells, relics of saints, and bachalls (croziers), to be true to each other for ever, and not endamage each other ; also, after they became sworn gossips, and for confirmation of this their indissoluble bond of perpetual friendship, they drew part of the blood of each of them, which they put in a vessel, and mingled it together : after all which protestations, the said Brian was taken as aforesaid, and bound to stern steeds, and so was tortured to death by the said Earl's son.”

The tide had now turned in favour of Torlogh, but the hatred felt by the English towards the natives, evinced by the barbarous and perfidious murder of Brian Roe, roused the passions of the Dalgais against the new comers. De Clare was so straitened by the attacks of the O'Briens, that he was under the necessity of building a double ditch to secure the recently acquired territory against aggression.⁽⁶⁾ Meantime the two sons of Brian Roe, Donogh and Donald, full of the vigour of their race, burned with ardour to avenge their father's death. Collecting their followers, they attacked de Clare, who was posted at Quin,⁽⁷⁾ slew numbers of his people, and burned the church over the heads of those who had taken shelter in it. The war raged with great fury against de Clare and the Geraldines, who were driven out of Thomond, and compelled to take refuge in the fastnesses of the Slievebloom mountains, where they were reduced to the greatest distress by famine. They were obliged to capitulate on the most mortifying terms ; to acknowledge the O'Briens as sovereigns of Thomond ; to give security for the *eric*, or compensation, for the murder of Brian Roe, according to the laws of Ireland ; and for the satisfaction of the Connaught princes who had lent their powerful assistance to the O'Briens, who on this occasion made common cause, the castle of Roscommon, lately built by Ufford Lord-Justice, and now garrisoned by the Geraldines, was surrendered to the victorious Irish.⁽⁸⁾

The common enemy being humbled, and punishment according to the laws then in vogue exacted for the murder of their father, the sons of Brian Roe were about to turn their arms against their cousins, Torlogh and Donald, sons of Teige Caeluisce. This resolution, so gratifying to the English party, was averted for a time by the address of Donald Macarthy, prince of Desmond, at whose instance peace was made between the cousins, and terms agreed on, by which Donogh, son of Brian, obtained the western half of Thomond, while Torlogh retained the east. This arrangement was made in the year 1280.

The pacification of Thomond was inconsistent with the policy of de Clare and the Geraldines. They accordingly

found means to provoke hostilities between the two rival princes of the O'Briens, Torlogh and Donogh, the latter of whom, in less than a year after the arrangement above mentioned had been entered into, was driven into Connaught. Returning in the same year, and accepting the aid of the murderer of his father, Donogh regained the possession of his half of Thomond, and in turn succeeded in driving out Torlogh. This success was but temporary. Torlogh had a greater interest than his rival among the chiefs of Connaught, who, before the year 1282 closed, placed him once more in possession of the eastern half of Thomond.

In less than a year war broke out again between the two princes of Thomond. A meeting of the chieftains of the entire district had been convened in 1283, at which Donogh made his appearance, intoxicated from mead, and where he indulged in invectives against Torlogh. The latter, provoked by the vituperation, prepared for hostilities, and made overtures to Donogh's followers to desert him. Donald O'Connor, and Congallach O'Loughlin, of West and East Corcomroe, whose territory formed part of Donogh's portion of Thomond, were induced to abandon that prince by a promise of the chieftaincies of the respective districts.

These leaders advised Torlogh to storm the three towns, in some of which Donogh was in the habit of occasionally resting at night. Whether this advice was taken or not, does not appear; but the contending parties encountered each other near the banks of the Fergus, and Donogh and Mathew O'Loughlin, one of Torlogh's captains, engaging in single combat, the horse of the former fell into the river with his rider, who, not being able to extricate himself, was drowned. The sceptre of the entire of Thomond passed by this event into the hand of Torlogh, son of Teige Caeluisce for a time, the descendants of Brian Roe being still numerous, and having a powerful party among the Dal-gais to back their pretensions. The sons of Brian are thus enumerated by the chroniclers of Thomond:—1. Donogh, whose decease has been just noticed; 2. Mortogh, of whom there is no account; 3. Donald, from whom is descended

the family of MacI-brien Ara ; 4. Teige Roe, of whom we have no notice ; 5. Torlogh, who was banished from Ennis in 1284 by Torlogh, son of Teige Caeluisce, and whose decease is dated in 1305 ; 6. Brian. Of these the most remarkable were Donogh and Donald, each of whom left a numerous progeny to contend for the ancient honours of the house of O'Brien.

Torlogh O'Brien having, by the death of his cousin and rival, obtained the government of the whole of Thomond, to which, by right of seniority, he was unquestionably entitled, to secure his power banished Torloghoge, the son of Brian-Roe, from Clonroad, and built a castle on the island, subsequently the site of Ennis, following the example of the English settlers, who secured their acquisitions in all parts of the kingdom by such means. This was the first structure of this description entirely of stone, recorded to have been built by the native princes of Thomond, as appears from the following translation of a commemorative verse :—

“Torlogh, for wealthy royal seats renowned,
Who first a fortress built of stone did found ;
In Ennis town upon the western side,
It braves all force so strongly fortified.”(9)

The English colony introduced by de Clare, gave the old inhabitants so much trouble, that a general complaint was made by the chiefs of Thomond to Torlogh, and the year 1285 was distinguished by a battle in Tradree, in which the new comers were defeated. In this year he laid waste all the country to the very walls of Bunratty, comprising the whole of the English possessions in Thomond. This war was prosecuted with ardour for some years, and to the disadvantage of the English, a great victory having been, in the year 1287, obtained over them by Torlogh, in which Thomas de Clare, Fitzmaurice, Sir Richard Taaffe, Sir Richard de Exeter, and other persons of distinction, were slain. The reign of Torlogh was one of uninterrupted prosperity since the death of his rival, Donogh. In 1304 he received the hostages of all the chieftains of North Munster, and demolished the English castles of that province,

as far as Galbally and Youghal, putting the garrisons to the sword. And in the following year he besieged Bunratty, and obliged Richard de Clare to acknowledge his supremacy. To perpetuate the memory of these successes, he founded the abbey of Ennis, or, as it is called by the historiographer of Thomond, Inis an-laoi (the Island of the Calf),⁽¹⁰⁾ in the same year in which he received the submission of de Clare, and closed his career, dying at the castle of Clonroad in 1306. His remains were interred in the abbey founded or enlarged by himself, where they repose alongside of those of his friend and relative, Cumeadh mor Macconmara, by whose aid he was placed on the throne of his ancestors, and whose decease occurred in the same year.

By Nuala, granddaughter of Cineidi, fifth son of Morrogh O'Brien of the Steeds, of the race of Morrogh of the Short Shield, ancestor of the O'Briens of O'Cuanagh, Teige Caeluisce was the father of Torlogh and Donald. The latter was treacherously slain by an English soldier at Quin in the year 1280, whither he had come to buy wine for the entertainment of a party of his friends, who had resorted to his residence to partake of his hospitality.⁽¹¹⁾ This prince had distinguished himself at the battle of Clare abbey in 1276, where he defeated Mahon, or Mathew, the grandson of Donald Connachtach O'Brien, who headed the Cinel Dongaile (the O'Gradys), supporters of Brian Roe, in the struggle for the sovereignty of Thomond.

By Sabia, daughter of Philip, son of Giollacaemhghin O'Kennedy, Torlogh O'Brien had issue five sons:—1. Donogh, who succeeded his father; 2. Mortogh, by whom the genealogical line was continued; 3. Dermot; 4. Conor; 5. Donald Uaithneach, (fostered at Owey). Of these the first three became successively kings of Thomond; of the latter two no account remains.

Donogh, son of Torlogh, son of Teige Caeluisce, succeeded his father as king of Thomond in 1306, having in that year been inaugurated at Magh Adhair. His title was, as a matter of course, disputed by the descendants of Brian Roe, who were supported by Richard de Clare, and a powerful confederacy of the Hy-mblويد families, organised

to depose him. At the head of this combination were the descendants of Dermot Fionn O'Brien, and the chiefs of the following families :—the O'Conaings, O'Kennedys, O'Ceadfas, O'Shannahans, O'Hogans, O'Eachtierns (Aherns), O'Maelduins, O'Duvrachtys, O'Lonergains, and O'Congailles. To these were opposed the Macconmaras, the chiefs of whom were allied by blood to the sons of Teige Caeluisce, and who had under their command the powerful sept of the Clan-Cuilen,⁽¹²⁾ comprising the following families :—Clan-Macconmara, Clan-an-Oirchinneagh (Macinerhenys), Clan-a-Ghiollamhaoil, Clan-an-Chlaraigh, Clan-Mheanmain, O'Mael-downy, O'Halluran, O'Slattery, O'Hossin, O'Hartagain, O'Haly, O'Cindergain, O'Maly, O'Meehan, and O'Liddy. Besides these numerous septs, occupying the country known at this day as the baronies of Upper and Lower Bunratty, the powerful families of the O'Deas and O'Quins, inhabiting Hy-Fearmaic, (the present barony of Inchiquin), to the former of whom the reigning prince of Thomond was allied by fosterage, lent their support to maintain for the son the throne which they had so great a share in vindicating for his father.

These opposing factions having spent the interval since the accession of Donogh, son of Torlogh, in making their preparations, were at last, in the year 1309, brought into conflict. The campaign of that year concluded with a battle, in which Dermot, son of Donogh, son of Brian Roe, was defeated at the head of the Hy-mblويد, and his brother, Conor slain. The next year Dermot marched into Hy-Fermaic, burning and wasting that country, as well as that of the Cinel Dongaile (the O'Gradys), and compelled these septs to join him. On this occasion Dermot had the assistance of Richard de Clare and the English, while Donogh, son of Torlogh, was supported by William De Burgo, son of the Earl of Ulster. The resentments cherished by the Geraldines against the de Burghs, were adopted by the connexions of the former, the de Clares, and the private wars of the O'Briens for the sovereignty of Thomond, made their territory the battle-field of the English factions.⁽¹³⁾ In the following year Dermot advanced against Donogh, who was

aided by the De Burghs, and a battle was fought under the walls of Bunratty, in which six hundred galloglasses of Donogh's army were killed, and William De Burgo taken prisoner. This victory was followed up by a sudden attack on Clonroad, the residence of the defeated prince, which was burned to the ground. To complete his misfortunes, one of his own commanders, in whom he reposed great confidence, Morrogh na-Mainchin O'Brien, son of Mahon, son of Brian, son of Donald Connachtach, turned against him, and treacherously deprived him of life, a crime which was avenged within two years by the fall of the traitor at the battle of Tully O'Dea. On the fall of Donogh, son of Torlogh, Dermot was elected by the clans of Thomond as their prince, and Mortogh, brother of the deceased Donogh, banished by de Clare into Connaught. The reign of Dermot was brief. According to the Four Masters he died in the same year in which he was elected (1311); while in the annals of Clonmacnoise he is said to have been deposed in that year, and Mortogh, second son of Torlogh, son of Teige Caeluisce, elected in his stead. By the same annalists the death of Dermot Clereach O'Brien, the same who was deposed in 1311, is recorded at the year 1313. Magrath, the historiographer of Thomond, under the year 1311, states that the Clancuilen, on the banishment of Mortogh O'Brien into Connaught, agreed to submit and give hostages to Dermot, the grandson of Brian Roe, and that Loughlinriagh O'Dea, who was determined to maintain inviolate his allegiance to the senior branch, in endeavouring to escape into Connaught to join Mortogh O'Brien, was murdered by Mahon, the grandson of Donald Connachtach O'Brien. From this writer, whose office and position must entitle his statements of facts to be considered deserving of credit, we learn that in the same year, 1311, in which the battle of Bunratty was fought, and Mortogh O'Brien banished into Connaught, two sons of Donogh, son of Brian Roe, namely, Mahon Donn and Teige, were made prisoners by Macconmara, and confined in De Burgo's castle of Loughrea. It would seem from this fact that the war was carried into Connaught. It is not improbable that the liberty of De Burgo, who had

been taken prisoner at Bunratty, was purchased by the release of these two princes, and the indecisive nature of the struggle prepares the reader for the announcement of a meeting in the following year (1312) between the Earl of Ulster (Richard de Burgo), Richard de Clare, Dermot, son of Donogh, son of Brian Roe, and Mortogh O'Brien, at which Thomond was again partitioned between the rival princes of the house of O'Brien, an arrangement which lasted only a few months, as Dermot died before the year was over.

On the death of Dermot, his cousins, Donogh and Brian, known among the annalists as Brian Bane (the Fair), the two sons of Donald, third son of Brian Roe, laid claim to that part of Thomond which had been assigned to the deceased prince, and levied an army of the Hy-mblويد and their other partisans to enforce their pretensions. Mortogh, maintaining his right to the entire principality, collected an army of his own followers, which was reinforced by the De Burghs, O'Kellys, O'Maddens of Connaught, and by the Butlers and Comyns of Munster. The opposing hosts met at Tully O'Dea, in the present barony of Inchiquin, where the brothers were routed, and obliged to fly to Bunratty castle, to seek the aid of Richard de Clare, the supporter of the descendants of Brian Roe. De Clare, with his English forces, joining the defeated princes, Donogh was in his turn victorious, and before the close of the year 1313, he had expelled into Connaught Mortogh O'Brien and his brother Dermot, to take refuge with the Red Earl (De Burgo), after which exploits he was solemnly inaugurated at Magh-adhair king of Thomond.⁽¹⁴⁾

Notwithstanding this advantage, the friends of Mortogh O'Brien had sufficient influence to have a meeting of the states of Thomond convened in the next year (1314), at which it was resolved that the territory should be, as before, divided, the eastern portion being given to Mortogh, but with the addition of Clonroad and Hy-Cormaic (the present barony of Islands), which had theretofore been part of the western division. The jealousy which had never ceased to inflame the rival branches of the O'Briens, being stimulated by the intrigues of the English party, Mortogh O'Brien

once more sent for the aid of his Connaught allies, and by their means the two brothers, Donogh and Brian, were expelled.

Robert Bruce, having resolved to follow up his glorious victory of Bannockburn by an invasion of Ireland, his brother Edward landed in Ulster in May of the following year (1315). Among the discontented Irish princes who repaired to welcome Bruce was Donogh, grandson of Brian Roe, who invited the Scot into Thomond, offering his services and those of the numerous party who adhered to him. This invitation and offer Bruce was unable on his first march to the south to comply with, but on receiving reinforcements, he was conducted to Cashel, Nenagh, and Castleconnell by Donogh, and was making preparations to cross the Shannon, when the unexpected appearance of an army prepared to dispute his passage, determined him to retreat. This army had been collected by the chieftains of Thomond who adhered to the English interest, and who, to give battle to the Scottish invader, had, at a council held at Laidin, now better known as Ralahine, about Easter,⁽¹⁵⁾ entrusted its command to Mortogh, king of Thomond. On the retreat of Bruce, Donogh O'Brien and his followers were left to shift for themselves, and he next appears at the celebrated battle of Athenry, fighting on the side of Felim O'Connor, king of Connaught, whom Bruce had the address to detach from the aid of Richard de Burgo, the Red Earl of Ulster, in his campaign in that province against the Scots. O'Connor, relying on the promises of Bruce that he would secure to him the crown of Connaught, withdrew from the English army, when it disputed with the Scots the passage of the lower Bann, in Ulster, and, retiring into his native province, summoned all the Irish malcontents to flock to his standard. Among these was Donogh O'Brien. He escaped the dreadful slaughter of Athenry only to fall in a less glorious field at the abbey of Corcomroe, in the next year.

Before the close of the year 1316, de Clare proceeded to Dublin, to confer with those to whom the government had been confided, and among the principal objects of his journey, according to Magrath, was the obtaining some ad-

vantages for the descendants of Brian Roe. Mortogh O'Brien, who had shewn such zeal for the interests of the English crown, having obtained a safe-conduct from Edmond Butler, the lord deputy, made his appearance also at the seat of government, and exposed the injustice towards himself, of treating with favour the claims of one who had actually invited the Scots into the kingdom, while he himself had taken the field, at the head of the forces of Thomond, to oppose their progress. The services of Mortogh to the crown of England were too obvious and too recent to be disregarded, and the exertions of de Clare in favour of his rival failed of obtaining the desired success. Mortogh O'Brien was acknowledged king of Thomond, over which he reigned until his death in 1343,⁽¹⁶⁾ when he was succeeded by his brother Dermod.

While Mortogh O'Brien was absent in Dublin, in the year 1317, Dermod, who had been appointed his lieutenant in the government of Thomond, was obliged to place himself at the head of his adherents, and once more to submit the rights of the senior branch to the arbitration of the sword. Donogh, grandson of Brian Roe, having been for the last time sustained by Richard de Clare, collected the Hy-mbloid, and having under him his brother Brian, (nicknamed Bane), Mortogh Garv, (the Rough), son of his uncle Donogh, Brian Berra and Teige Luimnich, son of Brian Roe, he took the field at the Abbey of Corcomroe. Dermod, having collected all his troops at Rathlahine, marched northwards, and gave his opponent battle. The descendants of Brian Roe fought as became men who had set their lives and fortunes on this last effort. After exhibiting prodigies of valour, they were almost all cut off, not, however, without some aid from treason, Feidhlim an Oenigh (the Hospitable), O'Conor, prince of Corcomroe, having, according to Magrath, slain Donogh, to whom, as being in the western division of Thomond, he owed allegiance. The victors, too, purchased their advantage dearly. Of the Clancuilen (the Macnamaras), twenty-one persons of distinction are stated to have fallen, besides four of the O'Molonys, and two

of the O'Hallurans. But the whole race of Brian Roe were nearly extirpated, the only survivor being Brian Bane.⁽¹⁷⁾ The chiefs were buried in the adjoining abbey, with honour and respect, by Dermod, their remains having been interred in separate graves, and having distinguishing marks placed over each.

The victory of Corcomroe decided finally the predominance of the race of Torlogh, son of Teige Caeluisce,⁽¹⁸⁾ and led directly to the expulsion of the de Clares and their partisans from Thomond.

Brian Bane, grandson of Brian Roe, after the defeat of his party at Corcomroe, joined Donogh O'Carroll, lord of Ely, who was at war with Edmond Butler, justiciary of Ireland. The two chieftains, uniting their followers, attacked and defeated the combined forces of William de Burgo, Edmond Butler, and Mortogh O'Brien, with the loss of two hundred slain.⁽¹⁹⁾ In this engagement Mortogh narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by Brian. Shortly after this victory the final struggle took place in Thomond. To repair the defeat of Corcomroe, and to establish his power, which was now on a precarious footing, after the fall of so many of the sons of Brian Roe, de Clare assembled a numerous army of the English and Irish, who adhered to him. These latter were under the command of Brian Bane, who had so recently distinguished himself in Ely. The combined troops marched into Hy-Fermaic (the barony of Inchiquin), where the two brothers, Mortogh and Dermod O'Brien, had collected their forces to support O'Dea, against whom de Clare's attack was first directed. According to the account given in the Dublin copy of the annals of Inisfallen, and which is derived from Magrath, the historiographer of Thomond, who was alive when the battle of Dysert O'Dea was fought, De Clare formed his army into three divisions. The first of these, under the command of his son, was ordered to advance, and take post at the rath of Tully O'Dea to prevent the advance of the troops of Corcomroe West, who were under the command of their chieftain, O'Conor. The second division occupied a position

nearer to the Fergus, and was to advance to Magh-downaigh (Magowna).⁽²⁰⁾ The third division, under his own immediate direction, advanced to Dysert, and was opposed to that portion of the army of Thomond which was under the command of Conor O'Dea. A small party of O'Dea's troops were posted to defend the rivulet which traverses the low grounds of Dysert, and falls into the adjoining lake ; and these de Clare determined to disperse. On his advance they opened their ranks to allow him to pass, keeping a front towards him nevertheless, which movement de Clare, mistaking for one of fear on the part of the Dal-gais, he rushed forward, and fell into an ambuscade of O'Dea's troops, who started up and attacked him before the main body of his forces could come to his relief. De Clare, before he was aware of this false step, was encountered and slain by Conor O'Dea. A similar fate befel his son, who was attacked and slain by Felim O'Conor, whose troops poured down from the hill of Scamhal to the support of O'Dea. Loughlin O'Hehir coming up at the moment with the men of Hy-Cormaic, the troops of de Clare, dispirited at the fall of their leaders, gave way on all sides. The victory was complete.

Besides Richard de Clare and his son, we have the authority of Grace and Clyn, the historians of the Pale, for stating that four knights fell in this engagement. These were Sir Henry De Capel, Sir Thomas De Naas, Sir James De Canteton (Condon), Sir John De Canteton. There were also killed, Adam Apilgard and the two sons of Mahon O'Brien, grandson of Donald Connachtach. This last-named member of the O'Briens (Mahon) had been residing on the island of the lake of Inchiquin, and on the arrival of Thomas de Clare in 1277 to restore Brian Roe to the sovereignty of Thomond, he had given in his adhesion to that nobleman. He had, moreover, obtained letters-patent from De Clare, (who was himself merely the grantee of so much of the land of Thomond as he could conquer,) granting to him and his heirs all the territory extending from Loophead, at the mouth of the Shannon, to Kilmacduagh, in the county of Galway. In the character of De Clare's feoffee, Mahon

O'Brien lived at Inchiquin, and his residence there, and disclaimer of the authority of the head of his family, together with his active support of the intrusive English, were offences of too black a dye to be pardoned. Accordingly the first act of Mortogh O'Brien, after the victory of Dysert, was to expel Mahon. He and the rest of his family were obliged to transplant themselves beyond the Shannon to the territory now called Ara, where their descendants, together with those of Brian Roe, have settled, and are to be found at this day.⁽²¹⁾

So great was the resentment of the Dal-gais against the de Clares, that the body of Richard, the father, was cut into minute pieces. Pembridge confirms Grace in this statement, but adds that the remains were interred in the church of the Friars Minors in Limerick.

When the news of the deaths of her husband and son reached de Clare's wife at Bunratty, we are informed that she abandoned the castle and set fire to it, taking a final leave of the country, and that none of her descendants ever came back to claim any title to it, or to the extensive territory ceded by Brian Roe to Thomas de Clare, its founder. After the battle of Dysert O'Dea, the name of de Clare does not once appear in Irish history. This important battle was fought on the 10th of May, 1318. Besides establishing on a secure basis thenceforward the power of the O'Briens, as sovereigns of Thomond, and expelling from its borders the issue of Thomas de Clare, who to the weakness of a title depending merely on the sword, had added the crime of a murder conceived in perfidy, if not sacrilege,⁽²²⁾ Mortogh O'Brien and his brother and eventual successor, Dermot, had struck a blow which contributed to that declension of English power witnessed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Thenceforward the Irish princes pressed on their neighbours of the Pale, until that famous enclosure was reduced in 1515 to half of each of the four counties of Louth, Meath, Kildare, and Dublin.⁽²³⁾

After the battle of Dysert, and the extinction of the hopes of Brian Bane by the fall of the de Clares, that chieftain, accompanied by Mahon, the grandson of Donald Con-

nachtach O'Brien, passed into that part of Thomond which was situated eastward of the Shannon, and expelled the Fion Bloidig, who had always been their allies. In this migration the new-comers were aided by Mortogh O'Brien, who was anxious to remove from his neighbourhood such formidable enemies. Mahon O'Brien did not long survive his removal to the east of the Shannon, for his death by the Clancuilen (the Macnamaras) is noticed by the Four Masters at the year 1320. This powerful sept, who had so great a share in setting the son and successors of Teige Caeluisce O'Brien on the throne of Thomond, now reaped the reward of their services. To the territory of the Clancuilen, comprehending what is now known as the barony of Bunratty, upper and lower, there was added, after the battle of Dysert, the remainder of the land between the Shannon and their former possessions; and the divisions of Clancuilen, east and west, began thenceforward to be used as designations of this sept and their territories.

After the departure of Brian Bane to the country east of the Shannon, peace reigned for some time in Thomond. The annals of John Clyn are, nevertheless, full of entries of this chieftain's exploits. In 1325 this annalist states that with the help of the English of Ely, he took preys in Ossory, in the confines of Slievebloom mountain, in Aghaboe and Aghmacart, on the borders of the county of Kilkenny. In four years after (1329), on the breaking out of war between the great Anglo-Irish lords, Maurice, Earl of Desmond, and William de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, Brian O'Brien at the head of a force of one thousand soldiers, came to the aid of John Darcy, the Justiciary, with Maurice Fitzgerald. In this campaign, Brian let loose his fury against the hereditary enemies of his family, the de Burgos, burnt Athassel, where the remains of William Fitzadelm, its founder, reposed,⁽²⁾ and laid waste the whole country. De Burgo, collecting a force of his adherents, the descendants of Teige Caeluisce, and their allies, the Macnamaras, at the head of the warlike sept of the Clancuilen, opposed Brian Bane at Thurles, where they were defeated with great loss, the slain compris-

ing Conor O'Brien, brother of Mortogh, king of Thomond, Walter, son of Hilarius de Burgo, Nicholas Macnamara, and other nobles of Thomond. Thenceforward to the middle of the century, Brian Bane was constantly engaged in military operations. Among some of these may be mentioned the burning of the town and church of Tipperary, the sacred edifice being at the time full of men and women. His former ally, the Earl of Desmond, had for some time been opposed to him, and the importance of the operations may be inferred from the fact of the Earl's having made seven knights in one campaign. Clyn states that Brian was wounded when he was driven out of Thurles in 1333 by the Earl. But the most important incident in his career we learn from the Four Masters, who state at the year 1343,⁽²⁵⁾ "that Mortogh O'Brien, lord of Thomond, died, and that the lordship was assumed by his brother Dermot, but that he was banished from the chieftainship by Brian O'Brien, and that the chieftains of Thomond then submitted to Brian."

The annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1350, contain the entry of the death of Brian, son of Donald, son of Brian Roe O'Brien, by treachery, he having been murdered by the sons of Lorcan or Laurence MacKeogh. His animosity to the English was inherited by his son Morrogh na-Raithnidhe,⁽²⁶⁾ whose brother had been taken along with Donald, the son of Philip Kennedy, by the Purcells, and by a judicial sentence dragged at horses' tails and hanged. The death of Brian Bane was avenged by his grandson Torlogh Oge, killing sixteen of the Clan Keogh as a retribution for this murder, and besides taking possession of their lands and goods as an *eric*.

After the death of Brian, grandson of Brian Roe, the crown of Thomond reverted to Dermot, brother of Mortogh. There is a great discrepancy in the authorities as to the period of this prince's death. According to the account in Vallancey, furnished by Dr. O'Brien, it occurred at the year 1355, while the Four Masters place that event at the year 1364, nine years later. Leaving no issue, the line was

continued by Mahon Maonmaighe, his nephew, who, with Torlogh Mael (the Bald), and Teige, were the sons of Mor-togh O'Brien by Edaoín, daughter of MacGorman,⁽²⁷⁾ chief-tain of Hy-cormaic. Of these some account shall be given in the next chapter.

CHAPTER X.

A.D. 1318-1466...Accession of Mahon Maonmaighe...Compels the English of North Munster to pay the dubhcios, or black rent...Accession of Torlogh Mael...Banished by his nephew Brian Catha an-Eanaigh...Obtains an asylum from the Earl of Desmond, in the county of Waterford...Battle of the monastery of Eanach, and victory of Brian...Wars of the Macnamaras and de Burghs...Alliance between Brian Catha and Ulick de Burgh...Landing of Richard the Second...Submission of Brian and O'Neil to Richard...Deaths of Brian Catha, Torlogh Mael, Garret, Earl of Desmond, and Torlogh, son of Morrogh na-Raithnidhe, of the race of Brian Roe...Accession of Conor, second son of Mahon Maenmaighe...Fosters James, son of Garret, Earl of Desmond...Licence from King Richard for that purpose to the Earl...Banishment of Thomas, grandson of the earl, for having formed a degrading alliance...The title and estates of the Earl of Desmond transferred by Act of Parliament to James, uncle of Thomas...Ambition and aggrandisement of James...Building of the abbey of Quin for Franciscans...Death of Conor O'Brien and accession of Teige na Glemore, son of Brian Catha an-Eanaigh...Deposed by Mahon Dall...Who is displaced by the de Burghs, and succeeded by Torlogh Bog...Decease of Torlogh Bog, and accession of Donogh, son of Mahon Dall...Donogh dethroned by Teige an-Chomhaid...He exacts the black rent from the English residents...Receives a subsidy from the O'Neill (Henry, son of Owen)...His march and campaign beyond the Shannon...His death.

MAHON Maonmaighe,⁽¹⁾ or Moinmoy, O'Brien, eldest son of Mortogh, succeeded to the sovereignty of Thomond, like many of his predecessors, by usurpation and violence. Whether, according to the Four Masters, he deposed his uncle Dermot in the year 1360, or, agreeably to other authorities, ascended the throne peaceably after his decease, it is undoubtedly true that the rights of the senior branch of his family were disregarded in the exclusion of his cousin Brian, son of Donogh, ancestor of the Glenquin branch. It is in accordance with the energy of his character to find him compelling the English of the northern parts of Munster, to pay the tribute for their quiet occupation of their holdings, called by the natives, "dubhcios," or black rent.

Although the notices of the annalists are extremely scanty about this period, they yet furnish sufficient information to enable us to judge that the English did not give up their hopes of recovering their lost power in Thomond, nor abandon their pretensions without a struggle. Mahon seems to have had his hands provided with work by the policy of the English, who stirred up one faction of the natives of Thomond after another, to weaken the O'Briens. We find, in the year 1356, that Donogh Macnamara, son of the prince of Clancuilen, was killed by the O'Briens, who soon after deprived of life Morrogh Oge Macmahon, heir apparent to the lordship of both Corcovaskins, and the former sept avenging the fall of their chieftain in a few years by the death of Teige, son of Conor, son of Torlogh O'Brien. In such desultory operations twelve years of the reign of Mahon Moinmoy were passed, when he died, and was succeeded by his brother the Tanist, Torlogh, denominated, in the pedigrees of the O'Briens, Mael (the Bald).

In the reign of Mahon Moinmoy over Thomond are recorded the deaths of individuals celebrated in that district for their skill in music and law. Of these, Gilla na-Naembh (Servant of the Saints) O'Conway, was an Ollave or chief professor of the science of music and harmony, who died in 1360 ; and Gilla na-Naembh O'Davoren, chief Brehon or Judge of Thomond, died in four years after. Nor must the decease of Felim, the hospitable O'Conor, prince of Corcomroe, by whose hand fell the younger de Clare at the celebrated battle of Dysert in 1318, be omitted. His death is recorded at the year 1365.

Torlogh Mael, who succeeded his brother by the law of Tanistry, was not long permitted to enjoy his elevation. In less than three years he was dethroned and banished from Thomond by his nephew, the celebrated Brian Catha an Aonaigh, whose warlike genius was better adapted to reign over the turbulent tribe of the Dal-gais. Torlogh, thus deprived of his authority, took refuge with Garret or Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond, who espoused the cause of the exile, and even led an army to reinstate him in his authority. However, before he could pass the Shannon, he

was attacked by the troops of Brian and totally routed. Torlogh, disappointed in his attempt to recover the throne of his ancestors, was obliged to accept an asylum generously tendered by Fitzgerald. This nobleman, whose decease is recorded at the year 1398, was succeeded by the celebrated James, Earl of Desmond, who had obtained a grant of the territory eastward of the Blackwater from Henry the Fifth in 1413, and in the same year assigned to the descendants of Torlogh O'Brien a portion of the lands about the Comeragh mountains, in the county of Waterford, where their posterity have continued since, as the branch known by the name of the Waterford O'Briens. The death of Torlogh Mael in the English Pale, that is, in the territory of the Earl of Desmond, is recorded in the annals of the Four Masters at the year 1398, the same year in which his protector Garret, Earl of Desmond, also departed this life.⁽²⁾

The engagement in which the Earl of Desmond was routed while endeavouring to restore the deposed O'Brien to his sovereignty, was fought on the banks of the river Maig, in the present county of Limerick, at a place called "Aonach," near which a monastery had been founded in the year 1151 by Torlogh O'Brien, the second king of that name, and nephew of Mortoghmore O'Brien. This place, known at present by the name of Monasternenagh, has afforded to Brian that appellation by which he is known in the pedigrees of the family as Brian Catha an Aonaigh, (of the battle of Aonach).⁽³⁾ Both the English and Irish accounts of this battle concur in stating that a great victory was achieved by Brian. Grace admits that "Gerald, Earl of Desmond, John Fitznicholas, and Sir Thomas Fitzjohn, with many other nobles, were taken by O'Brien and Macnamara of Thomond, on the 6th of the ides of July (10th July), in the Abbey of Magio, in the county of Limerick, and more were killed, on which account the Lieutenant, leaving the war against the O'Tooles in Leinster, betook himself thither."

The Four Masters add to the foregoing statement that "Limerick was burned on this occasion by the Thomonians and the Clancuilen (the Macnamaras), upon which the in-

habitants capitulated with O'Brien. Sioda Cam (Macnamara), son of the daughter of O'Dwyer, assumed the wardenship of the town, but the English who were in it acted treacherously towards him, and killed him."

The Lieutenant alluded to in the above extract from Grace, was Sir William Wyndsor, who had been sent from England the year before to replace the Earl of Desmond. The new governor's policy was to play off the Irish factions against one another. One of the septs of the Clancuilen (Macnamaras), whose territory in Thomond had been extended from the river Fergus to the Shannon, by the expulsion of the descendants of Brian Roe and their partisans in 1318, after the battle of Dysert, was at this time ruled by Loughlin Laider (the strong) Macnamara. This chieftain was the father of two sons, Sioda Cam (killed in Limerick) and Teige, and a daughter named Slaine (married to Brian Catha an Aonaigh), by the daughter of O'Dwyer, chieftain of Coill na-manach (Kilnemanagh), in the present county of Tipperary.⁽⁴⁾ By another lady, daughter of O'Daly of Corcomroe, he had a son named Hugh. It was not difficult to set parties at variance who from this unpromising affinity were already predisposed to mutual strife. The Macnamaras were divided against each other, and civil war raged once more in Thomond. In 1375 the Four Masters state that "Brian O'Brien, lord of Thomond, was banished by Torlogh, son of Mortogh O'Brien, and the Clanrickards." From this it is obvious that Torlogh Mael, whose cause had been, six years before, ineffectually espoused by the Earl of Desmond, was once more set up by the English to make a diversion. In this war the Macnamaras were ranged on opposite sides, for the same authorities state, at the year 1377, that the de Burgos having invaded Clancuilen, the Macnamaras assembled around the son of O'Daly's daughter, gave battle to the Clanrickards, and defeated them with the loss of the general, three sons of O'Heyne, prince of Hy-Fiachrach Aidhne, and many others of the chiefs of Clanrickard.

The next year contains an entry that "Teige, the son of Loughlin Macnamara, was slain by the son of the daughter

of O'Daly." From the contemporary notices of the annals of Ulster and of Clonmacnoise, it appears that this was Hugh, the half-brother of Teige.⁽⁵⁾

The subsidising of a few of the Irish chiefs against their fellows was attended with little success. In Thomond Brian O'Brien held his ground as firmly as ever, and notwithstanding his temporary expulsion from his sovereignty by the Clanrickards and Torlogh Mael, he found means to regain his authority, and to establish his power on a firmer basis than before. In 1380 we are informed by O'Flaherty (citing the book of Lecan) that Brian O'Brien, and Richard de Burgo, at the head of an army, exacted from the English of Munster that black rent (*dubhcios*) or tribute, which his father Mahon had extorted from their weakness some time before; while at the same time Morrogh na-Raithnighe (of the race of Brian Roe) devastated that province from its eastern border, the pecuniary supplies which the weakness of the English governors some time before had obliged them to furnish not being forthcoming. The death of the last-named chieftain, which occurred shortly after (1383), afforded no respite to the English of Munster, his place being supplied by his son Torlogh, who prosecuted the war against them as vigorously as his grandfather Brian Bane, or any of the descendants of Brian Roe.⁽⁶⁾

The further notices of Brian Catha an Aonaigh contained in the annals are few. That he formed a close alliance with the de Burgos of Clanrickard, and thereby strengthened himself to resist the English power, is apparent from the entries in the annals of the Four Masters, as well as from those of MacFirbis. In the former, at the year 1386, we learn that de Burgo, attacked by O'Conor Roe, was supported by Brian O'Brien with a large force, which were, nevertheless, defeated in an engagement, in which Conor, son of Teige, son of Conor O'Brien, second cousin to the prince himself, was slain. In addition to the mutual aid which was stipulated to be afforded by these chieftains to one another whenever either of them was attacked by his enemies, an alliance by marriage had taken

place between them, the daughter of Brian being married to Ulick de Burgo, who in 1401 was elected the MacWilliam of Clanrickard.

The disorders of Ireland, and the decline of the English interest, are said to have been among the motives which induced Richard the Second to visit his Irish dominions. Eighteen years of a weak and inglorious reign had passed, when Richard landed at Waterford on the 2d of October, 1394, to receive the submissions, or complete the conquest, of his turbulent subjects of Ireland. A nominal obedience was, as a matter of course, yielded to the leader of an army of four thousand men-at-arms, and thirty thousand archers, conveyed by a fleet of two hundred sail. No fewer than seventy-five chieftains, of greater or less importance, are stated by Leland to have submitted on this occasion to Richard, among the principal of whom was the king of Thomond. This prince, Brian Catha an Aonaigh, and O'Neil, are stated by the Four Masters to have gone into the king's house, (their usual term of submission), and O'Flaherty states that they were honourably received and habited. Art Macmorrogh, the self-styled king of Leinster, we learn from the annalists, "went to the king's house, at the solicitation of the English and Irish of Leinster, but was detained a prisoner on account of the complaint of the Lord-Justice, the Earl of Ormond." The Four Masters add that he was afterwards liberated; but the retention of O'Byrne, O'More, and O'Nolan as hostages, prove that Richard was well aware of the hollow nature of this submission.

Leland, in describing the treatment given by Richard to the Irish princes, states that the four principal chieftains, O'Nial, O'Conor, O'Brien and Macmurchad, were made especial objects of favour. In the instance of the latter the statement is not only unsupported, but even contradicted by the Irish annalists, and in their notice of the visits of the Irish princes to Richard, they omit the mention of any of the O'Conors. It is highly probable that no member of this family appeared at the court of the English monarch, for, in fact, the nominal sovereignty of Connaught had been, ten years before, divided between two rival claimants of

that ancient house ; and, at the period of Richard's visit to Ireland, Torlogh O'Connor Donn and Torlogh O'Connor Roe, had been inaugurated sovereigns of separate portions of the antient kingdom of Connaught, giving rise, from the accident of the colour of the hair, to those designations which have prevailed down to our own times, and by which the antient royal race of the O'Conors are even yet distinguished, after the lapse of four centuries.⁽⁷⁾

Four years after the royal festivities by which king Richard sought to dazzle the rude chieftains of Ireland, Brian O'Brien paid the debt of nature. He died in 1399, surviving by one year the deposed prince Torlogh Mael, his uncle, and his celebrated protector Gerald, or Garret, Earl of Desmond.

Mahon Moinmoy, the father of Brian Catha an Aonaigh, was married to Una, daughter of Felim an Oenigh O'Connor, prince of Corcomroe, who had so powerfully contributed to the defeat and expulsion of the de Clares in 1318. By this lady he had issue Brian, Conor the Tanist, who succeeded Brian, Torlogh, Mortogh, Dermod, and Teige Bacach (the lame). Of these latter nothing is mentioned in the annals beyond the statement by the Four Masters, that Mortogh, son of Mahon Moinmoy O'Brien, died in the year 1380 in the prison of Trim. He had been most probably taken prisoner in the wars between the English and the O'Briens, and confined in the prison of that town.

In the same year in which Brian O'Brien, lord of Thomond, died, the death of Torlogh, son of Morrogh na Raithnighe O'Brien, the representative of the branch of Brian Roe, is also recorded.

Brian Catha an Aonaigh had by Slaine, daughter of Loughlin Laidir (the strong), Macconmara, prince of Hy-Caisin (Ogashin), three sons, too young at their father's death to render unnecessary the accession of their uncle Conor, but who each eventually came to the throne of Thomond. These were Teige na Glemore, Mahon Dall, and Torlogh Bog (the soft).

On the death of Brian, his brother Conor assumed the rule over Thomond by the law of tanistry. The deposition

of Richard the Second by Henry of Lancaster, which occurred about the time that Conor O'Brien succeeded to the sovereignty of Thomond, and which gave rise to the wars of the Roses, left the Irish princes, who lived remote from the seat of government, at liberty to follow their own inclinations, and to make war or form alliances with their neighbours, whether of the English or Irish races, as they pleased. And although the statute of Kilkenny was particularly stringent against contracting the ties of amity between the English and Irish races, there remains on record a striking instance of the custom of fosterage by which those of Norman descent were sometimes bound to their Irish neighbours, and which linked together the two great houses of Desmond, and the O'Briens. On a patent roll of the twelfth year of Richard the Second is entered, bearing date the 8th December, 1388, a licence from the king to Gerald, Earl of Desmond, in the following words:—"The king having been credibly informed of the constant good repute which Gerald Fitzmaurice, Earl of Dessemond, held and supported, above all others of his part of Ireland, for fidelity to him and his liege subjects in Munster, and on that account, and for the better preserving the peace and the said liege people for the future, being willing to shew him favour, did, at his request, grant him licence to send his son James to Conor O'Brien of Tothemond (Thomond), an Irishman, to be brought up or educated, and there to remain as long as he should think fit, notwithstanding any statutes made to the contrary."

It is remarkable that this consignment of his son James to the care of a prince of the O'Briens was made by the very individual who had led the English army eighteen years before to dethrone the reigning prince of Thomond, and who was defeated at the abbey of the Maigue. Such instances were not rare, and while they afford a proof of the cordiality which subsisted between the two races, they serve to explain the meaning of the saying so often used when the later English immigrants are contrasted with the Normans, that these were more Irish than the Irish themselves. They could hardly escape being so, when they were brought up

in the dress, manners, and tongue of the natives. And while the language of the court of England, at and for a long time after this period, was Norman-French, that of the common people being Anglo-Saxon, Latin or Irish formed the medium of communication at the west side of the Irish channel⁽⁸⁾ for more than a century and an half. The member of the house of O'Brien, to whom was confided the education of the scion of the Desmonds, was now prince of Thomond. It is not unreasonable to presume that it is to this fosterage and education of James Fitzgerald in Thomond, the posterity of Torlogh Mael were indebted for the grant of lands in the county of Waterford, to which allusion has been already made. And John Fitzgerald, the elder brother of James, having, shortly after his accession to the earldom, been accidentally drowned in the river Suir, while pursuing a prey of the Butlers, the title descended to his son Thomas, then advancing to manhood. The Four Masters place in the year 1411 the banishment of this young nobleman by his uncle James, son of Garret or Gerald, the ward of the O'Briens, without, however, assigning any reasons for this revolution in the family of the Geraldines of Munster. The romantic incident, however, is sufficiently authenticated, which informs us that Thomas, the young Earl, while pursuing the chase in the neighbourhood of Abbeyfeale, was benighted and obliged to beg a shelter in the house of a person named MacCormac, who happened to be a tenant on the Desmond estates; that Catherine, the beautiful and virtuous daughter of the retainer, inspired the young lord with such a passion as led, when it could not otherwise be gratified, to an offer to share with her his rank and fortune. This mesalliance, we are informed, so incensed the barbarous followers of the house of Desmond, that the young lord and his beautiful though humble countess were banished from the territory,⁽⁹⁾ and the allegiance of the Geraldines transferred to James the uncle, who had influence enough to attain the object of his ambition, in procuring an act of parliament, by which the estates and dignity were confirmed to him and his heirs.

Two years before this event the old feud between the

rival branches of the O'Briens, which had been settled by the banishment of the descendants of Brian Roe nearly a century before, threatened to break out afresh, and an engagement actually took place between Conor O'Brien, prince of Thomond, and Teige and Morrogh, grandsons of Morrogh na Raithnighe, in which the former was defeated and banished from Thomond.⁽¹⁰⁾ Peace was made, however, between the belligerents, and Conor O'Brien returned to his dominion within a year, aided no doubt by the followers of the Earl of Desmond, his foster son.

This nobleman, whose connexion with the house of Thomond renders it necessary that his career should receive some notice, was fifth in descent from Maurice Fitz-Gerald, the father-in-law of de Clare, by whom Brian Roe O'Brien had been so treacherously murdered at Bunratty. In addition to the large possessions which he inherited from his ancestors in Kerry, he contrived means of acquiring the extensive district called the kingdom of Cork, which had been theretofore vested in the descendants of Milo de Cogan, and could not legally be alienated. This blemish in the title was cured by a royal licence, which enabled Desmond to purchase whatever lands he pleased, and of whatever tenure they may have been held by their former owners ; and he was also created by patent, governor of the counties of Cork, Limerick, Kerry and Waterford. A still more extraordinary favour of the crown was his obtaining a licence to absent himself from all future parliaments during his life, and permission to send in his stead a sufficient proxy. This exemption was obtained under the pretences that his presence was necessary in the remote districts of the island, and that his journeys to the seat of government were not only expensive, but dangerous, from the hatred with which he was regarded by the natives for his attachment to the crown of England.

By this lord, who affected rather the state and port of an Irish prince than those of an English nobleman, the descendants of Torlogh the Bald, who had been banished from Thomond about the year 1369, received grants of land in the county of Waterford.

The remainder of the reign of Conor O'Brien over Thomond after his restoration was not distinguished by any event of sufficient importance to be noticed by the annalists, if we except the completion of the Franciscan abbey of Quin⁽¹¹⁾ by Sioda Cam Macconmara, prince of Clancuilen, in 1402, and the death of the Tanist of Thomond, Donald, son of Conor O'Brien, who fell in battle by the hand of Barrymore in 1411.

Conor O'Brien died, according to the Four Masters, in the year 1426, at an advanced age; and Teige na Glemore, his nephew, son to Brian Catha an Aonaigh, was inaugurated in his place. By his wife Mary, daughter of Teige O'Brien of Cuonagh, he was the father of three sons, Dermot, who left no issue; Brian Duff, ancestor of the O'Briens of Carrigogunnell, who gave name to the barony of Pobble Brien, in the county of Limerick;⁽¹²⁾ and Donald, bishop of Limerick.⁽¹³⁾

Of Teige O'Brien, the successor of Conor who fostered the great Earl of Desmond, hardly a notice is preserved. The wars which engaged the partisans of the houses of York and Lancaster at this period, permitted the Irish princes to enjoy a repose, which was undisturbed by the occurrence of any events deserving a record. All that seems to be known of Teige na Glemore is announced in the entry, which states that he was deposed in 1438 by his brother Mahon, who was thereupon styled the O'Brien. It appears that he survived his deposition six years, his death being mentioned by the Four Masters at the year 1444.

Mahon Dall (the blind), the second son of Brian Catha an Aonaigh, was not permitted to enjoy his usurped authority unmolested. The annalists, at the year 1446, state "that a great war broke out in Thomond, by which all Thomond was spoiled. O'Brien himself (Mahon Dall) was taken prisoner; but MacWilliam of Clanrickard went to Thomond, and having rescued O'Brien by force, he set all to rights."

The settlement here referred to consisted in the setting up the third son of Brian Catha an Aonaigh in the place of his usurping brother, Mahon, by Edmond Burke the

MacWilliam as he was then styled, in imitation of the Irish chieftains. The new ruler of Thomond, Torlogh Bog (the soft), was married to a daughter of MacWilliam, and had accordingly the support of that powerful chief, whose aid was invoked to settle the disputes of his neighbours, the O'Conors, as well as those of the O'Briens. By his allies of Clanrickard, Torlogh was supported and maintained in the throne of Thomond until his decease in 1459, when he was succeeded for a brief period by his nephew Donogh, the son of Mahon Dall, who was, however, obliged to give way to his cousin Teige an Chomhaid in less than two years from his accession.

Torlogh Bog, king of Thomond, had by Catherine Burke a numerous progeny. The names of nine sons of this marriage are as follows :—1. Teige an Chomhaid ; 2. Donogh, bishop of Killaloe ; 3. Conor More na Srona (of the large nose) ; 4. Torloghoge ; 5. Mahon ; 6. Morrogh ; 7. Kennedy ; 8. Brian ; 9. Mortogh Beg.

Donogh, son of Mahon Dall, left an only son, Brian an Chovlaigh (of the fleet), of whom no further notice is given in the annals than that the bishop of Killaloe, of his own name and lineage, fell by his hand, in the year 1460.

Teige an Chomhaid O'Brien having been placed on the throne of his ancestors by the power of his kinsmen, the de Burghs of Clanrickard, ruled the Dal-gais for the space of about six years. The continued wars of the roses in England, and the feeble condition of the English interest in Ireland, enabled him to exact from the English settlers of Munster the *Dubhcios*, or black rent, which his great-grandfather, Mahon Moinmoy, was the first of the Irish chieftains to enforce.^(a) Henry O'Neill, who had in 1455 deposed his father Owen, and been inaugurated O'Neill in that year, entertaining hopes that the English power, now reduced to the four counties around the capital, might be completely overthrown, entered into a correspondence with O'Brien, and gave him a subsidy to enable him more effectually to levy war against the crown. This transaction is recorded by the Four Masters at the year 1463. James, the ambitious Earl of Desmond, who had been fostered, as

already mentioned, by Conor O'Brien, having died in 1463, his son Thomas, the unfortunate nobleman who perished five years later in Drogheda, was invested with the office of Lord Justice, and conducted an army to reduce some of the Irish of Offaly, who had extended their ravages to the very walls of Dublin. The English of Meath and Leinster hastily assembling at the command of the Lord Justice, and marching into Offaly, were attacked by Con, son of Calvagh O'Conor, prince of that territory and defeated, the Earl himself being taken prisoner. The Four Masters and Mac Firbis designate O'Conor, the Earl's brother-in-law, and state that he was safely conveyed by O'Conor to the castle of Carbury, as also were Christopher Plunket, the Prior of St. Mary's at Trim, William Oge Nugent, Barnwall, and several others, who, however, were, as we learn from the same authority, released by a reinforcement from the garrison of Dublin.⁽¹⁴⁾ The movement of the Irish of Offaly appears to have been made in concert with those of Thomond, instigated by O'Neill ; for in the same year the Four Masters contain the following entry, descriptive of O'Brien's operations and death :—

“A.D. 1466. Teige O'Brien, lord of Thomond, marched with a great army across the Shannon in the summer of this year, and plundered the Irish of the south and west of Munster. The Irish of Leinster complied with his demands. He then returned home. After obtaining possession of the territory of Clanwilliam, and the county of Limerick, which were made over to him by the Earl (of Desmond) as a condition of obtaining peace both for himself and for the country, and after having obtained the payment of a tribute of sixty marks a-year for ever from the inhabitants of Limerick, he was seized by his death-illness at his own house, and was succeeded by Conor, the son of Torlogh O'Brien, who was inaugurated in his place.”

It would seem from the language of the annalists above cited, that Teige an Chomhaid was vain enough to entertain those dreams of Irish sovereignty which haunted the descendants of Brian Boromha for some generations after the fall of that hero at Clontarf, but which had entirely

faded away soon after the Anglo-Norman invasion. The first step to be attained for the accomplishment of such an object, was to be acknowledged the head of the Irish party, and MacFirbis, in the part of his annals in which he describes Teige's progress, says, "we have not heard of such an host with any of his name or ancestors since Brian Borova was conquering of Ireland ; so that the Irish of Desmond and Iarmond (West Munster) all obeyed him ; and he bribed the Gaeidhils, *i.e.*, the old Irish of Leinster, so that they were working his coming to Tara" (to be crowned). However slight the foundation on which the king of Thomond raised such a superstructure as to expect to regain the position of his ancestors, no greater proof could be afforded of the extreme point of depression to which the English interest had fallen, than the mere conception of such an idea. Teige an Chomhaid's death, almost at the moment when his ambitious views seemed likely to be crowned with success, gave relief to the lord Deputy, who, in about two years after, having gone to face his enemies, and refute their accusations at an adjournment of the Parliament at Drogheda, was summarily seized, tried, convicted of high treason, and executed, by Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, his successor in the government.⁽¹⁵⁾

Teige an Chomhaid, so called from his residence in the townland of that name, where he built the castle on the margin of the lake of Inchiquin, from which the present noble branch of the O'Briens derives its title, was married to Anabella de Burgh, daughter of Ulick, the son of Ulick an Fhiona (of the wine), who then enjoyed the Irish title of the Macwilliam. By this lady he had six sons :—1. Torlogh Donn (the brown), king of Thomond after the decease of his uncle Torlogh Oge ; 2. Donald ; 3. Donogh ; 4. Mortogh Garv ; 5. Morrogh ; 6. Dermod Cleireach. The issue of Teige being at his decease too young to reign, his brother Conor, nicknamed na-Srona (of the great nose), Tanist of Thomond, succeeded to the rule of the Dal-gais.

CHAPTER XI.

A.D. 1466-1528...Conor na-Srona, king of Thomond...Relations between the O'Briens and de Burghs of Clanrickard...Origin of the appellations of MacWilliam Oughter and Eighter...Conor O'Brien supports MacWilliam against the O'Kellys of Hy-many...Battle of Crosmoicron...Defeat of Macwilliam and the O'Briens at Glanog...Antagonism of the houses of Ormond and Kildare.. Arrival of Sir James Ormond...Supported by Conor na-Srona and Macwilliam of Clanrickard...Removal of Kildare...His restoration... Marches into Thomond, and is defeated ..Death of Conor na-Srona...Accession of Torlogh Oge, or Gilladuv...Of Torlogh Donn...Who is engaged in hostilities with Piers Butler, Earl of Ormond...Progress of the Earl of Kildare in Connaught...His alliances with the Irish...Battle of Knocktow, and defeat of O'Brien and Macwilliam...True character of that engagement... Expedition of Kildare into Munster...Defeated at Monabraher by Torlogh O'Brien and Macwilliam...Death of Kildare...Affairs of Tirowen and Tirconnell...The princes of Thomond proceed to the north to aid O'Neill...Are obliged to retreat...Kildare superseded by Pierse, Earl of Ormond...Engagement between Ormond and the troops of Thomond at Camus, on the Suir... Fall of Teige, prince of Thomond...His troops carry his remains to be interred in Ennis...Death of Torlogh Donn, and accession of his son Conor... Sir William Skeffington takes Carrig-Ogunnell, and breaks down the bridge of Portcrusha.

THE relations subsisting between the Dal-gais and their neighbours of Connaught, the de Burghs of Clanrickard, at the accession of Conor na-Srona, and the military operations to which they gave rise, require some notice of the latter family, and the position they occupied among the degenerate English, as they are styled by historians.

Seventy years after the landing of Henry the Second in Waterford, Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster, died, leaving an only daughter, the heiress of all his possessions. This lady married, in the year 1242, Walter de Burgh, styled by the historians of the Pale, lord of Connaught. In two years after this marriage, Walter was created earl of Ulster. In 1333, William de Burgh, a descendant of this marriage, was put to death by his own people,⁽¹⁾ on which his wife, a

granddaughter of Henry the Third, with her only child, a daughter, afterwards married to Lionel Duke of Clarence, fled into England. The vast possessions in Ulster and Connaught, left without a head by this murder, were invaded and spoiled by the neighbouring chieftains; and the heads of the junior branches of the family, fearing that the property in Connaught would be transferred by the marriage of the heiress, away from the name and blood of the de Burghs, seized upon what they could, and adopted names and designations in imitation of their neighbours the native Irish, through whose aid they hoped to maintain their acquisitions. William of Clanrickard, in the south or upper, and Edmond Albanach, in the north or lower part of Connaught, respectively the progenitors of the Marquis of Clanrickard and Earl of Mayo, adopted the names of Macwilliam Oughter (upper), and Macwilliam Eighter (lower), by which designations their descendants were known to a very late period. Their estates, too, were allowed to descend according to the law of tanistry and gavel, and the inauguration of the Macwilliam, whether Oughter or Eighter, was accompanied by the formalities and ceremonies used in the appointment of their princes by the natives themselves. The struggles of the princes of the Irish race for pre-eminence among their septs, were not more inveterate or sanguinary than the wars of the Macwilliams. Thus, in 1366, the Four Masters mention that a great war broke out between the English of Connaught, but it also involved the O'Conors and the followers of O'Kelly, lord of Hy-Many. After a series of hostilities, and the occupation of the territory of Clanrickard, for the space of three months by Edmond Albanach and the lower De Burghs, the hostages of the country were ceded to him, together with the superiority attendant on the title of the Macwilliam. The strife between these degenerate descendants of William Fitzadelm was continued after the decease of Edmond Albanach, which occurred in 1375, and before the close of the century, namely, in 1386, the tables were turned, and by the powerful aid of the king of Thomond, Brian Catha an Aonaigh, peace was established among the

contending branches of the same name, the chieftaincy remaining with the Clanrickard, who was acknowledged as the Macwilliam, by Thomas, son and successor of Edmond Albanach. This Thomas, who had attended Richard the Second on his landing in Ireland in 1394, and had been acknowledged as head of the English of Connaught by that prince, having died in 1401, two Macwilliams were elected, namely, Ulick,⁽²⁾ son of Rickard Oge, and Walter, son of Thomas, but "the latter yielded submission to Macwilliam of Clanrickard for his seniority."

On the accession of Conor na-Srona to the provincial throne of Thomond in 1467, the rival families of the de Burghs were represented by Richard, son of Thomas, son of Edmond Albanach, as the Macwilliam Eighter, and Ulick, son of Ulick, son of Rickard Oge, as the Oughter. The Clanrickards, who were at war with the chieftain of Hy-Many, the latter, as a matter of course, sustained by the lower Macwilliam, called to their aid the prince of Thomond, between whom (as was the case with their ancestors), and the de Burghs settled in Clanrickard, a treaty, offensive and defensive, if not committed to writing, had, in effect, long subsisted. Ever since the wars of Brian Roe, and the expulsion of the de Clares from Thomond, to which the de Burghs had so largely contributed, the families had been united by a series of intermarriages. Of the last three princes of the O'Briens, Torlogh-bog had married Catherine, a lady of the house of Clanrickard, and by her was father of Teige an-Chomhaid, and Conor na-Srona, the former of whom married Anabella, daughter of Macwilliam Oughter, while the families were still further related by the marriage of Slaine, daughter of Conor na-Srona, to Ulick FitzUlick an Fhionna (of the wine).⁽³⁾ The summons of the Macwilliam to Conor O'Brien was promptly answered, and the united forces of Thomond and Clanrickard encountered and defeated O'Kelly and the northern or lower de Burghs, at the cross of Moighecroin, near Galway. According to the Four Masters, "William Caech (the blind) Burke, the son of Macwilliam; two sons of O'Kelly; Hughboy, son of Torlogh MacDonnell, constable of their gallowglasses; and ten

gentlemen of the ClanDonnell, were slain in the conflict. One hundred and sixty gallowglasses, and numbers of others were also slain." The annalists add to this notice, a circumstance which had a powerful effect not only on the affairs of Connaught and Thomond, but on the entire kingdom, as was afterwards clearly exhibited at the battle of Knocktow in 1504, namely, the intervention of O'Donnell in the quarrels of the de Burghs. They state "that O'Donnell (Hugh Roe), son of Niall Garv, went to Connaught to take revenge for the defeat of Crossmoighecroin, for Macwilliam (the lower) and O'Kelly were his friends and confederates."

Two years after this affair, Richard, son of Thomas, resigned the lordship of the lower de Burghs, and Richard, son of Edmond, having taken his place and made submission to Hugh Roe O'Donnell, the latter marched with the chiefs of Tirconnell, joined by the "rising out" of lower Connaught, to attack Macwilliam of Clanrickard (Ulick, son of Ulick of the wine), to wreak their vengeance on him and the king of Thomond, for the defeat of Crossmoighecroin. Gilladubh (the black-haired youth), and Mortogh Garv (the rough), sons of Teige an Chomhaid, and nephews of Ulick, son of Ulick of the wine, were despatched by their uncle, the reigning prince of Thomond, Conor na Srona, to the aid of the Clanrickards. The northern army, after burning and laying waste the country around Clare Galway, was attacked by the cavalry of Thomond on their retreat, and a spirited action ensued, to the advantage of the northerns, if we may credit the Four Masters, who, however, are not always to be relied on wherever the O'Donnells are concerned. These writers state that the Macwilliam of Clanrickard, and the O'Briens, were defeated at Glanog, a small rivulet near the castle of Cargins, in the barony of Clare, by O'Donnell, and made an inglorious retreat, leaving behind them in their flight, men, horses, and valuables.

From the affair of Glanog in 1469, an interval of twenty-three years occurs before the next mention of the O'Briens. In the meantime Ulick, the Macwilliam of Clanrickard, son

of Ulick of the wine, dying in 1485, his son, the third Ulick, succeeded to the chieftaincy. The Four Masters state that in the next year a numerous army was led into Connaught by O'Donnell (Hugh Roe) and another to oppose him, by Macwilliam of Clanrickard. They add, however, that on coming together, they agreed to conditions of peace and amity. It is possible that the connexions which had been formed by these rival leaders, contributed to indispose them to a profitless warfare, each of them being connected with the house of Thomond, two daughters of Conor na Srona, Finola (fair shoulder), and Slaine, being respectively married to Hugh Roe and Macwilliam.⁽⁴⁾ The accession of Henry the Seventh, and the conclusion of the wars of the rival houses of York and Lancaster, were not unfelt in the west of Ireland, hitherto the scene of merely local feuds. The interest of the partisans of the house of York being on the decline, the enemies of Gerald, Earl of Kildare, whose family had always favoured the pretensions of that house, secretly practised against this nobleman, and as one of their measures to that effect, they sent into Ireland an illegitimate descendant of the rival house of Ormond, to thwart the measures of Kildare, then Lord Justice. This emissary was Sir James, natural son of John sixth Earl of Ormond, who had died in 1478 on a pilgrimage to the holy land. Immediately on his arrival in Ireland in the course of the year 1492, he was joined by Conor O'Brien, prince of Thomond, and his kinsmen, and the Macwilliam of Clanrickard at the head of the Burkes, and the whole forming an imposing force, Ormond marched into the country of the Butlers, and compelled the adherents and retainers of that house to give him pledges of submission. The combined army marched through Leinster and Meath with very little opposition, ravaged the country, and made prisoners. The Lord Justice Kildare, although ill-supported, took the necessary measures to maintain in name the royal authority, but in fact the power and pre-eminence of his own family, which was endangered by the union of the western chieftains with the Butlers, the ancient rivals of his house. In his progress it appears that in the

course of this warfare "the street of the sheep" (Ship-street), in Dublin, was burned by the Lord Justice, the retainers of Sir James Ormond having been quartered in that locality. The strife between the rival factions of the Butlers and Geraldines was terminated in the course of the year 1492, by the removal of Kildare, who was more than suspected of favouring the intrigues of the Duchess of Burgundy, and supporting the impostures of Simnel and Warbeck, the sword of state being intrusted to Fitzsimons, Archbishop of Dublin, and Sir James Ormond being made Treasurer in the room of the baron of Portlester, Kildare's father-in-law. Kildare himself, although he was conveyed to England a close prisoner, was eventually restored to favour by Henry, reinstated in his office and in his honours; and, according to the annals of Ulster, returned in 1496, "the week before Michaelmas, as Justiciary over the English of Ireland, with great honours from the king of England, having married the daughter of the king's own sister, *i.e.*, the daughter of the abbot of Glasberry (Glastonbury)."

The Earl of Kildare had no sooner returned to Ireland, after triumphing over his enemies, than he marched into Thomond to punish its prince for the support afforded to the Butlers. Conor na-Srona, at the head of the Dal-gais, met and gave battle to the Lord Justice, and after an obstinate engagement near the castle of Ballyhickey in Thomond, defeated Kildare, and obtained possession of that and another stronghold belonging to Florence or Finneen Macconmara.⁽⁵⁾ This was the last engagement of the prince of Thomond, his decease occurring shortly after in the same year. He was succeeded by his next brother, Torlogh Oge, nicknamed Gilladluv (the black-complexioned), who had occupied the place of Tanist, left vacant by the decease of his brother Mahon in 1472.

Conormore na-Srona had two sons, the elder Teige, killed in a fray in the year 1474 by Dermot, son of the bishop O'Brien, who was immediately put to death by the bereaved father; the second, Donogh, father of Brian who was obliged to part with the fertile plain of Shallee, near Ennis, as a ransom when taken prisoner by the two sons of Morrogh, ancestor of the Earls of Inchiquin, and of the

O'Briens of Dromoland.⁽⁶⁾ The alliances formed by Conor na-Srona for his daughters, show the extent as well as importance of his connexions. Besides Finola, married to Hugh Roe O'Donnel, prince of the Cinel Conall, and Slaine, the wife of Ulick the second of Clanrickard, his third daughter Margaret was united to Owen O'Ruarc, prince of Breifney.⁽⁷⁾ One effect of these alliances was to entail on the Dal-gais and their princes, protracted if not perpetual hostility to the crown of England, and they involved the O'Briens in the disasters consequent on the fatal battle of Knocktow, a few years later.

Of Torlogh Oge, brother of Conor na-Srona, little more is known than that he was inaugurated prince of the Dal-gais on the death of his brother, and that, after a brief reign of three years and two months, he died, and was succeeded by his nephew, Torlogh Donn (the brown), son of Teige an Chomhaid.⁽⁸⁾

Torlogh Donn had hardly been appointed prince of the Dal-gais, when he was engaged in hostilities with Piers Butler, Earl of Ormond. The support afforded by the O'Briens to Sir James Ormond since his arrival in Ireland in 1492, naturally drew on them the hostility of the rightful head of the Butlers. That ancient family, whose honours had been temporarily usurped by Sir James, the illegitimate offspring of John the sixth earl who died on his pilgrimage to the holy land, was now legitimately represented by Piers, or Peter, the eighth earl of Ormond, to whom Kildare had given his sister, the lady Margaret, in marriage, with the view of weakening the influence of Sir James Ormond and his supporters among the Irish chieftains. Sustained by his brother-in-law the Lord-Deputy, the Earl of Ormond, after an engagement with his rival Sir James in which the latter was slain, commenced hostilities against Torlogh O'Brien, which terminated in the defeat of the Butlers at Moyaliff in Ormond, after a bloody engagement. This check was not thought of sufficient consequence to retard the progress of Kildare, who in the same year (1499) marched at the head of an imposing force into Connaught, took the castle of Athleague from one branch

of the O'Kellys of Hy-Many, whom he banished from that territory replacing them by rivals of the same family, and seizing the castles of Tulsk, Roscommon, and Castlerea, from one chieftain of the O'Conors, he bestowed them on another of the same race. This interference in the concerns of a portion of the kingdom so remote from the Pale, was a part of that policy of personal aggrandisement for which Kildare was remarkable, and influenced by which he had in this year, according to the annals of Ulster, and in disregard of positive enactment, given his son Henry to be fostered by Hugh Roe O'Donnell, who came into the Pale for the purpose of receiving his young charge. He had about twenty years before, with like views, given his sister Eleanor in marriage to Con O'Neill, son of the prince of Tirowen, and had procured an act of Parliament (the 20th of Edward the 4th) to be passed for naturalising his brother-in-law, and conferring on him the rights of an English-born subject. It will conclude the narrative of Kildare's alliances to mention, that his daughter had been bestowed on the third Ulick, the Macwilliam of Clanrickard, who is said to have provoked the hostility of his father-in-law by harsh treatment of his wife, a circumstance of considerable weight in contributing to, if not the real cause of, the important campaign and battle of Knocktow some years later.

Such was the condition of Irish parties, when Torlogh Donn became prince of Thomond. The annalists state that in the winter of the year 1501, about two years after his accession, he overran and "burned the county of Limerick and Cosh-maighe."⁹ Operations of a more important character were soon to engage his attention, and that of his uncle Ulick, the third of that name, the Macwilliam of Clanrickard, growing out of the oppression practised by the latter on O'Kelly, chieftain of Hy-many, who proceeded to the Lord Justice to complain that three of his castles, Garvdoire (Garbally), Muine an-mhedha (Monivea), and Gallach (Castleblakeney), had been demolished by Macwilliam. The Lord Justice, whose arrangement of the disputes among the rival claimants of the O'Kellys in 1499, had been, as soon as his back was turned, subverted by this

chieftain, and who had besides private ground of dissatisfaction with Macwilliam, for the harsh usage with which he treated his wife, the daughter of Kildare, determined on proceeding in person and chastising his refractory son-in-law. With this view he collected a large force, and marched into the territory of Clanrickard to the place since called Knocktow (the hill of axes), so called from the remarkable engagement which ensued. It has been asserted by prejudiced or careless writers, that this victory of Knocktow was gained by English over Irish troops, but the bare enumeration of the leaders, and of the septs concerned in the action, will suffice to disprove this assertion. The following statement is from the Four Masters :—Anno 1504. “A great army was mustered by the Lord Justice, Garret, son of Thomas, Earl of Kildare. He was joined first by the chieftains of Leathcuinn (the northern half of Ireland), namely, O'Donnell, *i.e.*, Hugh Roe, and his son, with the principal chieftains of the Cinel Conall, and a party of the troops of Connaught, namely, O'Conor Roe, *i.e.* Hugh, the son of Felim Finn, and MacDermot, lord of Moylurg. There came also in the same muster the chiefs of Ulster (with the exception of O'Neill), namely, Art, the son of Hugh O'Neill, Tanist of Cinel-Owen ; Donald, the son of Magennis ; Macmahon and O'Hanlon ; also O'Reilly and O'Farrell, *i.e.* the Bishop ; O'Conor Faly ; the O'Kellys ; the Clan William Burke ; and the forces of almost all Leathcuinn. These numerous hosts did not halt till they reached Clanrickard. Macwilliam of Clanrickard mustered immense forces to give them battle, namely, Torlogh son of Teige O'Brien, lord of Thomond, and his kinsmen, with their forces ; the Sil-Aedha ;⁽¹⁰⁾ Mulrony O'Carroll, lord of Ely, with his clans and chieftains ; and the leading warriors of Ormond and Ara.⁽¹¹⁾ Macwilliam and O'Brien, with their forces, thereupon came to a brave resolution not to yield submission or hostages to their opponents, but to reply to them in battle promptly at Knock-tuagh.” The Four Masters further state that the victory was gained over Macwilliam, O'Brien, and Leathmogha (the southern half of Ireland), and that of nine battalions or divisions which were drawn up in battle array in the army of the

south, there survived the action but one broken battalion.

The victory of the Lord Justice, though decisive, was dearly bought. This is apparent from the reply of O'Donnell, when consulted by Kildare as to the propriety of marching after the battle to Galway. It was as follows :—
“A considerable number of our forces have been overpowered and slain, and others of them are scattered and dispersed, wherefore it is advisable to remain in this place to-night in token of victory, and pitch a camp, for our soldiers and attendants will join us on recognising our standards and banners.”

This celebrated battle was fought on the 19th of August, 1504. From all the accounts that have been handed down to us of the battle of Knocktow, and the motives which gave rise to it, two things are certain :—First, that it arose from private pique of the Lord Justice against his son-in-law Macwilliam, and secondly, that it was mainly an engagement of the Irish among themselves. It appears indeed from the romantic and inflated account in the Book of Howth⁽¹²⁾ that Kildare was accompanied by several lords of the Pale, one of whom, the lord Gormanstown, advised that the quarrel should be better understood before engaging, and that the king should be made acquainted therewith, lest the whole realm should be endangered in the event of failure. The baron of Howth, whose martial spirit could not brook delay, offered no other objection to the advice of the baron of Gormanstown than that it came too late, when they were in the presence of their enemies, and that in the event of failure, the survivors might bear the blame, for that he was resolved to win the battle or lose his life. The absence of the Earl of Ormond from this expedition amounts to strong negative proof that it was considered a private quarrel of the Lord Justice's, who had sufficient address to draw to his standard the whole force of the northern half of the kingdom, and to cause them to imbrue their hands in the blood of their countrymen without the shadow of an excuse, a degree of fatuity which merited the memorable suggestion made after the battle by

the lord of Gormanstown to Kildare, to consummate the good work which they had achieved, by slaughtering their Irish auxiliaries.

Leland, in his account of the battle of Knocktow, says that the first tumultuous onset of the troops of Clanrickard was met by such steadiness, and repelled with such execution by the archers of the Pale, that the rout was instantaneous. This is hardly consistent with the above-mentioned speech of O'Donnell to the Lord Justice, or even with the fact of occupying the field of battle in the night. On the contrary, the truth would seem to be that none of the Anglo-Irish were engaged, and Ware states that it appears from the white book of the Exchequer, that not an Englishman was slain or even wounded in the battle ! This writer, who was more capable of forming an opinion than Leland, states so far from the rout being instantaneous, that the fight was sharply continued for some hours with equal loss on both sides, when at last the victory fell on Kildare's side, about two thousand of the enemy being left dead on the field.

Whatever may have been the motives which induced Kildare to risk his fortunes in the battle of Knocktow, it is undeniable that a most important advantage to the crown of England was gained by the victory ; and the gift of the garter, the highest honour in the power of the crown to confer, marks the value entertained by Henry the seventh of Kildare's service. By it the continued decline of the English power in Ireland was arrested, and from the date of the victory of Knocktow, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the tide turned until, from the English Pale being confined to portions of four counties around Dublin, the entire island in the beginning of the seventeenth century was irrevocably connected with the sister kingdom.

The aid afforded by Torlogh, king of Thomond, to his uncle of Clanrickard, in the battle of Knocktow, was of too important a character to pass unpunished by the Lord Justice. An opportunity alone was required, and this was thought to be afforded in the course of an expedition which

was undertaken by Kildare in 1510. Of this expedition the Four Masters give the following account :—" An army was led into Munster by Gerald, Earl of Kildare, Lord Justice of Ireland, attended by the chiefs of the English and Irish of Leinster, and he erected a castle at Carrig-cital in despite of the Irish.⁽¹³⁾ O'Donnell followed with a small number of troops to his assistance, through Meath and westwards into Munster, until he joined him at the above-mentioned place. Thence they passed into Ealla,⁽¹⁴⁾ and took the castle of Kanturk,⁽¹⁵⁾ and plundered the country. Then proceeding into Great Desmond,⁽¹⁶⁾ they took the castle of Pallis, and another castle on the bank of the river Mang (or Maine), after which they returned in safety to the county of Limerick. They then mustered additional forces, and the Geraldines of Munster, under the conduct of James, son of the Earl of Desmond, and all the other English of Munster, and also Macarthy Reagh (Donald, son of Dermot, son of Fineen), Cormac Oge, the son of Cormac, son of Teige, and the English and Irish of Meath and Leinster, proceeded to Limerick. Torlogh, son of Teige O'Brien, lord of Thomond, with all his forces, and Macnamara, the Sil-Aedha, and the Clanrickards, mustered another numerous army to oppose them. The earl, that is, the Lord Justice, marched with his army through Bealach-na-Fadfaighe and Bealach-na-ngamhna, until he arrived at a wooden bridge (that is, the bridge of Portcroise), which O'Brien had constructed over the Shannon,⁽¹⁷⁾ and he broke down the bridge, and encamped for the night in the territory. O'Brien encamped so near them that they used to hear each other's voices and conversation during the night. On the morrow the Lord Justice marshalled his army, placing the English and Irish of Munster in the van, and the English of Meath and Dublin in the rear. O'Donnell and his small body of troops joined the English of Meath and Dublin in the rear ; and they all took the short cut through Moin-na-mbrathar⁽¹⁸⁾ to Limerick. O'Brien's army attacked the English, and slew the baron Kent and Barnewall of Kircustown, with many other men of distinction not enumerated. The English army escaped by flight, and the

army of the O'Briens returned in triumph with great spoils."

Sir James Ware's account of the battle at Monabraher, although somewhat different, appears to corroborate this of the Four Masters. It is plain that the prince of Thomond and Macwilliam of Clanrickard had determined to retrieve the defeat of Knocktow, by striking a blow at Monabraher, which might help to balance the account between them and the Lord Justice. Ware's account is as follows:—

"Both parties resolved on a battle, and began a sore fight, with great loss on either side; but on the Earl's side fell the greatest loss, his army being laden with spoils and spent with long marchings. Night ended the battle. The next day the Deputy, by advice of his officers, (the army keeping their ranks) withdrew, and without any other loss returned home."

The energy exhibited by the Dal-gais on this occasion inspired the Lord Justice with so much respect for the military genius of their prince, that he turned his arms to another quarter, and laid siege to the castle of Leim-Ui-bhanain⁽¹⁹⁾ in Ely O'Carroll, belonging to the prince of that territory. Unable to take it by escalade, and being unprovided with heavy ordnance, he was obliged to retreat for the purpose of procuring siege artillery, but was taken ill and died at his residence in Athy, in the September of the year 1513, in the course of which these operations against O'Carroll took place. On his decease, his son Gerald was appointed his successor by the Privy Council, a selection which was approved shortly after by the king, who by letters patent constituted him Lord Deputy of Ireland. The castle of Leap, from the siege of which his father had been obliged to retire a short time before, was taken by this young nobleman in the year 1516.

An interval of about six years elapsed between the capture of Leap Castle, then on the frontiers of Thomond, and the next occurrence of military operations among the Dal-gais. In 1522, on the breaking out of hostilities between O'Neill and O'Donnell, the sons of the king of Thomond, namely, Donogh and Teige, together with the bishop of Kil-

laloë, Torlogh, son of Mahon O'Brien, the cousin-german of their father, proceeded to the north to aid O'Neill. The prince of the Cinel-owen was the only chieftain of importance in the northern half of the kingdom who had not contributed to the victory of the Lord Justice at Knocktow, and the O'Briens were not unmindful of this disinterestedness. When it is remembered that this chieftain, Con Bacach (the lame), was the nephew of the Lord Justice, his keeping aloof from joining Kildare along with the others of the northern chieftains, was a service demanding recognition from both O'Brien and MacWilliam. Accordingly, the latter with the entire of the sept of the de Burghs, the O'Carrolls, and the O'Kennedys, accompanied the O'Briens to the north to swell the muster of O'Neill. Before they were able to effect a junction with that prince, he was defeated by O'Donnell, whereupon the chiefs of the southern army came to the resolution of despatching Teige, prince of Thomond, to O'Donnell with terms of peace, and a proposal that certain subjects of dispute between MacWilliam and O'Donnell should be left to the joint arbitration of Manus, son to the latter, and O'Carroll, prince of Ely. Pending the issue of this proceeding, and before the return of the prince of Thomond, the confederate army of the south made a precipitate retreat, and, if we are to believe the Four Masters, who, however, always lean to the side of the O'Donnells, did not halt until they reached the Curlew mountains, on the north-western frontiers of Roscommon, where the various contingents separated. Teige O'Brien, his friends having retreated, was indebted for his safe-conduct as far as the Curlews, to the consideration entertained by Manus O'Donnell for the character with which he was invested on this mission. The annalists remark, that this retreat of the southern army redounded as much to the credit of O'Donnell, and was considered as great a victory, although bloodless, as that of Knockbuidhbh (Knockavoe, in Tyrone), where he had defeated O'Neill, in this same campaign, a short time before.

The intrigues of the enemies of the Earl of Kildare, at the English court, having been so far successful as to in-

duce the monarch (Henry the Eighth) to commit the government of Ireland to Pierse Earl of Ormond, that nobleman was speedily engaged in hostilities with the chieftains of the Irish race, and particularly with those whose territories lay along the districts inhabited by the Butlers. Down to the close of the sixteenth century the kingdom of Thomond extended as far as the Slievebloom mountains to the east, comprising within it the principality of Ely. Pressing upon O'Carroll, whose territory adjoined the domains of the house of Ormond, the Earl, Piers Roe, as he is styled by the annalists, was attacked at the ford of Camus, on the Suir, a short distance to the north of the city of Cashel, by the troops of the king of Thomond, under the command of his son Teige, who, the year before, had been engaged in Ulster in support of Conbacach O'Neill. In this engagement the Dal-gais had the misfortune to lose their prince, who was killed, as the annalists describe it, "by the shot of a ball." His soldiers, however, can hardly be said to have been defeated on this occasion, for they carried, along with their spoils from the field of battle, the body of their leader to the monastery of Ennis, the usual place of sepulture, then and for a long time after, of the members of the house of Brian.

Five years after the fall of his son, Torlogh Donn king of Thomond followed him to the grave. His reign of twenty nine years was brought to a close in 1528. The Four Masters, at that year, in their notice of the event, style Torlogh "the worthy heir of Brian Boroimhe, in maintaining war against the English." He was considered of so much importance that when the Emperor Charles the fifth and Henry the eighth formed a league against Francis the first of France, the latter, to find employment for the English monarch at home, entered into a treaty with the earl of Desmond, in which Torlogh Donn, prince of Thomond, was included.⁽²⁰⁾ The French monarch, in the treaty entered into with Desmond, bound himself to make no peace or truce with Henry without including that nobleman and Torlogh, hereditary prince of Thomond. The battle of Pavia, which proved disastrous to Francis, was

followed by a peace between France and England, without, however, including Desmond or O'Brien, as Henry immediately despatched orders to the earl of Kildare to have the former arrested on a charge of high treason. From the fact that this order did not comprehend the prince of Thomond, it may be inferred that Henry did not consider that any obligation of allegiance existed between himself and the native Irish princes, some of whom made peace, in due form, with the king and his lieutenants, and, like Fitz-Patrick of Ossory, whose ridiculous mission of an ambassador to the English monarch, finds a place in history,⁽²¹⁾ maintained a seeming independence, an idea the more excusable, when it is recollected within how narrow limits the power of the crown of England had been reduced by the events of two centuries following the invasion of Edward Bruce, in 1316.

By his wife Ragnailt, daughter of John Macnamara, prince of Clancuilen, Torlogh Donn had issue five sons :— 1. Conor, who succeeded him ; 2. Donogh, tanist of the kingdom, who died in 1531, leaving no issue ; 3. Morrogh, who succeeded Conor, and resigned the principality, accepting an English patent of nobility ; 4. Teige, killed at the ford of Camus, on the Suir ; 5. Dermod, who died without issue.

Torlogh Donn was succeeded on the provincial throne of the Dal-gais by his eldest son Conor, and at the same time, according to the law of tanistry, his brother Donogh was nominated tanist, who, however, held that office for only the short period of three years, his death having taken place in 1531, when it devolved on Morrogh, the next brother, by whom the royalty of Thomond was surrendered to Henry the eighth, and an end put to a rule which had subsisted in that territory for centuries.

CHAPTER XII.

A.D 1528-1539 ..Rivalries of the houses of Kildare and Ormond...Their connection with the O'Briens...Rebellion of Silken Thomas Fitzgerald...He takes refuge in Thomond...Surrenders to lord Leonard Grey, whom he charges with encouraging him to rebellion...Letters of lord Leonard Grey and king Henry relative to Fitzgerald's surrender...The king's anxiety to get the young Gerald into his power...The child protected by Conor O'Brien, who refuses to give him up, and favours his escape with his mother to Tyrconnel...James the fifth of Scotland desires to have the young Geraldine sent to him...Escape of the latter into France...Lord Leonard Grey ordered to proceed to Thomond to punish O'Brien...His operations...Peace concluded for one year between Conor O'Brien and the king...Death of the prince of Thomond, and accession of Morrogh the tanist.

WE now approach a period in the history of the principality of Thomond, when the fortunes of its princes were about to undergo a remarkable change. Previous to the accession of Henry the eighth, the dependency of Ireland on the monarchy of England was, for the most part, merely nominal. Down to this period the Norman colonists maintained themselves in several portions of the kingdom, by paying to the native princes and chieftains, in consideration of being protected, the yearly stipulated tribute designated black rent.^(A) The continuance of a system of paying the natives a stipulated sum for protection, was so degrading in itself, and so inconsistent with a due regard to the authority which the dominant country claimed to exercise over its dependency, that on the termination of the civil wars in England, one of the first objects which engaged the attention of the sovereigns of that country was, the thorough and complete reduction of Ireland.

Impressed with this idea, which the king was encouraged to put in execution by the advice of Cardinal Wolsey, the earl of Surrey was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland,

(A) Vide post, Appendix.

and despatched thither with a body of troops in the year 1520. After some not very important transactions with the chieftains of Tirowen and Tirconnel, tending to no material result, this nobleman solicited his recal, and Henry, induced by the French monarch to declare war against the Emperor Charles the fifth, appointed Surrey to the command of the troops destined to act in concert with France. While in Ireland, Surrey had imbibed the notion that the influence of the earl of Kildare was so great as to be dangerous to the royal authority. The enemies of this latter nobleman, at the head of whom was Wolsey, were so successful in their representations of this danger to the king, that his majesty determined to intrust the government of Ireland to Piers, earl of Ormond, Kildare's rival and enemy. Thus was inflamed and embittered a previous jealousy of some standing between these rival houses, the effects of which were soon after felt in various parts of the kingdom, and particularly in the territory of Thomond. Surrey was directed, on his departure from the island, to resign the sword of state to the earl of Ormond.

The government thus intrusted to the new Deputy was soon found to have been committed to incompetent and inexperienced hands. Ormond, in his turn, was obliged to give way to his rival Kildare, who, acquitted of the charges which had been preferred against him by his enemies at the English court, and having flattered his sovereign by attending him at the interview between himself and the French monarch at Calais, was permitted to return to his native country, and ordered to assume its government. He had, while in England, strengthened his connexions in that country, by his marriage with the Lady Elizabeth Grey, daughter to the Marquis of Dorset, and sister to Lord Leonard Grey, some time afterwards Lord Deputy in Ireland.

Kildare had been hardly installed in his government, when the state of affairs on the continent gave rise to those events which in their result proved so disastrous to the Geraldines of Kildare and Desmond. Henry, again induced by the emperor to declare war against France, discovered that a league, offensive and defensive, had been

entered into by the French monarch with the earl of Desmond. To punish his rebellious subject, the king ordered Kildare to seize the offender without delay. The order was not executed with the vigour or promptitude which the occasion required. Kildare, reluctant to act with rigour against his relative, marched towards the frontiers of south Munster, giving time to Desmond to retreat into his fastnesses, a remissness which was industriously reported and inveighed against at the English court by the enemies of Kildare. He was, in consequence of these representations, summoned to appear at court to answer for his conduct. By the interposition of his powerful connexions in England, and after undergoing a somewhat lengthened imprisonment, he was again remitted to his government. These repeated triumphs over his enemies, it is said, were too much for the pride and temper of the earl to bear with moderation. Besides his powerful English connexions, he had married two of his daughters to O'Connor, prince of Offaly, and O'Carroll, chieftain of Ely; while one of his sisters became the wife of Macarthy Reagh, a principal chief of South Munster, another having married O'Neil (Conbacagh,) the powerful head of the Kinelowen of Ulster. These connexions, in the unsettled state of Ireland, and its slender dependence on the English crown, encouraged Kildare to a course of conduct in his government which was turned to account by those enemies of his house, ever on the watch for grounds of accusation to be forwarded to England, where they were eagerly received and enforced by the partisans of the house of Ormond, who now, by the marriage of the king with Anne Boleyn, had become allied to the sovereign himself, and possessed the influence inseparable from such a connexion.^(B)

The representations of the Irish council to the sovereign were not limited to the irregularities of Kildare's government. They entered at length into the entire condition of the state of Ireland. The narrow extent of the Pale, limited to portions of the four counties around the seat of government,—the degrading position of the king's subjects, obliged

(B) Vide post, Appendix.

to purchase an uncertain protection from the Irish princes,—the confined extent of the English laws and customs,—the prevalence of the Irish language, habits, and manners, over those of England,—these and other subjects of complaint were sedulously enforced on the royal attention, and urged with such effect that the king, ever ready to yield to his ungovernable temper, determined to command the presence of the earl of Kildare once more at the court, to give account of his government, and to answer to charges for many of which he was not in truth accountable. The year 1534 witnessed the departure of Kildare from a country into which he was destined never to return. Ordered to entrust the sword of state into the hands of some person for whose conduct he should be responsible, he committed the fatal mistake of selecting for that trust his son Thomas, a youth who had not then reached his twenty-first year, after which he proceeded to England, and was committed to the Tower, where he eventually ended his days.

It was some time previous to the events just narrated, namely, in the year 1528, that on the death of his father Torlogh Donn, Conor O'Brien succeeded to the principality of Thomond. This prince, by his first wife Annabella de Burgh a daughter of his neighbour the Macwilliam, as he was designated, was the father of Donogh, his heir. Choosing for his second wife the sister of the earl of Desmond, the prince of Thomond became connected with the families of the Geraldines, who were, as might be expected, anxious to promote the interests of the younger children of Conor. Domestic jealousies and dissensions thus inevitably sprung up in the family of Conor O'Brien. Donogh, his eldest son, with the view of strengthening his interest, allied himself to the house of Ormond, an alliance which, in the reign of Elizabeth, tended very powerfully to the sustainment of his family, and to their maintenance in their ancient prestige in Thomond. This connexion is thus referred to by the Irish council in their letter to Cromwell in July 1533 (State papers, vol. 3, 171):—

“The Earl of Ossory hath maryd one of his daughters to MacGyllipatrick and is denyzyn, whome I know, the

earl of Ossory willing, woll be conformable. O'brene's eldest son, whoo is the most man of power emongis the Irishrie, hath married another doughter of the erle of Ossories, who may be like allurid, and is also denyzyn."

That these expectations of support from the young prince-expectant of Thomond were not ill-founded, will appear from a speech of his to his brother-in-law, the lord Butler, thus reported by Parry to Cromwell, in his letter from Waterford, on 6th October, 1535 :—

"I have maryd your syster, and for becaws I have maryd your syster, I have forsaken my father, myn unkle, and all my fryndes and my contrey, to come to you and to help to doo the kyng servys. I have bin sore woundid, and I have no rewarde nor nothing to leve upon. What wolde ye have me do? Yff that it wolde plesse the king's grace to take me into hys servys, and that you will come into the contrey, and bring with you a piese of ordnaunce to wyn a castell, the whych castell is called Carygoguillin, and His Grace to geve me that which never was none Ynglishe man's these 200 yere, and I will desyer the kyng no helpe nor ayde of no man but this Ynglishe captyn with his honderyth and od of English men to go with me apou my father and myn unkle, the which are the kyng's enemies, and apou the Yrish men that never Ynglish men were amongis; and yff that I do hurt or harme, or that there be any mistrust, I wyl put in plegys as good as ye shall requyer that I shall hurt no Ynglisheman but apou the wylde Irish men that are the kyng's enemis. And for all such land as I shall conquer, it shall be at the king's pleser to sett Ynglish men in yt, to be holdon of the king as his plesor schal be, and I to refewys all sych Yrishe faschions, and to order myselfe after the Ynglish lawes, and all that I can make or conquer. Off thys I desyer a nawnsware."

Some time before the date of this speech, namely, on the 11th June, 1534, lord Thomas Fitzgerald, the silken Thomas of history and romance, influenced by what turned out to have been an unfounded report of his father's execution in London, committed the fatal mistake of throwing down the sword of state which had been so imprudently entrusted

to his hands, and entering on a career of rebellion. Arming his retainers he attacked and defeated the troops of the king in and about the neighbourhood of Dublin, and then turned towards the county of Kilkenny, to combine, if possible, in a grand effort to shake off the English yoke, the inhabitants of that and the adjoining districts. He was not without hopes that lord Butler, son of the earl of Ossory, with whom he was intimately connected by ties of consanguinity, would unite with him in this desperate project. But in this he was disappointed. Although the two houses had been connected for some time by the marriage of the lady Margaret, Fitzgerald's aunt, to Piers, lord Butler's father, the ancient and ill-concealed feud subsisting between them, was as rife as ever. Lord Thomas's efforts thus disappointed, he wasted and ravaged the lands of the Butlers, and gave battle at Jerpoint to their followers. In this encounter, Donogh O'Brien, aiding his brother-in-law lord Butler, received the wound which he alluded to in the speech above mentioned. Fitzgerald, encouraged by a succession of petty advantages over his enemies, addressed himself to his brothers-in-law O'Connor of Offaly, and O'Carroll of Ely, and the chieftains under their control, to join him and make head against their common enemy, the king of England. In addition to the alliance subsisting between these chieftains and lord Thomas, O'Carroll had private reasons for espousing his cause in the encroachments made on his territory of Ely by lord Ossory. The aid of Conor O'Brien, although residing out of the immediate sphere of these leaders, was solicited, and that prince, connected with the Desmond Fitzgeralds, did not hesitate to enter into their views. But their arrangements were frustrated and defeated by the promptitude and energy of lord Leonard Grey and Sir William Skeffington, who were despatched to Ireland by Henry on receiving intelligence of the rebellion, the former as marshal of the king's forces, the other as Lord Deputy. In a series of operations, in which treachery had a considerable share, the castle of Maynooth having been betrayed to the royal forces by Parese, a foster-brother of lord Thomas, who was punished by instant execution for a deed so odious

yet so profitable to those who inflicted the merited punishment, lord Thomas was obliged to seek the shelter of his relatives. Maynooth had been invested on the 15th of March, 1535, and had held out for a fortnight with the prospect of successfully resisting the assaults of the besiegers until lord Thomas had collected succours promised him by the Irish princes, when it was treacherously surrendered. Although at the head of 7000 men, these troops, on hearing of the surrender of Maynooth, broke up and dispersed themselves, retiring to their respective districts. Disheartened by the treachery of the person to whom he had confided the important post of Maynooth, and distrusting native aid, lord Thomas determined on personally soliciting the assistance of the emperor Charles. With this view he proceeded into Thomond to Conor O'Brien, intending to take shipping for Spain. He was accompanied by a retinue of sixteen gentlemen to the residence of the prince of Thomond, where they were entertained for a period of six months, during which the project of further resistance to the English power was debated. By the advice of the prince of Thomond the voyage to Spain was abandoned, and a further attempt at uniting the forces of the native chieftains concerted. This is thus explained in Skeffington's letter to his sovereign, towards the close of the year 1535 :—

“Yt may please your most excellent Highnes to be advertised of the state of this your land and proceeding of your affairs within the same. That synnes my last wryting to your Grace by your servaunt Thomas Pawlet, yt hath bin bruited here that your traditour Thomas Fitzgerald, demoring and habidinge in the great O'brene's contrey under his socour,^(c1) the McWilliams and Kellies, entendeth to draw them with the power that they may make into O'Chonours country called O'Fayleigh, and soo from thens they altogether with O'Neil and Manus O'Donnell, yf they may joyne to invade the English pale. They have apoynted ther time to be abought myd-summer next, ayent which tyme they are gathering men and victuals.”—(State papers, vol. 3, 247).

(c1) Vide post, Appendix.

Similar information was communicated by the earl of Ossory to be laid before the king. This nobleman in his letter to Cowley (State papers, vol. 3, 253) thus writes:—

“The Brenes then in February for a sum of money paid, promysed to have comen to the ayde of the said traictor, whereon I brought to passe that O'brene's eldest sonne maynteyned with dyvers the tenauntes and servauntes of myn house, made warre on his father and kynsfolks so that if they had resorted to the succor of the traictor, their contrey had bin totally destroyed.”

“P.S.—After the preclosing of the premises I had sure worde that O'Conor bringeth with him O'brene and his power, O'Kelly with the greatest part of Mounster and Conaught (and that in haste), entendyng bataille or destruction of the Englysh pale.”

The voyage to Spain having been abandoned, lord Thomas sent one of his followers, James Delahide, to the Emperor to solicit his support. Whatever expectations he may have entertained of assistance from that quarter, they were rendered fruitless by the success of Skeffington's operations against the native supporters of his cause. Lord Leonard Grey with an army pressed so close on O'Conor in Offaly, that he was obliged to come to terms, and lord Thomas, thus deprived of the aid of one of his principal supporters, and on which he had mainly relied, had no alternative but to surrender. This determination was communicated to lord Leonard Grey, in a letter dated the 18th of August, 1535, and which contains the following remarkable expressions (State papers, vol. 2, 273):—

“That whereas I have done anything contrary against my sovereign lord the King's Grace's mind, came nothing of my owne mere motion but only by your counsel..... I hartily desire your lordship to be intercessor betwixt my said his Grace and me, that I may have my pardon for me and my life and landes, the which shall not be undeserved to the uttermost of my power. And if I cannot obtain my foresaid pardon, I have no other to do, but shifte for myself the best that I can, trusting in God, who preserve your lordship.

By your loving friend,

T. FITZGERALD.”

The remarkable assertion in this letter, that lord Thomas was abetted in his rebellion against his sovereign by Grey, gives striking corroboration to the charge subsequently exhibited against lord Leonard and for which among others he suffered death, that he had been actuated by partiality for the interests of his nephew Gerald the half-brother of Thomas, and that, wishing to make this nephew earl of Kildare as eventually turned out, he had inveigled lord Thomas to submit on making promises to him which he had not authority to offer.

Holinshed, in his account of this transaction, asserts, that on being admitted to a parley, and Grey having sent hostages to his camp, lord Thomas submitted himself to the king's mercy, on the promise that he should be pardoned as soon as he should have arrived in England. He further adds, that to guard against treachery, both lord Leonard and Fitzgerald received the holy sacrament openly in the camp. Sir William Skeffington, however, in a letter to the king, dated from the camp at Castlejordan, 24th August, 1535, states that Lord Thomas surrendered himself unconditionally. Nevertheless that some promise was made and hopes held out to the unfortunate youth, is obvious from the following passage in the letter from the Irish council to the king, dated the 27th August, immediately after the surrender (State papers, vol. 2, 275):—

“According thereunto the lord Leonard repareth to your Majesty, bringing with him the same Thomas, beseeching your Highnes most humbly that, according to the comfort of our wordes spoken to the same Thomas to allure him to yield, ye would be merciful to the said Thomas, especially concerning his life.” They also recommended lord Leonard to the king for his great service, for, they add, “no doubt the said Thomas would not yield himself to any other but only to him.” The recommendation of lord Leonard was attended to, the king having shortly after raised him to the peerage, but as to that touching the life of Fitzgerald, the king's mind was made up, although he was aware of the conditions accompanying the surrender, as appears from his majesty's letter to Skeffington, in October, in which the following passage occurs :—

“We have perceived by the tenor of your letters, as well as by the advertisement from our council, the manner of the apprehension of Thomas Fitzgerald, the doing whereof albeit we accept it thankfully, yet if he had been apprehended after such sorte as was convenable to his deservings, the same had been much more thankfull and better to our contentation.”

It needs not to be stated here how silken Thomas was disappointed of his expectations of mercy from his merciless sovereign. On reaching London he was thrown into prison along with his five uncles, three of whom, it was known and proved, had, so far from supporting him, disapproved of his treason. Lord Thomas's sufferings in the Tower in the interval between his committal and execution are shewn in his letter^(c²) to Rothe his servant, when commissioning him to procure from the prince of Thomond the sum of £20 on the plate which he had left in the keeping of O'Brien while sojourning with him. These sufferings were brought to a conclusion by his execution, along with his uncles on the 3d February, 1537.

The king's indignation was not appeased by this wholesale effusion of Geraldine blood. There remained in Ireland a younger brother of lord Thomas, Gerald, the nephew of lord Leonard Grey. This youth, born on the 25th of February, 1525, was scarcely twelve years old at the time of his brother's execution, and could have borne no part in his treason, yet the king was most anxious to get possession of his person. He wrote to the council to seize him and his attendants “with or without their will,” and to send them over to him. The friends of the family, assured that the king had intended nothing less than their total extirpation, took measures for the safety of the child. He was in small-pox at the time of his brother's arrest, and for safety was entrusted to the care of his tutor Leverous, afterwards bishop of Kildare, a cousin by fosterage to his pupil. By this person he was conveyed in a basket to the residence of his half sister, the lady Mary, wife of O'Conor of Offaly, and thence through the country of O'Dunn to

(c²) Vide post, Appendix.

Thomond, to be temporarily sheltered by Conor O'Brien. The prince of Thomond was applied to to give up the hapless orphan, but refused. The refusal is thus stated by the Irish council in their letter to Cromwell of the 22d August, 1536 :—" And as to Obrene, notwithstanding his letters^(D) and promises of subjection to the king's highness, we could neither get him to condescend to any conformitie according to the same, ne yet to deliver the erle of Kildare's plate and goods, but having the same and the Erle of Kildare's second son, with divers traditours of the servantes of the said erle and Thomas Fitzgerald, and retayning them as it wear under his protection, both therein, and otherwise in his communication and deedes usith himself after that sorte as he thinkith it not to be his duty to recognise the king's majesty."

After remaining for six months under the protection of the prince of Thomond, Gerald was conveyed by Leverous and Delahide his relative, to his aunt the lady Eleanor, at the time widow of Macarthy Reagh, chieftain of Desmond. This lady resided at her family seat at Kilbrittain, between Bandon and Kinsale. In her state of widowhood, in a country accessible to the English power, and above all anxious to rescue the hope of her family from the fangs of the infuriated monarch of England, she yielded to the suit of O'Donnell, then one of the most powerful of the chieftains of Ulster, between whose family and the king of Scotland intimate relations had long subsisted, and consented to a marriage on the condition of his affording protection to the orphan Geraldine. O'Donnell accordingly sent an escort to Thomond, where Eleanor had then arrived and been entertained with her charge by Conor O'Brien, who accompanied her to the borders of his territory, where he gave her into the charge of the Macwilliam, by whom and the other Macwilliam of Mayo she was safely conducted to Tirconel. The apprehensions of the Irish council at this event are thus recorded in the State papers, vol. 3, 28. :—

" Furthermore one Alienor Fitzgerald, sister to the late Erle of Kildare, late wyff of a grete captyn of Mounster,

(D) Vide post, Appendix.

named McCarthy Reagh, who hath bin the principal refuge and succor of the young Gerald Fitzgerald, and sithen his departure out of the Englishry, is now with the same Gerald, two of James Fitzgerald's sonnys, and other his adherents, departed out of Mounster, throwe O'brene's contrey and Connaught to O'Donel to thentent the said Alienor shuld be to O'Donyll married ; so as the combynacion of O'neil, being nere of kin to the said Alienor" (he was married to her sister Alice), "and Gerald, with O'Donyll, and them unto whom the Irish Scots ofttymes resortyth, and in a manner are at their draft and pleasure, is much to be doubted."

The Irish council and the king by their information, were well aware that the prince of Thomond was the chief succourer and maintainer of the fugitive, as he had been previously of his brother Thomas, and that the young Geraldine formed the link that connected the various Irish chiefs in their combination against the English power. They were informed by the Earl of Ormond that on Eleanor's arrival in Ulster she sent for her brother-in-law O'Neill, and caused him and her husband to be bound and sworn to take part with Gerald against the Englishry. A rhymer or poor scholar, who had been pursuing his studies in Tirconnel, gave information to the council that the report was current through the country that the king of Scotland, James the fifth, sent to O'Donnell to find means to have Gerald conveyed to him to Scotland. Between this prince and his uncle the king of England, the worst understanding prevailed. Henry was anxious that his nephew should renounce the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, but James, although the reformation had made some progress in Scotland, was reluctant to comply. The uncle had solicited a meeting with his nephew, but James had taken the precaution of procuring a papal brief forbidding him to meet the king of England, and declined the proposed meeting. Nor is it to be supposed that twenty years had obliterated the traces of ill-feeling generated by the disastrous defeat of Flodden. From these considerations it is not improbable that the Scottish king was desirous of using the

young Geraldine as an instrument wherewith to annoy his uncle. Be this as it may, Gerald remained in Ulster, until his aunt, discovering that her husband had some intention of making her nephew a peace-offering to the English monarch, and it happening that a French ship was at the time unloading a cargo in the bay of Donegal, took the advantage of sending him away in charge of Leverous and one Robert Walsh, who had been transferred from the service of lord Leonard Grey to that of his nephew Gerald, when they shortly after landed safely in France.

Notwithstanding Gerald's escape from the British islands, the king's desire to get him into his clutches still continued unabated. Wallop, the English ambassador, was ordered to demand him from the French king, agreeably to the treaty recently concluded between that monarch and Henry. But Francis, pretending doubts about the instructions of the English ambassador, that officer wrote home for more precise directions, and in the interval Gerald was removed into the territories of the emperor, to be reserved for that better fortune which awaited him in the next reign, when he was restored to his title and estates.

It is not to be wondered at, after the execution of lord Thomas and his five uncles, some of whom were really innocent of the crime for which they suffered, that the opinion generally prevailed that the king intended the total extinction of the Fitzgeralds of Kildare. This, however, is a mistake, and the truth of history requires that, loaded with obloquy as the memory of that monarch is, it should in this instance have justice done to it. In addition to Gerald, the late earl of Kildare had another son by the sister of lord Leonard Grey, Edward, who was allowed by Henry to reside with his mother at Beaumanoir, in England, and whom he subsequently appointed lieutenant of the corps of gentlemen-pensioners. This circumstance is stated by the marquis of Kildare in his history, page 219, in which his lordship cites the state papers, vol. 2, 280, 536. The king's anxiety to get possession of Gerald seems to have been occasioned by a desire to prevent his heading a confederacy of the Irish chieftains against the royal

authority. After the king's vengeance had been, but only in a slight degree, satiated by the execution of the Geraldines, lord Leonard Grey was ordered to take measures to chastise those Irish chieftains who had aided and abetted that family in their rebellion. The king was well aware that among these the prince of Thomond occupied the chief place. It had been represented to his majesty that Conor O'Brien held the plate and treasure brought into Thomond by lord Thomas Fitzgerald, when intending to proceed to Spain, and that these valuables were refused to be surrendered to the king's officers by O'Brien when demanded. To punish the refractory prince, a hosting was ordered, and the Deputy accordingly advanced into Offaly, on his march to the west. Although he set out on this expedition on the 23d April, 1537, such were the difficulties encountered by lord Leonard (now appointed Deputy on the decease of Skeffington), that he was obliged to conclude a truce or compromise with O'Conor, little to the credit of the former. Proceeding onwards into the territories of those chieftains^(E) dependent on O'Brien, he was more successful than in his operations against O'Conor. The council in Dublin had instructed the Deputy to cause the Irish chieftains to bind themselves by indenture to renounce the Pope's supremacy,—to acknowledge instead thereof that of the king,—to agree to contribute to the expences of the government, and to send a certain quota of men to every hosting of the royal troops. On the 17th of June the Deputy took the castle of Eglis, in O'Molloy's country, and shortly after Birr and Modereny, in the territory of O'Carroll. Proceeding southwards, he received the submissions of O'Kennedy in Ormond, and of MacIbrien Arra. At the abbey of Owney he was attended by O'Mulrian, Tibot or Theobald Burke, and the MacWilliam of Clanricarde, who submitted to his authority ; and on the 28th of the month he reached Limerick. The mayor and corporation of this city attended the Deputy, and took the oath of allegiance, swearing to renounce the authority of the Pope. Their example was followed, it is added, by the bishop of

(E) Vide post, Appendix.

Limerick. Hither also came the prince of Thomond, Conor O'Brien,^(F) who promised to do service against his brother Morrogh, the tanist of Thomond, the owner of some territory about O'Brien's bridge. It had been a principal object of the English to break down this bridge, and thereby prevent access into the country east of the Shannon to the incursions of the Dalgais. This object was accomplished by the Deputy after some ineffectual resistance by the tanist. But that the prince of Thomond asserted an independent position inconsistent with that of a subject of the English crown, is obvious from Grey's letter to the king of the 26th July, thus given in the state papers (vol. 3, 56) :—

“After this O'brien concluded to be at peace with your majesty for a yere, and to have done your majesty service in going to break O'bryne's bridge, which is with Morogh O'brien, brother to the said O'Brien ; and for the security thereof the said O'brien put his son into my hands, conditioning that he should at my departing be left in the custody of James of Desmond.”

This transaction is thus further explained at page 83 :—

“O'Brien's wife, the Earl of Desmond's sister, anxious to advance her own children, her son Torlogh was given to the hands of the earl of Desmond, in the name of a pledge to keep peace for a year.”

The Lord Deputy having thus concluded an illusive treaty with O'Brien, proceeded under his safe-conduct through Thomond to Galway, receiving the submissions of the various septs of that county, and returned towards the close of the year to the castle of Maynooth. The king was ill-pleased at the success of this expedition, as he declared that all the oaths and indentures of the Irish chieftains were not worth a farthing, as the Deputy had not taken their hostages.

In acquainting the king with the result of the Deputy's progress, the lords of the Irish council write, that “he passed by the safe-conduct of O'Brien through Thomond into Connaught, and that on O'Brien's return, his eldest son Donogh O'Brien, son-in-law to Ormond, and Morogh

(F) Vide post, Appendix.

O'Brien, the tanist, suspecting the friendly alliance established between the pretended earl of Desmond and O'Brien, and fearing that O'Brien went about, to their prejudice, to advance his children begotten of this Geraldine woman, assaulted him coming homeward, whereon there is great dissension among them, "whereof (add the writers), we be nothing sorry."

At this time the young Gerald, the object of Henry's anxiety, had not escaped to France (that event occurred in the month of March, 1540). He continued to reside with his aunt and her husband in Tirconnel, under the protection of the northern chieftains with whom he was so closely connected. Grey was directed to take means to secure him, and, in pursuance of his instructions, addressed communications to both O'Neill and O'Donnell. These chiefs promised to attend him on the 30th of April, 1539, at Dundalk, and to bring Gerald with them. The Deputy, however, was obliged to acquaint the king that they had failed to perform their promise. And on the 18th of the following January, the council further communicated the disagreeable intelligence that "the detestable traictours, young Gerald, O'Neyl, O'Donyll, the pretended Erle of Desmond, O'brien, O'Conor, and O'Mulmoy, continued to destroy the property of his Majesty's subjects, to subdue the whole lande to the supremacy of the Pope, and to elevate the Geraldines."

Conor O'Brien did not long survive the visit of the Lord Deputy to his principality, his decease occurring in 1539. He was the last of the descendants of Brian Boroimhe, who exercised to the close of his life the functions of royalty in Thomond. He left issue by his first wife, daughter of MacWilliam of Clanricarde, his eldest son Donogh, who became the second Earl of Thomond. By Ellice, daughter of Maurice Baccagh (the lame) earl of Desmond, he was the father of ; 2. Donald, from whom the branch of the Ennistymond O'Briens descend ; 3. Torlogh, who died without issue in 1557 ; 4. Teige, ancestor of the Ballycorick O'Briens ; 5. Morrogh, from whom are descended the O'Briens of Caherminane ; and 6. Mortogh of Drumline.

The last two are omitted in the history of this house by Lodge and others, but the Four Masters as authorities are to be preferred, and they give the obits of those personages at the years 1591 and 1593 respectively.

With Conor O'Brien terminated the regal period of the descendants of Brian Boroimhe. This race, which for more than a century after the battle of Clontarf had given monarchs to Ireland with more or less of acquiescence on the part of the other princes of the island, and had from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, in spite of the utmost efforts of English governors, maintained substantial authority in the limited district of Thomond, were now to descend into the rank of nobility, and lead their turbulent and warlike tribes into the paths of order and obedience to the crown of England. How this revolution was brought about,—by what amount of civil commotion the law of tanistry was abolished in the country of the Dalgais, shall be shewn in the following chapters.

CHAPTER XIII.

A.D. 1540-1559...Accession of Morrogh O'Brien...Revival of the statutes of Kilkenny odious to the native princes, who combine and invade the Pale... Defeat of O'Neill at Ballahoe...League of O'Brien, O'Neill, O'Donnell, and O'Conor...They meet at Fore, and are dispersed by Brereton...Increase of the English power...Parliament confers the title of king of Ireland on Henry...Submission of O'Neill followed by that of Morrogh O'Brien, who is created earl of Thomond and baron of Inchiquin...Submission and elevation to the peerage of Macwilliam of Clanricard...Death of Morrogh O'Brien... Donogh O'Brien, second earl of Thomond, attacked by his brothers at Clonroad...His death...Donald O'Brien named king of Thomond by the Dalgais...Conor O'Brien, third earl of Thomond, appeals to the Council...Donald O'Brien takes the hostages of Ely, and confers with the English at Maryborough...Besieges his nephew Conor in the castle of Doon...Obliged to raise the siege by the earl of Ormond...The earl of Sussex ordered to reduce O'Brien is met half way, when the Deputy proposes a truce...Settlement of Leix and Offaly, and expulsion of Donald O'Brien from Thomond...Conor O'Brien renounces the name of O'Brien, and swears fidelity to queen Mary...The O'Briens invite the earl of Desmond to their aid...His operations.

CONOR O'BRIEN having paid the debt of nature, his brother Morrogh, tanist of Thomond, was installed, according to the usages of tanistry, king of the Dalgais. Previous to his accession, the condition of affairs among the native Irish princes began to grow desperate. Henry the eighth having, with a degree of energy hitherto without example, suppressed the daring efforts of the imprudent youth to whom the earl of Kildare had unfortunately committed the government of Ireland, and the rash rebellion of silken Thomas having been punished by his execution along with his five uncles, the English monarch thought, or was advised, that the time had come for placing the authority of the crown on a more secure basis than it had ever before rested on.

A parliament accordingly had been summoned, which met at Dublin on the 1st May, 1537. Among the enact-

ments of this assembly, which were mere transcripts of that which sat a short time before at Westminster, the principal was one by which the king was declared supreme head on earth of the church of Ireland, all appeals to Rome taken away, and all officers of whatsoever degree required to take the oath of supremacy on pain of being adjudged guilty of high treason for refusing obedience. Pensions paid for protection afforded by the Irish princes to the English settlers, under the name of "black rent," were abolished; and the antient statutes against marrying and fostering with the Irish were revived in all their rigour. Some monasteries were suppressed, and other enactments made of a like character to those already stated, and a general dread seized the minds of the entire population, including even those of English descent,⁽¹⁾ that measures of extraordinary rigour were on the point of being adopted. The revival of those provisions of the statute of Kilkenny, by which fosterage or alliances with the natives were forbidden, was particularly calculated to wound the pride and excite alarm among the native princes, with whom such connexions had long subsisted by the permission or connivance of the English government. The prince of the Cinel Conall, O'Donnell, whose grandfather, Hugh Roe had in the last year of the preceding century made a journey into the Pale to receive in fosterage Henry the brother of the last earl of Kildare, joined his neighbour Con Bacach (the lame) O'Neill, the sister's son of the same unfortunate nobleman, in resenting the enactments of the English monarch. Nor were these the only persons of the Irish race influenced by like feelings. Fergananim O'Carroll, prince of Ely, and Brian O'Conor, lord of Offaly, had been, as we have seen, each married to daughters of the earl of Kildare, whose numerous connexions with the Irish eventually drew on him the jealousy and the vengeance of Henry the eighth. The severity with which this illustrious race had been treated, added to the revolutionary legislation of Henry's obsequious parliament, united in one body all those chieftains who had hitherto paid little attention to the transactions of the Pale, content with receiving the tribute

stipulated to be paid by the English settlers for protection, without mixing themselves up in the questions raised from time to time between the delegates of the English government and their superiors. From this passive condition they were roused by the gravity of present events, and O'Neill, in particular, had letters addressed to him from the sacred college, appealing to his feelings of religion and patriotism, and calling on him to put down all heresy, for the glory of the mother church, the honour of St. Peter, and his own safety.

Influenced by these several motives, O'Neill and O'Donnell, at the head of a powerful but ill-disciplined army, in the month of August, 1539, entered Meath from the north, and ravaged the country before them as far as Tara. The towns of Navan and Ardee had been stripped of all their valuables, and the predatory army was on its return, when it was overtaken by lord Leonard Grey the Deputy at the bridge of Bellahoe, the pass leading into the territory of Oriel, and completely routed. The Four Masters state that the Irish army was unable to get into order when attacked, so encumbered were they with spoil. The Deputy having been recalled, and having committed the government to Sir William Brereton as Lord Justice, another attempt was made in the next year by the Irish chieftains to better their condition. In this confederacy Morrogh O'Brien was included, having been recently inaugurated prince of the Dalgais. The year 1540 was remarkable for the league entered into by this prince, O'Neill, O'Donnell, and O'Conor of Offaly. They agreed to meet at Fore, in Westmeath, to concert the plan of operations against the Lord Justice, and had met for the purpose, when Brereton, who had received early intelligence of their proceedings, marched promptly at the head of eight thousand men, and having a train of artillery, to oppose them. The Irish leaders, who had not recovered from the defeat of Bellahoe the year before, finding it useless to oppose so powerful a force, withdrew to their respective homes; and with this fruitless attempt ended any further resistance to the arms of Henry the eighth.

The defeat of O'Neill at Bellahoe, and the abortive at-

tempt in the next year to resume hostilities, opened the way for a general pacification and submission of the Irish chieftains. The first among these to abandon a cause which had now grown desperate was Manus O'Donnell. This prince, the head of the powerful race of the Cinel Conall, whose power extended over the greater portion of the north-western quarter of the island, from the estuary of the Foyle to the frontiers of Clanrickard, before the expiration of a year from the congress of chieftains at Fore, came as far as Cavan, to meet the Lord Justice, Sir Anthony St. Leger. O'Donnell was received with great honour and respect,⁽²⁾ and a league of alliance and friendship formed between him and the Lord Justice. The result of this treaty was, that O'Donnell marched into Tyrone to co-operate with St. Leger in his expedition to reduce O'Neill, who, having retired into his fastnesses, left the open country to be ravaged by the English and their allies. The next year witnessed the submission of O'Donnell's son Calvagh, who repaired to the Lord Justice to confirm on his own part the treaty already entered into by his father. And everything appearing to shew that the time was come for changing the style hitherto in use in describing the dependence of Ireland on the crown of England, it was determined by the English cabinet that an Irish parliament should confer the title of king of Ireland upon Henry, his heirs and successors. St. Leger was directed to summon a parliament for this purpose, and before the conclusion of the year 1541, it was enacted that the king's highness, and his heirs for ever, should have the style and honour of king of Ireland, and that it should be deemed high treason to impeach this title, or to oppose the royal authority.

It would not be reasonable to suppose that the general submission which followed the passing of this act was to be attributed to the necessity of complying with its provisions from fear of incurring the penalties of treason. It could only be considered obligatory on the residents within the Pale, or at least such parts of Ireland as sent representatives to the parliament. A more likely motive is that which is suggested by the Four Masters in describing the character

of Hugh, the father of the prince of Tirconnell, who formed a league of amity with the king of England, "when he saw that the Irish would not yield superiority to any one among themselves, but that friends and blood relations contended against one another."⁽³⁾

The failure of the Irish chiefs at Fore to cement a confederacy and to organise an effectual opposition to the English power, so like the abortive attempt three centuries before at Caeluisce, determined the policy of Morrogh O'Brien. Further resistance to the power of Henry was abandoned, and the prince of Thomond placed himself in communication with the Lord Deputy St. Leger and the Irish council, expressing his willingness to submit to the royal authority as the king's liege subject for the future. Accordingly, acting it would seem, in concert with Macwilliam of Clanricarde and a few other of the neighbouring chiefs, he attended the Deputy at Limerick to which place the parliament had been adjourned, and where it sat on the 15th of February, 1542. In the interview which took place on this occasion, Morrogh O'Brien supplied the Deputy and council with the terms^(a) on which he was prepared to submit, which were gladly received and transmitted to the sovereign. In recommending to the king to give a favourable reception to the requests of the prince of Thomond, the council took care that an exception should be made of the lands theretofore belonging to the O'Briens, which lay to the south or east of the Shannon, their object being to confine the troublesome sept of the Dalgais to the westward of that river. The king was well pleased on receiving the assurance that the head of that formidable sept was ready to desist from further troubling the repose of his sovereign, for such he had acknowledged him to be ; and his Majesty, in his reply to the council, suggested that O'Brien should sue^(u) for some suitable dignity which would render his presence necessary in the councils of his sovereign. This could only be meant as an application for the dignity of the peerage, as indeed the king himself in the conclusion of his letter suggested.

(G) (H) Vide post, Appendix.

On receipt of the king's letter, which bore date at Westminster the 14th of April, the council, on the 2d of June, informed his Majesty that Morrogh O'Brien requested to be created a peer⁽ⁱ⁾ of Ireland by the style and title of earl of Thomond. In making this communication they took occasion to remark that they apprehended some difficulty might be expected to arise from the position of his nephew Donogh, who, they observed, "was next to be O'Brien, and had served his Majesty very honestly in the rebellion time." They accordingly recommend, that in case his Majesty should think proper to comply with Morrogh's request, he would be pleased to confer the dignity of a viscount on the nephew, and thus content both.

The king was not slow in complying with this request. Henry acquainted the Irish council that he was willing to create Morrogh Earl of Thomond; and "his goode servaunte Donogh," a baron, by whatever title they should think convenient.^(k) In a further letter, his Majesty consents that the plate and moveables left by Thomas Fitzgerald seven years before in the custody of the prince of Thomond, should, according to his request, be given to the earl in prospect, and that a general pardon to all the O'Briens and their followers, sought by Morrogh, should be granted, on the condition of their continuing good and faithful subjects.^(l)

To complete these arrangements nothing further was required than the presence of the parties at the English court. The council accordingly acquainted the king that Sir Donogh, as they style him, was about to proceed to the royal presence, accompanied by his uncle, to receive at his Majesty's hands the investiture of the promised dignities. In this communication^(m) they remind the king that they had, on his majesty's behalf, consented that Donogh should, after the decease of his uncle, succeed to the dignity about to be conferred on the latter. They request that this promise should be still further confirmed by the king, in addition to the dignity of a baron about to be conferred on Donogh. In a separate letter of the same date they inform

(I), (K), (L), (M) Vide post, Appendix.

the king, that such was the want of sterling money then prevailing in Ireland, that they were obliged to lend O'Brien the sum of one hundred pounds, to enable him to undertake the journey to London. The money was in "harp grotes," there being no higher coin then in existence. This sum, together with an hundred marks on the part of Donogh, were lodged with the king's treasurer, and the council prayed his Majesty to give credit to the treasurer's bill, whereby he acknowledged the receipt of the money, when it should be presented in London.^(N)

Their arrangements completed, Donogh O'Brien, the nephew and his two uncles, the progenitors of the future marquisses of Thomond and Clanricarde, were received on Sunday, the 1st of July, 1543, at the palace of Greenwich, and invested with the ensigns of their respective ranks. The patent of Morrogh conferred the dignity of Earl of Thomond on him for life, with remainder to his nephew Donogh, also for life, but superadded to the limited dignity was the barony of Inchiquin in tail. Donogh was created baron of Ibrickan in tail, and his maternal uncle, the Macwilliam, was on the same day made earl of Clanricarde and baron of Dunkellin. The expences attendant on the investiture were discharged by the king.^(O)

In addition to the honours thus conferred, the king granted residences in the Irish capital to the newly-created peers, to enable them to give their attendance in parliament, and perform the duties incidental to their new positions as members of his council and hereditary legislators. But the king took care to inform the council that the heir of the earl of Thomond should abide his time to be admitted a member of the parliament till the decease of his father, and should only be a hearer in that assembly, standing bare-headed at the bar of the house like other young lords in England.

The submission of the O'Briens was the signal for other chieftains in Thomond to follow their example. Sheeda Macnamara, the powerful head of the Clancuilen, solicited the council to be recommended to the king for a peerage by

(N), (O) Vide post, Appendix.

the title of lord baron of Clancuilen. Although the council strongly recommended his majesty to confer the desired honour,^(p) and dwelt on the power and influence of the head of the Macnamaras, the king did not think proper to grant the request, and only conferred the dignity of knighthood on the applicant. A similar honour was conferred on Denis O'Grady, head of the Clan-Donghaile, and on Dermot O'Shaughnessy, captain of his nation, who married More, (the gaudy), first cousin to Morrogh O'Brien, the tanist of Thomond (State papers, vol. 3, 476). His majesty also deferred complying with another application forwarded by the council with their favourable recommendation. This was a request preferred by one Doctor Neylan to have granted to him and his heirs the Franciscan monastery of Ennis, not then dissolved, but which was destined to share the fate of similar establishments. The claim of Neylan to this favour was founded on his having strongly advised Conor O'Brien, the late prince of Thomond, to abandon further opposition to the English government, and to which O'Brien refers in his apologetic letter to Henry.

Along with the peerages conferred on the Irish chieftains, their lands were confirmed to them and their heirs, to be held by the tenure of knight's service. But as the law by which landed property was regulated in England, and the canons of succession according to the feudal system, had not been generally understood by the people, the effects of these important changes were not felt during the lives of the patentees, who were still regarded as the O'Brien or Macwilliam, and received the usual rents or tributes as in time past. And it was only on their demise that questions were raised, the discussion of which opened the eyes of the people at large to the importance of the changes introduced by the acceptance of titles conferred by the king of England, and produced that series of civil commotions which desolated Ireland during the reigns of the remaining princes of the house of Tudor.

The surrender of the royalty of Thomond, and acceptance of a peerage by Morrogh O'Brien, was productive of

(p) Vide post, Appendix.

tranquillity among the Dalgais for some years. On Morrogh's death, however, in 1551, the discontents of the O'Briens, which were ill-suppressed during the lifetime of the head of that warlike race, burst out and involved the Dalgais in the miseries of a war more than civil. The limitation of the earldom of Thomond after the death of Morrogh, having, by the terms of the patent of Henry, taken effect in the elevation of Donogh the nephew to that dignity, which, however, was only for life, the hereditary honour being the barony of Ibrickane, Donogh was advised to surrender the dignities to Edward the sixth, who had now mounted the throne, and that prince conferred the earldom of Thomond on Donogh and the heirs of his body, and granted the lands and other hereditaments also, which had fallen to the crown by the demise of the uncle, by letters-patent, bearing date 7th November, 1552, to descend according to the course of the common law of England. The patent was no sooner promulgated, than it divided into two hostile bands the children of Conor the last king, who had the additional ground of dislike that they were the offspring of different mothers, Donogh the second earl, the eldest son, as already noticed, being born of Honora or Anabella de Burgh, daughter of Ulick na-Gceann, first earl of Clanrickard, while the mother of the other sons of Conor was Ellice, daughter of Maurice Bacach (the lame), earl of Desmond. These latter, looking on an English peerage as beneath the consideration of the head of their house, and little less than degradation, had the further and more substantial ground of complaint, that by the abolition of the law of tanistry, which gave each of them a chance of attaining the dignity of prince of the Dalgais, they were now, by the limitation to Donogh, their eldest brother, and the heirs of his body, entirely cut off from the possibility of ever succeeding to any rank or pre-eminence among their followers. Various rencontres accordingly arose between the members of this family, and in the very year in which the patent to Donogh was passed, Mahon O'Brien, first-cousin to Conor the father of Donogh, was killed by the adherents of the latter in one of those frays, which had become

frequent since the acceptance by Donogh of the patent and the consequent exclusion of the other members of the family had become a matter of notoriety. In one of these attacks which proved fatal to Donogh, the dead of night was chosen by the infuriated brothers, Donald and Torlogh, who with a body of troops attacked Donogh, then residing at Clonroad, burned and plundered the town, after killing several of the inhabitants, and compelled Donogh to betake himself to the castle for security. This assault occurred, according to the Four Masters, in the very beginning of Lent. It does not appear from their narrative that Donogh was wounded or personally injured, but his death followed very quickly, occurring on the Saturday in passion week next following the attack on Clonroad. Little regard was paid by the Dalgais to the rights of Conor the son of Donogh. They flew to arms because his father had subverted their ancient constitution, and had obtained the right of succession for his own son, who had been styled baron, in preference to his seniors, the uncles. Nor were they less incensed against the sons of Morrogh, the eldest of whom, Dermot, the second baron of Inchiquin, died in 1552, leaving a son, Morrogh, on whom devolved the title. All these arrangements were set at nought, and Donald was inaugurated as chief of the Dalgais, according to the laws and usages in force in Thomond from time immemorial.⁽⁴⁾

Conor, son of Donogh, on whom by the demise of his father the earldom of Thomond had devolved, being disturbed in the enjoyment of his title as well as in the possession of the estates connected therewith, appealed to the Deputy and council for support against the pretensions of his uncle Donald, around whom had rallied all those malcontents whom the recent revolution in Thomond had driven into active revolt. The council had no difficulty in adjudicating on the case, but the accession of a new sovereign in the person of Mary, who had in July of this year (1553) ascended the throne, and the changes in religion and policy consequent thereon, disabled the council from affording Conor any immediate assistance. Donald was accordingly left free to command the "rising out" of the Dalgais, and

marching across the Shannon into Ely-O'Carroll, he took hostages from its chieftain in token of acknowledgment of his authority, marched to the fort in Leix (soon afterwards called Maryborough after the Queen), and having conferred with the commanders of the garrison, departed in peace. Donald's object in this expedition is not clear. The march of his troops from the westward may have been intended as a demonstration of his power, and was at all events calculated to further his interests in the event of negotiations being opened with the ministers of a new reign, with the view of playing the same part which his uncle Morrogh had done ten years before. Be this as it may, this energetic leader did not allow his troops to continue long inactive. The affairs of Clanrickard, with which the chieftains of the O'Briens had from time immemorial been closely connected, engaged his attention. Ulick na-Gceann, the first earl of that title, having been thrice married, left a numerous progeny, and his death was the occasion of as much strife between his sons for the succession, as there arose among the O'Briens in Thomond on the demise of his contemporary Morrogh, first earl of Thomond. The first wife of Ulick na-Gceann was Grany or Grace, daughter of O'Carroll, prince of Ely, who was the mother of his eldest son Rickard. From this lady he parted after some time, and married Honora de Burgh, whom he treated in a like manner. During the lifetime of the first wife he espoused a third lady, Maria Lynch, by whom he had a son, John, who disputed the succession with Rickard his eldest brother, on the ground that the mother of the latter had been married to a former husband, O'Melaghlin, who was living at Rickard's birth, and from whom she had not been divorced. The question of legitimacy having been submitted for their decision to commissioners appointed by the Lord Deputy, they adjudged the title and inheritance of Clanrickard to Rickard, discovering no proofs sufficient to satisfy them that a valid marriage had subsisted between his mother and O'Melaghlin. John Burke, as he was called, being dissatisfied with the decision, seized one of the castles called Beannmore, which he maintained against Rickard the earl, who had besieged

it in form. While he was thus employed, Donald O'Brien, interested for John Burke, whose position bore some resemblance to his own, marched at the head of a considerable force, and compelled the earl to raise the siege.

Conor O'Brien still endeavoured, although against great disadvantages, to stem the torrent, and maintain some show of resistance to his vigorous and energetic uncle. Clonroad, the usual residence of his ancestors, having been seized by Donald, the nephew ever since the decease of his father, occupied the castle of Doonmulvihill, close to the borders of Galway, relying on the support of his relative the earl of Clanrickard. In this place he was besieged by Donald, who was, nevertheless, obliged to raise the siege, the earl of Ormond, Thomas, grandson of Piers Roe, having arrived to succour his near kinsman.⁽⁵⁾ The restless spirit of Donald was, however, so averse to inaction, that within a week after being obliged to raise this siege, he marched with a host into Clanrickard, and aided by the discontented sons of the late earl, whom he received into his pay, he ravaged and plundered the territory of its flocks and herds, which he drove into Thomond for the support of his army.

Within less than a year from the raising of the siege of Doon, Sir Anthony St. Leger, the lord Deputy, was recalled, and Thomas Fitzwalter, earl of Sussex, appointed to succeed him. The new governor was directed by the English council to take immediate steps for the pacification of the island. In pursuance of his instructions, the Deputy mustered an army in 1555, shortly after his arrival, and marched towards Munster to reduce O'Brien, whose operations had been deemed of sufficient importance to demand the personal appearance of the head of the government. Donald, who had information of the Deputy's movements, did not wait to be attacked in Thomond, but putting himself at the head of the Dalgais, he marched as far as Hy-Regan ⁽⁶⁾ to encounter the English troops. The formidable appearance of the Irish army, which had marched more than halfway to meet the Deputy, obliged him to propose terms of peace. The truce, for it was nothing more, comprised, on the part of O'Brien, all the Irish from the Barrow to the

Shannon, the English of Munster being represented by the Lord Justice.⁽⁷⁾

During the few years of Mary's reign which followed, the attention of the earl of Sussex, her lieutenant, was so occupied by the reduction of the Irish tribes occupying the countries of Leix and Offaly, now reduced by the statute 3 and 4 Phil. and Mary to shireground,⁽⁸⁾ that Donald O'Brien was suffered to continue in undisturbed possession of the rights and privileges of the dominion of Thomond, which he ruled according to the ancient law of tanistry. His brother Torlogh's death in 1557, deprived him of a powerful auxiliary, and a hollow and insincere reconciliation between him and his nephew Conor, having broken out into open hostility in 1558, Sussex, the lord Deputy, entered Thomond at the head of an irresistible army, took the towns and castles of Bunratty, Clare-Castle, and Clonroad, which he gave to Conor, whom he re-established in the possession of the territories belonging to the earldom of Thomond. Donald having been proclaimed a traitor, was obliged to fly the country with his son Teige, nicknamed "an Tsuasain" (of the long uncombed locks). They took refuge with Maguire in Fermanagh, where before a year of their exile had passed, Teige died, and was buried in Aghavea. The Earl of Thomond, Conor, now placed in the full and complete enjoyment of title and lands, in consideration of these signal services, publicly renounced the name of O'Brien as an appellation or title, promising to be faithful to the crown of England, and to defend her majesty's subjects of Thomond according to the laws. This renunciation, which took place in the cathedral of Limerick, after divine service, on the 10th of July, 1558, was accompanied by a no less important engagement, that of certain of the freeholders of Thomond, who promised for themselves and their fellows to be faithful subjects of the Queen, to be true to their lord and captain, and utterly to withstand and oppose all persons whatsoever who should presume thenceforward to take or use the name of O'Brien.

The banishment of Donald O'Brien, the military occupation of the territory, and the restoration of the earl Conor

to his titles and possessions were the first practical proofs to the Dalgais that a revolution had actually taken place in the ancient constitution of Thomond. The patents of nobility conferred on Morrogh O'Brien and his nephew Donogh, fifteen years before, were not of sufficient notoriety to be universally understood. The occupation of the territory by the force under the command of the earl of Sussex, and the price set on the head of the ruler of the Dalgais, who had been obliged to become a fugitive among the warlike tribes of Ulster, opened the eyes not alone of the Irish of Thomond, but of the rest of the kingdom, who, as we learn from the Four Masters in their observations on this event, "were seized with horror, dread, fear, and apprehension of danger,"⁽⁹⁾ at this change."

The senior branch of the O'Briens being established in the possession of its title and pre-eminence, by the aid of the lord Deputy, Conor, the earl lost no time in taking the necessary steps to reduce the other branches of the name, who were equally opposed to his own elevation, and to the establishment of the authority of the English crown. Donald O'Brien, the founder of the Ennistymond family, having fled into Ulster the year preceding, the opposition was now headed by Teige and Donogh,⁽¹⁰⁾ the sons of Morrogh who had submitted to Henry the eighth in 1543. The death of their father in 1551 was followed in a year by that of their eldest brother Dermod, the second baron of Inchiquin, whose son and successor Morrogh was too young to take any part in the turbulent transactions of the period. Since the expulsion of Donald O'Brien, Teige had taken refuge at the residence of the earl of Desmond, and Donogh remained in possession of the castle and town of Inchiquin. The earl, in this state of affairs, laid siege in form to the castle, and was on the point of reducing it, when the earl of Desmond,⁽¹¹⁾ moved by the appeal of Teige, who said he should be deprived of home and kinsmen, if Desmond did not interpose his powerful assistance and that speedily, hastily raised levies and obliged Thomond to abandon the siege, and call in the aid of his near relative ⁽¹²⁾ the earl of Clanrickard. Desmond, who was not aware of the movements of the earl

of Thomond, did not halt after crossing the Shannon until he arrived before Inchiquin, when, learning that Thomond had retreated towards the borders of Galway to effect a junction with Clanrickard, he retired to Ballyalley,⁽¹³⁾ near to which he had learned the united forces of the other two earls had encamped. Desmond, who had reached this position late in the evening, as soon as day broke drew out his forces in order of battle, and, attacking the troops of Thomond and Clanrickard at Spancilhill,⁽¹⁴⁾ gained a complete victory. Desmond returned home in triumph after his defeat of the two earls, leaving Donogh and Teige O'Brien in quiet possession of Inchiquin.

The events of this year (1559) include the death in Fermanagh of Teige an-tsuaaisain (of the uncombed locks), son of Donald O'Brien, who had been expelled the year before from Thomond by the Lord Deputy. He is styled by the Four Masters "the most distinguished of his age of the race of Cormac Cas, for agility, strength, martial feats, and horsemanship."

CHAPTER XIV.

A. D. 1559-1577...Conor, earl of Thomond, invades west Connaught...Teige O'Brien imprisoned.. State of society at the close of the sixteenth century ...Chieftain's expedition...Return of Donald O'Brien and Teige to Thomond ...Civil wars resumed...Corcomroe taken from O'Conor and given to Donald O'Brien...Affairs of Desmond...Progress of the lord Deputy from Cork to Galway...Sir Edward Fitton president of Connaught and Thomond...Holds a court in the monastery of Ennis...The President's troops attacked by the earl of Thomond...Who is chastised by the earl of Ormond...Thomond obliged to retire to France...Reconciled to the court...Co-operates with Fitton...Proceedings of Sir John Perrot, president of Munster...Renewal of civil war among the Dal-gais...Donald O'Brien appointed governor of the county of Clare...Which is separated from Connaught and annexed to Munster ..Sir William Drury, president, holds a court in Ennis...The Dal-gais obliged to become tributary to the Queen...Petition of the earl Conor to her majesty...Concessions made by Elizabeth to the Earl.

THE services rendered to the Earl of Thomond by the government in the reign of Mary were acknowledged at the commencement of that of Elizabeth, by the earl's marching at the head of a considerable force of the Dal-gais into West Connaught to reduce the celebrated Morrogh na-ttuath (of the battle-axes), O'Flaherty. In his progress thither he encountered some opposition from the citizens of Galway, who, although ineffectually, opposed his passage. The expedition does not appear to have been attended with any advantage, O'Flaherty retiring into his inaccessible fastness of Joyce's country, and the recesses of those lofty and inaccessible mountains, the twelve pins (or binns) of Ben-naboola, from which he occasionally issued to levy war against the O'Briens and other supporters of the English government for a quarter of a century, until he contrived to make his peace with Elizabeth in 1585, when his name appears among those who attended the parliament which sat in Dublin in that year. He was not, however, a member.

In the same year (1560) in which the earl of Thomond entered West Connaught, Teige, the son of Morrogh O'Brien, who had shortly before, along with the earl of Desmond, relieved the castle of Inchiquin, and defeated the earls of Thomond and Clanrickard at Spancilhill, was taken prisoner at Limerick by order of the Lord Justice, and transmitted to Dublin to be imprisoned. As there did not appear any stronger ground for this arrest than the opposition given by Teige and his brother Donogh to the earl of Thomond, it is not surprising that the act should have been attributed by the general voice to the latter. It was of little avail however. As dissatisfaction with the new order of affairs did not amount to treason, Teige was not so closely confined or guarded as to preclude his appearing in Thomond soon after, to enter on a career of opposition to his kinsman the earl, the universally believed author of his imprisonment.

The state of society towards the close of the sixteenth century in those parts of the kingdom not reduced under English authority, may be fairly inferred from an entry of the Four Masters under the year 1562, relative to the earl of Thomond, Conor, the third of that dignity. It is as follows :—

“The earl of Thomond went upon a chieftain's expedition into the territory of O'Conor,⁽¹⁾ and into Glean Corbraighe (Glin), on which occasion there was slain on his side by one shot from Cloch Gleanna (the castle of Glin), the son of O'Loughlin, namely, Melaghlin, the son of Owny, son of Melaghlin, son of Rury, son of Ana, who was son of Donogh an-Chuil, son of Ana bacach. The same earl proceeded with a host on a chieftain's expedition into Caenraighe (Kenry), about the same time, and on that occasion lost Dowell, the son of Gilla Duv, the son of Conor Mac-Sweeny.”

A similar expedition is recorded by the same annalists in the year 1559, to have been conducted by O'Carroll (William Odhar) against Mac-I-brien of Ara his neighbour. Nor were these barbarous raids, which in ferocity and stealthiness of surprise were not unlike those we find recorded in Indian warfare, confined to the native Irish chief-

tains. The year 1579 contains an entry of a like expedition by the earl of Ormond into the western part of the county of Limerick against the earl of Desmond, when the flocks and herds were carried off without opposition, Desmond and his relatives being at the time in Kerry. The difficulty of reducing to habits of peace and order a country in which the practice of chieftains' first or inaugural expeditions had been established for centuries, was all but impossible. Such was the task imposed on Elizabeth and her statesmen, and it occupied the whole of that most brilliant of the reigns of English monarchs.

Ever since the expulsion of Donald O'Brien from Thomond, a correspondence had been kept up between that chieftain and the sons of Morrogh O'Brien, who only waited for a favourable opportunity of resuming their opposition to the earl and his English supporters. Accordingly in the same week in the year 1562, Donald, from his retreat in Ulster, and Teige, who had contrived to escape, as already noticed, from his confinement in Dublin, made their appearance in their native district, and at once united in measures of active opposition to their kinsman, whose predominance, the result of English power, they regarded as a mere usurpation. The commencement of hostilities, as recorded by the annalists, was a nocturnal attack on the earl's encampment at Ballymacregan ⁽²⁾ by the two sons of Morrogh O'Brien, in which many persons were slain, and much spoil obtained. The inhabitants of the district thus plundered, rose up and pursued the aggressors, until day dawned upon the combatants at Cahirmagorman, ⁽³⁾ in the centre of Hy-Fearmaic (barony of Inchiquin), in the upper part of the territory of the Dal-gais. ⁽⁴⁾ Teige and Donogh, who had retreated before their pursuers, and, according to the annalists, suffered themselves to be shamefully beaten, as soon as they reached the hill of Scamhall, rallied, and vigorously encountering the earl's troops, gave them a signal defeat. Many were slain at this point, and among the prisoners taken by the victorious sons of Morrogh were two young chieftains, respectively the grandsons of reigning princes of Thomond, namely, Teige Oge, son of Teige, son of Torlogh Oge, and

Brian Duv, son of Donogh, son of Conor na-Srona O'Brien.⁽⁵⁾

The following year (1563) is described by the Four Masters as one of continued warfare and contention through Thomond. Ballyalley, the residence of the sons of Morrogh O'Brien, was taken and demolished by the earl, who had procured heavy ordnance to batter the walls, and a supply of troops from Limerick. Ballycar ⁽⁶⁾ shortly after shared the same fate. Hostilities were continued without intermission, and the sons of Morrogh O'Brien were strengthened by the accession of all the O'Briens of the upper or northern part of Thomond. Of these the most considerable were, Donald, whose return from exile in Ulster we have already noticed, and who was now joined by his brother Teige, who on the decease of their brother Torlogh, had been named by their followers Tanist of the Dal-gais.⁽⁷⁾ Uniting their forces, Donald and Teige, sons of Conor, and Teige and Donogh, sons of Morrogh O'Brien, opened the campaign of the year 1564 by a predatory excursion along the valley of the river Ougarnee, in the territory of Clancuilen.⁽⁸⁾ This tract was chosen as the scene of their operations on account of its proximity to the then residence of the earl, which was Rosroe (the redwood), on the brink of a lake of the same name.⁽⁹⁾ After burning the hamlet they drove the spoil of cattle before them, and were pursued by the inhabitants of the district, the extent of which was from Cratloe mountain to Lowhid bridge in one direction, and from Rinanna at the mouth of the Fergus, to Scariff, on the other. The northern O'Briens, nevertheless, made good their spoil, and crossed the Fergus without injury. The earl and his adherents were still further oppressed by the ravages of a band of mercenaries of the Clansheehy and Clansweeny, who were invited from the territory of the earl of Desmond by Donald O'Brien, and who lived on free quarters until the expiration of their *bonnacht* or period of service. The Four Masters give the measure of the extortion of these freebooters by stating that what remained of cattle after them was not equal to what they took for their service. The hardships endured by the earl's friends from this species of warfare

was at last terminated by a compromise. The territory (now barony) of "Corcomroe, its rents, customary services (*bonnaghts*), and church livings, were given to Donald O'Brien as a compensation for the dominion of Thomond (of which he had been deprived in the last year of Mary's reign), and for his observance of peace in the winter of this year."

Such is the statement of the annalists, who do not notice this spoliation of O'Connor, the chieftain of Corcomroe. Donald O'Brien, having obtained a considerable share of the plunder of Thomond, thenceforward became one of the Queen's most faithful adherents. The following instance of his vigorous administration of justice in his new acquisition of Corcomroe, soon after his obtaining possession of that district, is extracted from the Four Masters at the year 1565 :—

"Mahon, the son of Torlogh Mantach (of the broken teeth), son of Donogh, son of Donald, son of Torlogh Meith (the fat), was treacherously slain in his own town of Arkin, in Aran, by his own associates and relatives. When the chief men of Galway heard of this, they set out to revenge the misdeed upon the treacherous perpetrators, so that they compelled them to fly from their houses. The fugitives put to sea and landed in the harbour of Ross, in West Corcovaskin.⁽¹⁰⁾ Donald, the son of Conor O'Brien, having heard of this, hastened to overtake them with the utmost diligence; and having made prisoners of the greater part of them, he carried them in fetters to Magh Glae,⁽¹¹⁾ in the upper part of Corcomroe, that their anguish and sorrow might be the greater for being in view of the place where they perpetrated the crime. Here he hanged some and burned others, according as their evil deeds deserved."

The malcontents of Thomond deriving considerable support from those of Desmond, the affairs of the latter district seem to require a passing notice. The mutual animosity by which the houses of Desmond and Ormond had been for centuries actuated, and which had made the valley of the river Suir a chain of fortresses, having burst out afresh, the Lord Justice, Sir Henry Sidney, received the Queen's

commands to interpose and compel the two earls to observe peace. Desmond proving refractory, he was made prisoner at Kilmallock, and conveyed with others to Dublin, to be disposed of according to the royal pleasure. His brother John, having, without any apprehension of danger, gone at the close of the same year (1567) to visit him, was also detained in custody. Both the brothers were, in the course of a year, conducted by Sidney to London, to be disposed of as the Queen thought proper, and were immediately committed to the Tower. These two lords apprehending the worst, privately intimated to their cousin James, son of Maurice, their anxiety that he should take on himself the leadership of the Geraldines while they should be detained in captivity.⁽¹²⁾ This commission was readily assumed, and fulfilled by the delegate of the earl, with an alacrity stimulated by resentment at the wrongful imprisonment of the heads of the family. To repress his violence as well as to awe the turbulent chieftains who were still in opposition to the crown, the Lord Justice, Sidney, in the autumn of the year 1569, made a progress through Leinster towards the south-west, and entering the country of Imokilly, he took Castlemartyr in a week, then marching through Barrymore and Glanmire, halted for some time at Cork. During the Lord Justice's stay in this city, the followers of James dropped off day by day, coming in under protection, and submitting to the Queen. Sidney then proceeded northwards to Limerick and Galway, and on his way laid siege to and took the castles of Cloonoan and Ballyvaughan in Thomond.⁽¹³⁾ While in Galway the Lord Justice was unremitting in his efforts to reduce to the Queen's obedience the rebellious members of the Burkes, the O'Flaherties of west Connaught, and the Dal-gais. And lest their remoteness from the seat of government might prompt these half-reduced tribes to revolt, he placed the whole province of Connaught under the immediate government of a president, who was to keep in subjection the entire of the country from Limerick to Drowes.⁽¹⁴⁾ The person appointed to this important post was Sir Edward Fitton, according to the Four Masters, the first person ever chosen to fill the office.

Fitton thus appointed, governed his province in what Sir John Davis terms a course of discretion, sometimes according to the rules of the civil, more frequently, however, by those of martial law. His arbitrary and severe conduct in his dealings with the tribes of the Dal-gais, is said to have caused the earl of Thomond, Conor, to repent of his engagements with the crown. And as the incidents attending the first appearance of the lord President of Connaught in Thomond have been only recently printed, and are calculated to throw light on the temporary defection of the earl Conor from the cause of English government, they are here submitted to the reader :—

“A.D. 1570. A proclamation for holding a court in the monastery of Ennis, in Thomond, was issued by the President of the province of Connaught to the O'Briens and people of upper Connaught.⁽¹⁵⁾ Teige, the son of Morrogh O'Brien,⁽¹⁶⁾ who was at this time sheriff in the territory—and he was the first sheriff of Thomond—placed a quantity of food and drink in the monastery for the use of the president. The president arrived in the town about the festival of St. Bridget. The earl of Thomond, Conor, the son of Donogh, son of Conor O'Brien, was at this time at Clare,⁽¹⁷⁾ and the president on the third day despatched a party of his guards, consisting of the chiefs of his people, with a squadron of cavalry, to summon the earl. It was at the same hour of the day that this party and Donald, the son of Conor O'Brien,⁽¹⁸⁾ who was also coming to the earl, arrived at the gate of the town. The earl came to the resolution of making prisoners of Donald and all those who were withinside the chain of the gate, and killing some of those who were outside. Having put this resolution in practice, the rest escaped by swiftness of foot and the fleetness of their horses to the president in Ennis. On the following day the president departed, and the sons of Morrogh O'Brien son of Torlogh, namely, Teige and Donogh, conducted him out of the country, and guided him through the narrow passes, and the wild and intricate ways. The earl followed in pursuit of them, and continued skirmishing with them until they arrived at Gort-insi-Guaire (Gort)⁽¹⁹⁾

on that night. When this news reached the Lord Justice he was filled with wrath and indignation, and he and the council agreed to order the earl of Ormond (Thomas, the son of James, son of Pierce Roe), in the Queen's name to go and chastise the earl of Thomond for the very arrogant deed he had committed, for there was a close relationship and friendship between them.⁽²⁰⁾ The earl of Ormond accordingly marched into Thomond with his army, and the earl Conor came to a conference, and promised that he would yield obedience to his orders and those of the council. He accordingly gave up his towns, namely, Clonroad, Claremor, and Bunratty, to the earl of Ormond; and Donald O'Brien and the other chieftains of Thomond, who had been made prisoners, as well as those belonging to the President, were set at liberty. The earl was afterwards seized with sorrow and regret for having surrendered his towns and prisoners, for he now retained only one of all his fortresses, namely, Magh O'mbreacain,⁽²¹⁾ and in this he left ever faithful warders. He resolved that he would never submit himself to the law, or to the mercy of the council of Ireland, choosing rather to be a wanderer and an outlaw, and even to abandon his estates and patrimony, than to go among them. He afterwards remained for some time concealed in Clanmaurice (in Kerry), from whence he passed about the feast of St. John into France, where he remained for some time. He afterwards went to England, and received favour, pardon, and honour from the Queen of England, who sent by him letters to the council of Ireland, commanding them to honour the earl; and he returned to Ireland in the winter of the same year."

The earl's reconciliation with the English government thus incidentally mentioned by the Irish annalists, was the result of the good offices of Norris, ambassador from Elizabeth to the French court, who used his interest with his royal mistress in favour of Conor. The powerful influence of the earl of Ormond⁽²²⁾ served also to reconcile his cousin of Thomond to the English interest, and in the year after the flight of the latter to France, we find him co-operating cordially with Sir Edward Fitton. The proceedings in

Thomond, in the year 1571, are thus stated by the Four Masters :—

“On the feast of St. Patrick, in this year, the President of the province of Connaught, Sir Edward Fitton, issued a proclamation for holding a court during eighteen days in the monastery of Ennis, to administer justice to and reduce the Dal-gais and the people of upper Connaught. The President, mindful of the perilous position in which he had been placed the year before by the Dal-gais, came attended by a strong body of cavalry and valiant infantry ; and he was occupied daily during the space of eighteen days in establishing laws and rules, and abolishing injustice and lawlessness. The earl of Thomond, Conor, son of Donogh O'Brien, gave up his country and the rule over it to the President, as an atonement for the lawless act which he had committed against him some time before, and surrendered Magh O'mbreacain, the only one of his former castles then in his possession ; so that Moy, Bunratty, Claremore, and Clonroad were in the President's possession on his leaving the territory ; and he carried hostages from every chieftain in Thomond along with him to Athlone. It would be difficult to calculate the hundreds of cows given to the President by the men of Thomond the two years he remained in the territory.”

In the next year (1572) the Dal-gais, among others, were summoned to attend a court held about the 17th of March at Galway. On this occasion Ulick and John, sons of the earl of Clanrickard, hearing some rumour of intended severities, and dreading the president's well-known sternness, fled privately from the town, a proceeding which caused that officer to imprison the other chieftains of Clanrickard in Galway, and to conduct their father, the earl, a prisoner to Dublin. The earl's sons, on learning the fate of their father, immediately raised the standard of revolt, collected forces and took into pay a body of mercenary Scots, and laid waste the country, taking the castles and strong places which had surrendered to the queen. The council was at last obliged to set Clanrickard at liberty, who, as the price thereof, agreed to oblige his sons to dismiss their forces, and desist from further hostilities.

The Four Masters, in their notice of the insurrection of the sons of the earl of Clanrickard, state that James, the son of Maurice, the leader of the Geraldines, sojourned with them for some time, expecting to bring the Scots mercenaries with him into Desmond to oppose the Queen's troops. Sir John Perrot, who had been appointed President of the two provinces of Munster⁽²³⁾ about the same time that Fitton had received a similar charge over Connaught and Thomond, had succeeded in reducing the strongholds of the earl of Desmond, except that of Castlemain. To relieve this place, closely invested by Perrot, was the object of hiring the Scots. The negotiation having failed, Castlemain was taken by Perrot after a siege of three months, his army having been swelled by the accession of all the Irish of Munster of the race of Eoghan-more,⁽²⁴⁾ in addition to those of English descent, the Barrys, Roches, and Macmaurices of Kerry.

Notwithstanding the vigour of Fitton's administration in Thomond and the earl's recent reconciliation, the year 1573 witnessed the revival of civil war among the Dal-gais. On this occasion, however, the war was confined to the O'Briens themselves, and was not directed against the Queen's forces; and the President, whose tyrannical conduct was considered to have fanned the flame of rebellion in his province, having been removed by orders of the Queen, the conflicting parties in Thomond were left at liberty to fight it out among themselves. The earl being out of the country in this year, and Morrogh, the third baron of Inchiquin, having been slain by Dermot Reagh O'Shaughnessy, at the instance of Ulick, son of the earl of Clanrickard, the war was carried on by the juniors on each side. The northern O'Briens were represented by Donald, son of Conor, who had recently obtained a grant of Corcomroe, and Teige, son of Morrogh of Inchiquin, who, three years before, had been the first sheriff of the county of Clare. Teige, the founder of the Ballycorick family, brother of Donald, whom he had always hitherto supported against the pretensions of the Thomond or elder branch, having quarrelled with his cousin Teige, son of Morrogh, now sided with the earl's

party, who were commanded by Torlogh, brother to that nobleman. The following narrative of the campaign is extracted from the Four Masters :—

“Teige, the son of Conor, to wreak his vengeance on Teige, the son of Morrogh, gathered the soldiers and disaffected gallowglasses⁽²⁵⁾ of the Geraldines, and brought them with him across the Shannon, to assist the sons of Donogh O'Brien (the earl's party). These were joined by numbers of the Butlers and Macsweenys of the territory, namely, the descendants of Donald, the son of John Macsweeny, and by the forces of the earl, with his brother Torlogh, son of Donogh. All these forces met together at a place called Ard-na-gcabog, where the river Forghus mingles with the sea.⁽²⁶⁾ From thence they marched to wreak their vengeance upon the people of the upper part of Thomond, through the eastern part of the territory of Hy-Cormaic,⁽²⁷⁾ and the confines of Hy-Fearmaic,⁽²⁸⁾ and the cries and shrieks of the unfortunate people whom they plundered, gave warning of their march in every place through which they passed. They proceeded onwards over the stone road of Coradh-finne⁽²⁹⁾ by the gate of Inchiquin, and by Botharna-macrigh,⁽³⁰⁾ and some of their people carried utensils and spoils out of the church of Cill-inghine-Baoith,⁽³¹⁾ but this profanation of the church of that saint did not forebode triumph or success to the Dal-gais. They then proceeded northwest by the confines of Corcomroe and Burren, and despatched through the country marauding parties, who collected to one place all the spoils of the country before night. They afterwards pitched a camp, but the place was not adapted for obtaining repose, on account of the crying and wailing of women and widows bewailing their wrongs after being plundered. When Donald, the son of Conor O'Brien, and Teige, the son of Morrogh, heard of the coming of this great army to oppose them, they mustered all the forces they could and met together at Carnmactail. These were they who were with them at that place :—the sons of Edmond Macsheehy, who had, three nights before, come across the Shannon with a select body of gallowglasses, and also youths of the descendants of Gilla Duv, the son of Conor, son of

Donogh, son of Donald na-madhman Macswiney. There also was Ulick, son of Richard Saxonach, son of Ulick, son of Richard Burke, who had come the day before to visit his kinsman Teige, the son of Morrogh O'Brien. These resolved with one accord to pursue the enemy, and Donald, the son of Conor O'Brien, began to excite them to valour by the following speech :—' My friends, I have heard from old men and historians that it is not by the multitude of men or forces that a battle is won, and that no man can be a judge of the issue of an engagement. These people have been guilty of wrongs towards us, for they have invaded our lawful territory, and plundered our people. Their army, however numerous, is only a medley of men from different places, to whom maintaining their ground or flying is alike indifferent, if they could only escape with their lives from the field on which we shall meet them.' This exhortation from Donald produced the effect intended, for they promised they would unite in brotherly affection against their enemies, whereupon they resolved to send out persons to reconnoitre the enemy's camp that night. Teige, the son of Conor O'Brien, and Torlogh, the son of Donogh, and their forces, remained all that night until day-break the next morning by their camp watching vigilantly. At sunrise they marched forwards by Sleive-na-groigheadh (the mountain of the horses), keeping Bel-atha-an-ghobhan⁽³²⁾ on the left hand, and the forces of the country were marching slowly along side of them to come to an engagement ; and they displayed on both sides their winged and broad-tailed standards, but marched with steady step by the pass of Cill-mainchin⁽³³⁾ directly towards Bel-an-chip. Teige, the son of Morrogh, and the army in general, began to reproach Donald O'Brien for delaying to engage the enemy, and the two armies had been moving opposite to each other from Baile-atha-an-ghobhan to that place.⁽³⁴⁾ Teige, the son of Conor and Torlogh O'Brien arrived with their forces on the summit of the hill of Bel-an-chip, and formed themselves into battle array. The other army was pursuing them up the steep and rugged side of the hill on which they were drawn out. Before, however, they could come within shot,

the constables of Teige and Torlogh were seized with trepidation, horror, light headedness, giddiness, and unsteadiness, so that they immediately took to flight. The others proceeded to slaughter them by twenties and thirties, by twos and threes, from thence to Ben-Formala.⁽³⁵⁾ It was not in the same direction the defeated troops passed, for their cavalry moved westwards, keeping the sea on their right, while their infantry retreated directly south-east.⁽³⁶⁾ Both parties were, however, vigorously pursued. They gave loose reins to their horses, and fled with the utmost speed. Torlogh O'Brien and twelve horsemen of his followers made their way by dint of courage and fleetness of their steeds to Cathair-ruis.⁽³⁷⁾ Others of his people were wounded and taken prisoners, among whom were Teige, the son of Conor O'Brien, and his son Torlogh, for they had remained on the hill, expecting that the rest would stand by them. Some of the earl's faithful friends were taken prisoners, who, it was at the moment thought, would get no quarter. Many were slain. Noisy were the ravens and carrion-crows, and the other ravenous birds of the air, as well as the wolves of the forest, over the bodies of the nobles slain in the battle on that day. The upper part of Thomond was the better some time afterwards of all the prisoners, horses, armour, and ordnance, and also of the number of their own herds and flocks left to them that day."

These feuds, by which the rival branches of the O'Briens were so frequently agitated, continued from year to year to prolong the civil wars of the Dal-gais. The earl's party having been defeated by the combined efforts of the Inchi-quin and Ennistymond chiefs, waited for the opportunity to retaliate, and we find mention made in the year 1575 that the strife was renewed between them, "Tuath-Uambuilc and Tuath-na-fearna,⁽³⁸⁾ including cattle, corn, and buildings, and both lay and church property," being burnt in one night's marauding by the earl and his brother Torlogh, who had so lately escaped by the fleetness of his horse to Caher-rush castle from the superior prowess of Donald O'Brien.

Sir Henry Sidney having, in the autumn of the year 1575, arrived as Lord Justice, he early in the following year

proceeded from Cork to Limerick with the leading men of the English and Irish of Munster, including the Dal-gais, in his train. In his progress he abolished the arbitrary and oppressive imposts by which the princes and chiefs had from time immemorial maintained their troops, and after a short stay in Limerick, he proceeded to Galway, taking with him the prominent members of the O'Briens. The complaints of the chiefs of this house against one another were heard by Sidney, and he determined on keeping a few of them as hostages for the good conduct of the others. The abilities displayed by Donald O'Brien, as well as his influence among the Dal-gais, determined Sidney to employ these qualities for the service of the Queen, and he accordingly appointed Donald governor of the county of Clare, conferring on him discretionary powers, which, according to the testimony of the Irish annalists, he exercised with rigour. The Four Masters state that "he hanged refractory men, rebels, and plunderers, and that while he was in office it was not found necessary to place watchmen over cattle, or even to close doors."

Sidney, who had seven years before annexed Thomond to Connaught when Sir Edward Fitton was appointed governor of that province, having found it more convenient for various reasons to alter this arrangement, Thomond was separated from Connaught and joined to Munster, the charge of which was committed to a new president, Sir William Drury. This officer exerted himself with remarkable activity, visiting the several towns of the province. In the course of his progress he punished with death the head of the Barretts of Cork, and two of the chiefs of the Mac-Swineys, and after his arrival at Limerick he dealt a similar measure of severity to the Dal-gais, hanging "several of the gentlemen and common people of the O'Briens, and many others besides these," as the annalists relate.

The year 1577 was among the most eventful that happened in Thomond. In it the decease of Teige, son of Morrogh O'Brien of Inchiquin, occurred. This chieftain had been the first sheriff of Thomond, and although opposed to the earl his relative, had rendered good service to the crown, having conducted the president Fitton safely out of Tho-

mond when attacked seven years before by the earl Conor. By the decease of Teige there remained of the male issue of Morrogh, once king, and subsequently earl of Thomond, but Donogh, ancestor of the Dromoland family, who was so soon after to experience the utmost rigour of the barbarous half civil half military system of laws which the necessities of the times obliged the officers of Elizabeth to enforce.

Although a sheriff had been nominated, and had acted in the discharge of such duties as were at the time incidental to the office in Thomond, yet the authority of the crown was far from being established or acknowledged. To reduce the refractory Dal-gais, Drury, about the 10th of June in this year, with a large retinue of the English and the chiefs of the two provinces of Munster, held a court for eight days in the usual place of resort, the monastery of Ennis. Mild measures having failed to induce the Dal-gais to acknowledge the authority of the Queen by the usual incidents of the feudal or common law, the payment of tribute or rent, Drury returned to Limerick, leaving behind a marshal and a sufficient military force to reduce them to obedience. The earl of Thomond, whose son Donogh, afterwards the great earl, was at the time a resident at the court of Elizabeth, determined to repair to that princess and endeavour to obtain for himself and the inhabitants of Thomond conditions more satisfactory than he was likely to procure from her officers. Before the earl's return the marshal had so effectually discharged the duty assigned to him by the president, that the Queen's authority was acknowledged by the inhabitants of the district, who concluded an agreement to pay the sum of ten pounds for every barony, as and for a crown rent. This, observe the Four Masters, was the first tribute ever paid by the Dal-gais.

The visit of the earl to his sovereign was however productive of considerable benefit to him and his descendants. In his memorial, the answer to which in the form of a letter to the lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, will be found in the Appendix,^(P) the earl made humble claim that her Majesty would be pleased to confirm the previous grants of former sovereigns, of titles of honour or assurances of lands

or hereditaments, in possession, remainder, or reversion, which might have been made to his father or to himself; and that his son Donogh, the baron of Ibrickane, who was brought up at the English court, might be nominated in remainder to the earldom. This latter request, shewing the earl's ignorance of English law, or more probably his apprehension that a title which had been only thirty-four years before created for life, and conferred on his grand-uncle, and which, by the instrument of creation, was to shift from the heirs of his body to his nephew, might be subject to similar insecurity in his own person, struck the Queen with surprise, causing her to remark that such a provision was unnecessary if Donogh were his lawful and eldest son. The desired confirmation was granted, as was also another important favour touching the rights incidental to what had recently been the kingdom of Thomond. The earl claimed the right from time immemorial exercised by his ancestors, kings of that territory, to make surnames, and after the decease of every chief to nominate his successor. This right he petitioned in the alternative, to have continued in him, or, if the descent of the land of the country were thenceforward to be according to the course of the common law of England, that it should be lawful for him to have the wardship of the heirs to which the feudal incident of *relief* was attached. This request involved several important considerations. The ministers of Elizabeth had found great inconveniencies attending the dependence of chieftains on their superior lords in other parts of Munster, and were unwilling, in what might be deemed a settlement of Thomond, to create the very evil they complained of elsewhere. They also apprehended discontents from granting the tenures of the principal men to the earl, and were anxious that these should rather be surrendered to the crown, and re-granted to descend according to the course of the feudal tenure then in existence, by which means the usual rents and services might accrue to the crown. For these and other reasons this part of the earl's memorial was referred to the consideration of Sidney and the council, with a recommendation that if found not inconsistent with

her Majesty's service, he should be declared entitled to *relief* from the estates of the meaner freeholders, from whom, as her Majesty alleged she was informed, his ancestors had in former times their whole maintenance.⁽³⁹⁾

A claim made by the earl on behalf of the inhabitants of Thomond for the amount of certain cesses raised theretofore by the warrants of her majesty's officers commanding in the district, was referred for examination and report to the Deputy and council, with an intimation that the Queen had lent to the earl a sum of two hundred pounds, which sum should be credited in the accounts, or, if these were not passed or allowed, should be repaid by him to her majesty.

The customs of Clare and Clonroad, in both of which towns the earl had residences, and which had been enjoyed by his ancestors, were, agreeably to his claim, confirmed to him and his heirs.

The memorial also prayed that in addition to the moiety of the dissolved abbey of Clare which was conferred by the grant of Henry the eighth on the earl's ancestor, he should also receive the other moiety still vested in the crown, together with the territories belonging to the abbeys of Ennis and Quin, and the chantries of certain other places expressly named. On this claim the Queen made order that upon a survey which was directed to be made by the crown surveyor, the earl should have an estate in tail male of all the said abbey lands, frieries and chantries, with a reservation of such rent as should be allotted by the survey.

Lastly, the earl desired to have granted to him the island of Scatterry (Iniscatha), "on pretence that he would convert it to a fish-town;" but the politic Queen learning that it was on the river Shannon and of some importance to the city of Limerick, required further information from the Deputy and council as to the situation and importance of the place, and the quantity and value of the ground therein contained, before she gave answer to this part of the earl's memorial.⁽³⁹⁾ The Deputy, in conclusion, was authorized to make grants and estates to the earl under the great seal either for his life, or during pleasure, or in tail, according to his discretion. This remarkable document

bears date under the Queen's signet, at the castle of Windsor, the 7th October, 1577, and 19th of her reign.^(q)

The Four Masters give the following account of this transaction, which, as being that current in Thomond at the time, is here submitted to the reader :—

“The earl of Thomond (Conor, son of Donogh, son of Conor O'Brien,) went to England to complain to the Queen of his distresses and oppression ; and he obtained a charter of his territory and towns, and nearly all the church livings of Thomond, and also a general pardon for his people ; and he returned about Christmas, after having received great honour and respect from his sovereign ; and he entertained the notion that thenceforward his territory would be free from the unjust jurisdiction of the Queen's officers. But before the arrival of the earl, the marshal had imposed a severe burden on his people, so that they were obliged to become tributary to the sovereign, and pay a sum of ten pounds for every barony, and this was the first tribute ever paid by the Dal-gais.”

The forgiveness of Elizabeth, and the favours conferred on earl Conor by that princess, were owing to his connexion with the family of the Butlers, whose blood ran in her own veins. She always spoke of the Ormond family in terms of affection, and had a sense of their loyalty and devotion to her interests, which was extended to their relations of the O'Brien race. The connexion of the Thomond and Ormond houses was soon after increased by the marriage of the lady Margaret, second daughter of earl Conor, to James Butler, second lord Dunboyne, an alliance from which, after many intermediate descents, the last-named noble family has sprung.

(q) Vide post, Appendix.

CHAPTER XV.

A. D. 1577-1585...Recal of Sir Henry Sidney...Sir William Drury Lord Justice
 ...Dies at Waterford...Death of Donald O'Brien...Of Conor, third earl of
 Thomond.. Annexation of Thomond to Connaught...Sir Nicholas Malby
 ordered to divide it into baronies...His proceedings...Rebellion of the sons
 of the earl of Clanrickard...The O'Briens involved...Execution of the uncle
 of the earl of Thomond, and of Donogh, ancestor of the O'Briens of Dromo-
 land...Sir John Perrot appointed lord Deputy...His progress to Athlone,
 Galway, and Limerick...Parliament of 1585...Settlement of Thomond...In-
 denture of composition between the crown and the chieftains of Thomond...
 Enumeration of the leading families.

ON the return of Sir William Drury to Limerick, after leaving in Thomond a force sufficient for the reduction of the Dal-gais, he proceeded to execute those whom he had taken in arms against the crown. Among those who suffered for their resistance to the yoke of English authority was Morrogh, son of Mortogh, son of Donogh, son of Brian Duv (the black) O'Brien, whom the Four Masters, in their inflated language, style "the man of most renown and nobility among the heirs of Carrig-O'Gunnell and Aherlach."⁽¹⁾

Sir Henry Sidney having gone to England in 1578, taking with him the earl of Clanrickard and his son William, to place them at the disposal of the English council, Sir William Drury was appointed Lord Justice in his stead, until a new viceroy should arrive. While holding this high commission he was summoned from Cork to Kilmallock, to repress the sudden insurrection which burst forth on the arrival of James, the son of Maurice, formerly temporary leader of the Geraldines, who had recently landed from France, with a supply of men and arms, to raise the standard of the Pope among such of the Irish and English as were disaffected to the rule of Elizabeth. On this expedition Drury was seized with illness, which terminated in

his death at Waterford, whither he had retired, leaving Sir Nicholas Malby to oppose the Geraldines. The Privy Council in Dublin, on learning the demise of Drury, appointed a new Lord Justice, Sir William Pelham, and on the same day, by letters-patent, constituted the earl of Ormond governor of the province of Munster, and Sir Warham St. Leger provost-marshal thereof.

In this year also is recorded the death of Donald O'Brien, son of Conor, son of Torlogh, son of Teige, son of Torlogh, son of Brian Catha-an-Eanaigh,⁽²⁾ who died in the sixty-fifth year of his age of a lingering illness, and was buried in Ennis.

This remarkable man was the second son of Conor, the last king of Thomond. By his wife Slaine, his cousin-german, who died ten years before him, the daughter of Morrogh, first earl of Thomond, he had three sons and three daughters. The sons were—1. Torlogh ; 2. Mortogh, and 3. Conor. Of the latter two nothing is recorded, but the eldest son became the progenitor of the branch of the O'Briens called of Ennistymond, was distinguished for his loyalty, and received the honour of knighthood from the Queen in London in 1583, on the same day with Sir John O'Reilly of east Breifny (Cavan). Sir Torlogh O'Brien shortly after received, by letters-patent bearing date the 14th December, 1583, a grant in fee of the dissolved abbey of Quin and its appurtenances, the Queen, who had previously intimated her intention of conferring it upon the earl of Thomond, having changed her mind in this instance.

The annalists have preserved a record of the obits of the daughters of Donald O'Brien. The eldest Honora, the wife of O'Conor of Kerry, died in 1583, and was interred in Iniscatha (Scattery), the usual place of sepulture of the adjacent districts of Kerry and Thomond. The second daughter Margaret, the wife of Torlogh, (son of Brian, son of Donogh Macmahon,) prince or chieftain of West Corcovaskin, (barony of Moyartagh), died at Killmicduain in 1591, and was interred also at Scattery island. The third daughter Aine, the wife of the Macmahon of East Corcovaskin, (barony of Clonderalaw), that is, of Torlogh Roe,

son of Teige, son of Morrogh, son of Teige Roe, died the same year as the sister last mentioned.⁽³⁾

Donald O'Brien was followed to the grave in less than a year by his nephew and opponent Conor, third earl of Thomond. According to the Four Masters he died in 1580, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and was interred in the abbey of Ennis. He was succeeded in his titles and possessions by his son Donogh, known as the great earl of Thomond. The death of Donald, son of Teige, ancestor of the Ballycorick O'Briens, is also placed by the same authorities in this year.

Previous to the decease of the third earl of Thomond, the county of Clare had been again united with Connaught, and placed under the government of Sir Nicholas Malby, to whom a despatch had been addressed by the Queen, bearing date the last day of March, 1579, informing him that the country of Thomond, otherwise called the county of Clare, was united to his government, as it was in the time of Sir Edward Fitton, or any former President. In this document⁽⁴⁾ the president was directed to settle the number of baronies into which the county of Clare was thenceforth to be divided; the yearly sums of money, services of men, and labourers on the works of the crown, to be reserved by indenture to be made between the president, on the part of her majesty, and the "gentlemen of Thomond." He was also directed to procure the mayor of Limerick to consent, that the portion of that city beyond the castle to the north of the river Shannon, should be established as the shiretown of the county of Clare, either permanently or (we quote the Queen's orthography) until "some apte place in Thomond, maie at the country charages be circuited with a wall, which we think not harde to be brought to passe in this peaceible tyme, wherein we are contented that the laborers to be reserved to us in the composicons be imployed, and do refer to you the choice of the place, which we conceive maie fytly be at Quyne, Killaloe or Innis, yf Clare be not ours, but granted to the earle of Thomond, as we are enformid."

From this instructional letter may be dated the commencement of the town of Ennis. The position of the

castle of Clare at the estuary of the Fergus, and in the centre of the country, naturally pointed it out as the proper place for the shiretown, but it was the earl's residence, and could not be divested from him. The nearest place to Clare was then accordingly fixed on, and as the monastery of Ennis had been frequently resorted to as a place for holding public assemblies, and for the administration of justice, by various presidents and public officers before this time, Sir Nicholas Malby found no difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that it was the fittest place to be made the capital of the newly-formed county.

The rebellion of the sons of the earl of Clanrickard against the authority of the crown in the next year, had an immediate effect on the condition of the newly-formed county of Clare. The de Burghs and O'Briens being long connected by close relationship, Donogh, son of Morrogh, (ancestor of the Dromoland O'Briens), and Mahon, a descendant of the bishop O'Brien, were induced to join the sons of the earl. The Four Masters state that the latter was the person who collected all the insurgents of the neighbouring territories, and laid waste the country from Burren to Limerick. The inhabitants of the entire province were drawn into this rebellion, the young earl of Thomond, Donogh, son of Conor, and Torlogh, son of Donald, who then filled the office of sheriff, being the only persons who remained steady in their allegiance.⁽⁵⁾ The insurrection was promptly and severely repressed, and the year 1581 witnessed the execution of some of the leaders of the movement, whose fate was intended to strike a salutary terror into their followers. Torlogh O'Brien, uncle of the earl of Thomond, after an imprisonment of more than a year, was hanged in Galway on the 26th of May; and in two days after, William, son of the earl of Clanrickard, suffered the same fate. This severity occasioned the submission of the other sons of the earl, who procured Mahon O'Brien, the principal disturber of the peace of Thomond, to be included in the conditions of pacification.

The decease of another of the O'Briens of some celebrity is recorded in the following year (1582). This was the

founder of the Ballycorick family, Teige, who had been expelled by his brother Donald after the battle of Knoc-an-chip, in Corcomroe, in 1573, for deserting his party, and siding with the earl of Thomond. This chieftain had been tanist of Thomond after the assumption of the regal power by Donald. Departing from his native country, he sojourned for a time in Spain, France, and England, and returning from the court of St. James' with a pardon and a promise of a portion of land, which he enjoyed to his death, he died in 1582 at an advanced age, and was interred in the monastery of Ennis.

The treaty or stipulations made between Sir Nicholas Malby and the sons of the earl of Clanrickard, which comprehended Mahon O'Brien, did not include (for what reason is not apparent) Donogh, son of Morrogh. This individual, who had imprudently joined the rebellious de Burghs the year before, having, as the annalists state, repented, came back under protection. They add that the officers of the Queen detected a flaw in the letter of protection, whereupon he was "put to death in an ignoble manner by captain Mordaunt, who held the commission of marshal, and by the sheriff Sir George Cusack." The execution took place on the 29th September, 1582, at the gate of Limerick, and the remains were conveyed to the usual place, the monastery of Ennis, where they were interred.⁽⁷⁾

The tragical end of the earl of Desmond in 1583, extinguished the hopes of the disaffected throughout the province of Munster, and the tranquillity which reigned in Clare in consequence was not disturbed by any further attempts at revolt. A couple of examples of the severity of justice were made in the execution of Torlogh, son of Owny O'Loughlin of Burren, who was taken prisoner by Sir Torlogh, son of Donald O'Brien, and handed over to Sir Edward Brabazon, the temporary governor of the province, for punishment. The other victim to offended justice was Donogh Beg (the little), son of Teige, son of Donogh O'Brien, whose fate was reserved for the disposal of Sir John Perrot, who had arrived in Dublin, and was sworn into the office of lord Deputy on the 26th June, 1584. Perrot, after a

delay of about a month at the seat of government, made a progress to Athlone, and thence to Galway, attended by Sir John Norris and Sir Richard Bingham, the former president of Munster, the latter of Connaught. The Deputy, after a short stay in Galway for the purpose of receiving the submissions of the chiefs of the province, set out for Limerick, a journey which in those times, owing to the want of roads, occupied the long interval of three days. The first night was passed at Kilmacduagh, the second at Cuinche (Quin), in Clan Cuilen, and by the close of the third day the Deputy arrived at Limerick. Such of the chiefs of the county of Clare as had not found it convenient to wait on the Queen's representative at Galway attended him at Quin, and the sheriff of the county, Cruise, also appeared, having in his custody the prisoner Donogh Beg, styled by the annalists arch traitor and leader of the plunderers of the province of Connaught. The punishment of the criminal is thus described by the Four Masters:—
“His evil destiny awaited him, for he was hanged from a car, and his bones were broken and smashed with the back of a large and heavy axe ; and his body thus mangled and half dead was affixed, fastened with hard and tough hempen ropes, to the top of the steeple of Quin, under the talons of the birds and fowls of the air, that the sight of him in that state might serve as a warning and an example to evil doers.”

To settle the country, now apparently incapable of further opposition to the power of the crown, as well as to dispose of the enormous forfeitures which fell in by the treason of the earl of Desmond, a parliament was summoned to meet in Dublin on the 26th April, 1585. The Four Masters enumerate all who attended either as members or as parties interested in the proceedings :—From the county of Clare, the earl of Thomond, Donogh, afterwards styled the great earl, and Morrogh, fourth baron of Inchiquin, attended among the peers ; and Sir Torlogh, the son of Donald of Ennistymond, and Boethius Clancy, as members elected to serve among the commons. Of persons not members of parliament who attended were Torlogh, son of

Teige O'Brien of Ballycorick, and John, son of Teige Macnamara, lord of the western Clancuilen.⁽⁸⁾ Rossa, son of Owey, son of Melaghlin, or Malachy O'Loughlin, son of the chief (or prince, as he is still in the person of his descendant styled), of Burren, also attended this assembly.

The parliament sat about a month, when it was prorogued. Shortly after the prorogation, Sir John Perrot commenced in earnest the work which had been suspended by the recal of Sir Henry Sidney seven years before. This is described by the latter in a despatch to the lords of the council, in 1576, in which the writer states that he had proved before them (the lords and chieftains of Thomond lately annexed to the presidency of Connaught by the name of the county of Clare), "the very root and origin of their ruin was the uncertain grant and unstable possession of their lands, whereupon grew their wars. I brought them to agree to surrender all their lands, and take it of her Highness again, and yield both rent and service."

The work thus suspended was resumed by Sir John Perrott, whose character stood so high, as has been seen in his former government as president of Munster. On the 15th July, 1585, a commission issued, directed to Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, the earls of Thomond and Clanrickarde, the baron of Athenry, Sir Turlough O'Brien (of Ennistymond), Sir Richard Bourke (Macwilliam Eighter), Sir Donald O'Connor of Sligo, Sir Brian O'Ruarc, Sir Morrogh na ttuath O'Flaherty and others, and containing a recital of the evils attendant on the system of cuttings and cessings which prevailed through the province of Connaught and Thomond, the chieftains making these exactions under pretence of defending the people under their several rules.⁽⁹⁾ The commissioners were empowered to call before them "all the nobility, spiritual and temporal, and all the chieftains and lords of the said countries and baronies, and in lieu of the uncertain cess, cuttings and spendings, to compound after their best discretion, and to devise and lay down all things that shall tend to the real good and quiet of that country, which, after the passing of the same by indenture, is meant to be ratified by act of parliament."

The following were the proposals made by the commissioners :—" The chieftains of countries, gentlemen and freeholders of the province of Connaught (in which Clare was included) to pass unto the Queen's Majesty, her heirs and successors, a grant of ten shillings English or a mark Irish, upon every quarter of land containing one hundred and twenty acres, manured or to be manured, that bears either horn or corn, in lieu and consideration to be discharged from other cess, taxation or challenge, except the rising out of horse and foot, for the service of the prince and state, such as should be particularly agreed on, and some certain days' labour for building and fortification for the safety of the people and kingdom."

The commissioners began with the county of " Clare and Thomond." The recital of the parties to the indenture directed to be made, exhibits a list of the leading families of the county of Clare towards the conclusion of the sixteenth century, and is here inserted for the gratification of the curious :—

" Indenture made betwixt the Right Honourable Sir John Perrott, knight, &c., of the one part, and the Lords spiritual and temporal, chieftains, gentlemen, &c., of that part of the province of Connaught called Thomond, that is to say, Donogh, earl of Thomond ; Morrogh, lord-baron of Inchiquin ; the reverend fathers in God, Mauricius, bishop of Killaloe ; Daniel, elect bishop of Kylfinoraghe ; Donogh O'Horan, dean of Killaloe ; Daniel Shennagh, dean of Kilfinoragh ; Denis, archdeacon of the same ; Sir Edward Waterhouse of Downasse, knight ; Sir Torlogh O'Brien of Ennistevey (Ennistymon), knight ; John Macnamara of Knappock, otherwise called Macnamara of West Clancuilen ; Donald Reagh Macnamara of Garrowelagh, otherwise called Macnamara of East Clancuilen ; Teige Macmahon of Clonderalaw, otherwise called Macmahon of Castle (East ?) Corcovaskin ; Torlogh Macmahon of Moyarta, chief of his name in West Corcovaskin ; Moriertagh O'Brien of Dromleyne gen. ; Mahowne O'Brien of Clondewan (Clonoon), gen. ; Owny O'Loughlin of the Greggans, otherwise called O'Loughlin ; Rosse O'Loughlin of Glan Collumkille, tanist to the

same O'Loughlin ; Mahone and Dermot O'Dea of Tullyodea, chiefs of their names ; Conor MacGilreoghe (Gallery) of Cragbrien, chief of his name ; Torlogh MacTeige O'Brien of Beallacorige, gen. ; Luke Bradey, son and heir of the late bishop of Meath ; Edward White of the Crattelagh, gen. ; George Cusacke of Dromoylen, gen. ; Boethius Clancy of Knockfinney, gen. ; John Macnamara of the Moetullen, gen. ; Henry O'Grady of the island of Inchicronan, gen. ; Donogh McClanchy of the Urlion, chief of his name ; Donogh Garrav O'Brien of Ballycessy, gen. ; Conor O'Brien of Curharcorcae (Cahercorcran), gen. ; and George Fanning of Limerick, merchant, of the other part."

This indenture bears date the 17th August, 1585. The substance of it is thus related by the Four Masters :—

"The governor of the province of Connaught, with other persons of distinction, and some members of the council of Dublin, went to the province of Connaught to hold, in the first place, a session in the monastery of Ennis, in the county of Clare. Here they made unusual ordinances, namely, that ten shillings should be paid to the Queen for every quarter of land in the country, as well ecclesiastical as lay lands, excepting the liberties which they themselves consented to grant to the gentlemen of the country; and that over and above the Queen's rent, five shillings should be paid to the lord of Thomond for every quarter of land, free and unfree, in the whole country, except the liberties and church lands. They took from the earl of Thomond the cantred of Cinel-Fearmaic ('barony of Inchiquin'), which had been theretofore constantly under tribute to his ancestors, and gave the lordship of it to the baron of Inchiquin, Morrogh, son of Morrogh, son of Dermot O'Brien. It was also ordained and agreed that Torlogh, the son of Donald, son of Conor O'Brien, should have the rents and court of Corcomroe in succession to his father, to whom it had been first given out of the lordship of Thomond by the earl, namely, Conor, the son of Donogh O'Brien. They deprived of title and tribute every head and chief of a sept, and every other lord of a *triochaced* (barony) throughout the whole country, except John Macnamara, lord of West Clancuilen,

who did not put his hand to the composition they made. They made similar compositions in Galway, Roscommon, Mayo, and Sligo."

Thus was completed the settlement of Thomond. And although, as may be inferred from the intimation of the Four Masters, considerable discontent was felt by those who were deprived of their privileges by the abolition of tanistry and the law of partible succession, which opened the highest honours of the sept to those possessed of superior courage and worth, and who only waited the opportunity to break out into rebellion; yet the establishment of two or three powerful families of the race of their antient princes was calculated to control the fiery passions of the Dalgais, and compel them to a reluctant acquiescence in the arrangements adopted by the Queen's officers. The wisdom of Elizabeth was shewn in the care she took to bring up under her own eye, when in her power, the chiefs of the old race, and the young earl of Thomond had been educated at her court, and now was in a position to repay his sovereign for her care of his interests, and to aid her in defeating the attempts of those enemies, foreign and domestic, who were instigated by the Papal and Spanish courts to overturn her crown and government. The young baron of Inchiquin was connected with the old English families of the Pale, his mother being the daughter of the Chancellor, Sir Thomas Cusack, and having himself lately married the daughter of Nugent lord Delvin,⁽¹⁰⁾ he had therefore a strong bias to support the interests of government. A third branch of the house of O'Brien, although not invested with the dignity of the peerage, Sir Torlogh, son of Donald, received the honour of knighthood from the Queen's own hand, and was, by the indenture of composition recently executed by her commissioners, confirmed in the possession of the court and rents of the cantred of Corcomroe. Even Teige of Ballycorick, who had by his vacillating conduct between the conflicting branches of the family, disentitled himself to much consideration, received a share of the territory, and his son Torlogh, by his signing the indenture, proclaimed his acquiescence. Of the two remaining sons of Conor, the

last king of Thomond, Morrogh and Mortogh, the latter signed the composition, the former living within the cantred of Corcomroe was represented by his nephew, Sir Torlogh of Ennistymond,⁽¹¹⁾ and his assent, as a matter of course, inferred.

CHAPTER XVI.

A.D. 1586-1599...Sir Richard Bingham governor of Connaught...Takes Clonoon castle in Thomond...Rise of Hugh Roe O'Donnell...Assumes the command of the northern insurgents.. Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, revolts from the Queen...Overtures of peace made by the lord Deputy to Tyrone and O'Donnell are refused...Sir Conyers Clifford, governor of Connaught, ordered to attack O'Donnell...The earl of Thomond and baron of Inchiquin join Clifford ...Passage of the Erne, and death of Inchiquin...Contest between the monks of Assaroe and the Franciscans of Donegal for the right to his obsequies...Siege of Ballyshannon...Raised by O'Donnell, who obliges Clifford to retreat ...Defeat of the lord Deputy by Tyrone...Interview of the earls of Thomond and Ormond with Tyrone...Victory of the Yellow Ford gained by Tyrone...Obtains from the Pope a crown of phoenix feathers...Confers the earldom of Desmond on James, nephew of the late earl...Progress of the insurrection in Thomond...Teige MacMahon joins the earl of Desmond...Donald O'Brien, brother of the earl of Thomond, made a prisoner in the castle of Kilmurry...Invasion of Thomond by O'Donnell...Troops ordered into the country by Sir Conyers Clifford, are attacked by the O'Briens...The earl of Thomond chastises Teige MacMahon...Arrival and progress of the earl of Essex.

SIR RICHARD BINGHAM, the governor of Connaught, commenced the new year with a display of extraordinary vigour. He held a session at Galway in January, 1586, at which no fewer than seventy men and *women* were put to death. Among the men was one of the O'Briens, Donald, son of Mortogh Garv (the rough), son of Brian, son of Teige O'Brien. On the 1st March he laid siege to Clondubhan (Clonoon), a castle belonging to Mahon, son of Torlogh, son of Mahon, son of Torlogh, son of Mahon O'Brien,⁽¹⁾ and in three weeks, the owner having, while engaged in directing the defence, been shot through the head by a musket ball, the garrison surrendered, expecting quarter, which was denied. Bingham, on taking this castle, which was deemed very strong, demolished it, and returned into Connaught, his troops being every where distinguished for cruelty and

barbarity. The Four Masters state, "they killed *women*, boys, peasants, and decrepit persons."

The taking of Clonooan castle completed the reduction of the county of Clare, as thenceforward peace reigned in that hitherto distracted territory, while in other parts of the kingdom, particularly in Ulster, preparations were made to resist the Queen's authority. The tranquillity of Thomond permitted the earl, Donogh, to join Sir Richard Bingham in his operations against the lower Burkes, whom the severity of the governor had driven into rebellion. The campaign commenced in January of the year 1590, when the earl and Bingham entered Connaught and encamped at Cong, on the borders of Mayo and Galway, to oppose the Burkes, who were in force on the west side of the river. The campaign was terminated without bloodshed, the Burkes giving hostages to the governor for the observance of peace. The submission was but temporary, a mere evasion ; for this sept was under the influence of the chieftains of Tirconnell, the most distinguished of whom, Hugh Roe, fourth in descent from the prince of the same name and appellation, who had married the daughter of Conor na-Srona O'Brien, king of Thomond, had been entrapped into a vessel in the harbour of Lough Swilly in the year 1587, and conveyed a prisoner to Dublin. This chieftain, after making his escape from the castle in 1590, was re-taken, but succeeded in a similar attempt two years afterwards. Unmitigated hostility to the English power was the necessary consequence of this mean and treacherous act of kidnapping, which although deemed a master stroke of policy by the council, was unworthy of the high character of Sir John Perrott. O'Donnell had no sooner reached Tirconnell than he engaged his dependent chieftains to take up arms, who all eagerly entered into his views. Foremost of these was Hugh Maguire, prince of Fermanagh, and he was aided by O'Ruarc (Brian), the son of the chief of that name, who had been executed at Tyburn in 1591, for treason committed in harbouring and relieving some Spaniards belonging to the ships of the Armada, wrecked on his coasts about two years before. Their example was followed by the other

native chieftains of Ulster, and a general confederacy against Elizabeth was formed through the artifices of the court of Spain, the agents of which practised with O'Donnell, who, since his escape from confinement, had been raised to the chieftainship, on the resignation, through age and infirmity, of his father. A prophecy ascribed to St. Columbkille, a member of the royal line of that race from which O'Donnell himself was descended, to the effect that one of the stock would arise and reign for ten years, in the course of which the Irish nation should be liberated, was, by the general opinion, applied to Hugh Roe, whose recent escape from his enemies favoured the delusion. He was with one accord, in consequence, placed at the head of the northern confederacy, which now reached such a height, that there was not, according to the Four Masters, in 1595 a county in the entire province of Connaught, from the Moy to the Shannon, with the exception alone of Clare, in which the inhabitants or the major part of them had not joined the standard of O'Donnell. So great was the power and pre-eminence to which this aspiring and able chieftain had attained, that the northern or lower Burkes, as they were called, who were contending for the chieftaincy of their district, agreed to submit their pretensions to his arbitration. The annalists state that his choice fell on Walter Kittagh, son of John, son of Oliver, because he had been the first to come over to him after his expulsion by the English, and Walter was moreover "in the bloom of youth, and able to endure the hardships and toils of the war in which they were engaged." The title of chief was conferred on him in the presence of the whole confederate army, and the hostages of the other Burkes put into his hands.⁽²⁾ In the course of the same year he conferred on various persons among his supporters, the chieftaincies of their clans or septs, such as the O'Dowda, the O'Hara, the Macdonough of Tirerrill, the Macdonough of Corran, and the Macdermot of Moylurg. In fact the whole north and west of Ireland was in O'Donnell's power or under his influence, from Loughfoyle to the Shannon, with the exception of the English garrisons and the county of Clare.

Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, who had married the sister of O'Donnell (an alliance which among other causes led to the imprisonment of the latter), had long meditated to withdraw his allegiance from Elizabeth. The escape of O'Donnell, and the numerous adhesions of his followers, determined Tyrone to delay no longer joining his compatriots, and before the end of the year 1595 these two chieftains had declared their open hostility to English power, and invited their countrymen to join their standard. This union, to prevent which every means had been taken, determined the Queen, whose attention was strongly engaged by the position of affairs on the Continent, to make at a considerable sacrifice of dignity⁽³⁾ an appeal to the Irish leaders for an amicable termination of the struggle in which they had engaged. This portion of Irish history is so interesting, and the negotiation between the Queen's officers and the northern leaders so curious, that the reader will not regret, as it is from the native point of view, to have it presented whole to his perusal. The Four Masters state as follows :—

“ When the Lord Justice (Sir John Norris) and the council of Ireland reflected on the bravery and power exhibited by the Irish against them, and that they had been joined by all those who had previously submitted to English authority, they came to the resolution of sending ambassadors to O'Neill and O'Donnell with overtures of peace. The negotiators selected on the occasion were Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond, and Mulmurry (Miler) Magrath, archbishop of Cashel. Ormond repaired to Dundalk, and despatched messengers to O'Neill to communicate the object of his journey, by whom similar tidings were conveyed to O'Donnell, who attended the summons with a body of cavalry. The chieftains met the earl and the archbishop at Faughard, near Dundalk, who stated the object of their embassy to be, to procure a peace. The conditions proposed by the Lord Justice were, the assigning to the chieftains the province of Conchovar (Ulster)⁽⁴⁾ with the exception of the tract extending from Dundalk to the river Boyne, in which the English had dwelt long before that time. It was, more-

over, promised that no sheriffs or collectors of rent or tribute should be sent among them, but that the rents previously stipulated to be paid by their ancestors should be transmitted to Dublin ; that no hostages or pledges beyond this should be demanded ; and that the Irish of the province of Connaught, who had joined O'Donnell, would be included in these stipulations and receive like privileges."

The course of our narrative precludes speculation on the sincerity, or the contrary, of these proposals, as it does also on the probable consequences of their acceptance by the Irish leaders. To enter into a dissertation on such a subject would be tedious and fruitless. Let us see how they were received by the northern chiefs :—

" O'Neill, O'Donnell, and all the chiefs of the province who happened to be present at the time, entered into consultation on the proposals. Having for a long time deliberated and reflected on the many instances of persons ruined by confiding in the insincere promises of the English since their arrival in Ireland, and the numbers of Irish high-born princes, chieftains, and gentlemen who were deprived of life by those who had no other excuse for their violence but to rob the owners of their patrimonies, they greatly feared that the promises made on the part of the Lord Justice would not be kept, and they finally decided on rejecting the overtures for peace. This decision was communicated to the earl, who proceeded to Dublin to inform the Lord Justice and the council. A messenger was despatched to the Queen with the intelligence, who thereupon sent a great force to Ireland, consisting of no less than twenty thousand men."

It was now apparent that a more than usually powerful effort must be made to crush the rising spirit of the northern chieftains, before the flame of insurrection could have time to spread among the southern leaders already predisposed to join their brethren of the north. Sir John Norris accordingly made such preparations as the exigency of affairs required ; but before he could take the field, Sir William Russell, the lord deputy, was recalled, and a successor, lord Borough, appointed, by whom Norris was relieved of his

command, and ordered to return to his government of Munster. The new lord deputy was sworn into office in St. Patrick's Cathedral on the 22d of May, 1597, and soon after "issued a proclamation to the men of Leinster and Meath, and to all who were obedient to the Queen (such is the style of the Four Masters), from the meeting of the three waters⁽⁵⁾ to Dundalk, to meet him at Drogheda with all their forces completely mustered on the 20th July ensuing."

Contemporaneously with the issuing of the proclamation, the lord deputy, who had himself resolved to engage O'Neill in Tyrone, sent a despatch to Sir Conyers Clifford, appointed the year before governor of Connaught in room of Bingham, to proceed with all the troops of that province against O'Donnell, while he himself should engage the earl of Tyrone, with the main body of his army. In obedience to this order, Clifford summoned to his assistance the troops, or the "rising out," as they were more frequently called, of the several counties in the province. It has been already observed that Clare was the only one of these which afforded no assistance to O'Donnell, and it now supplied a considerable force under the command of the earl of Thomond, Donogh, son of Conor, under whom was Morrogh, the young baron of Inchiquin. Their neighbours Ulick, earl of Clanrickard, and his son Rickard, baron of Dunkellin, joined their contingents to the muster of the O'Briens. The entire force assembled as directed on the 24th of July, at the abbey of Boyle, amounting to twenty-two standards or companies of infantry and ten of cavalry. This force proceeded to Sligo, and thence to the Erne, with the view of invading O'Donnell's territory, and forcing him to an action. This chieftain had taken care to guard the fords of that river, but after a slight resistance the governor effected a passage, with, however, the loss of one of his principal leaders, the baron of Inchiquin. This nobleman, encouraging the troops to move under a brisk fire from the enemy, while keeping on the edge of the ford and directing the men to pass by him, received a musket ball in the armpit through an opening in his armour, and falling from his horse into

the depth of the current, was drowned. The body was some time after found by one of the monks of the monastery of Assaroe, and interred. A curious contention arose between the monks of this convent and the Franciscans of Donegal as to the disposal of the remains of the baron, which must be related in the language (Dr. O'Donovan's translation) of the Four Masters, whose predecessors of the abbey of Donegal were parties to this charitable litigation :—

“A dispute arose between the friars of Donegal and the monks of Assaroe (concerning the body of the baron), the friars maintaining that it should of right be buried in their own monastery, because the ancestors of the baron had for a long period before that time been buried in the Franciscan monastery in his own country,⁽⁶⁾ and the monks insisting that it should remain with themselves ; so that the friars and the monks went before O'Donnell and the two bishops who were then in the country, namely, Redmond O'Gallagher, bishop of Derry, and Niall O'Boyle, bishop of Raphoe, and these chiefs decided on having the baron Morrogh, son of Morrogh O'Brien, buried in the monastery of St. Francis at Donegal. This was accordingly done, for the body was taken up after having been three months interred in the monastery of Assaroe, and the friars re-buried it in their own monastery with reverence and honour, as was meet.”⁽⁷⁾

The governor having effected the passage of the Erne, and having received a supply of ordnance and stores by sea from Galway, sat down before the castle of Ballyshannon, which was the strongest place possessed by O'Donnell, and one of the residences of the princes of Tirconnell. In the meantime, Maguire and O'Ruarc, having effected a junction with O'Donnell, they hemmed in the English army and their Irish allies, and cut short their supplies of forage and provisions. A fortnight elapsed, during which the governor, so far from making any impression on the castle, found himself in considerable peril. Accordingly a council was held, at which it was determined to raise the siege, and retreat across the Erne. The passage of this river was effected with difficulty and loss, three out of four pieces of cannon and some baggage having been abandoned to O'Don-

nell on the 15th of August when the combined troops of the governor and the earls of Thomond and Clanrickard commenced their retreat southwards.

Nor was the lord deputy attended with better success in his operations against the earl of Tyrone. Totally inexperienced in the art of war, he had presumed to cope with O'Neill, who had already acquired the reputation of a skilful general, and had, moreover, the great advantage of a thorough acquaintance with the difficult country which was the scene of operations. In the course of these the lord deputy received a wound, and his troops being dispirited, he was obliged to retreat to Newry, where he soon after died of the effects of his wound. The lord Chancellor Loftus, and Sir Robert Gardiner, Chief Justice of the Queen's bench, were appointed lords Justices, and the command of the army devolved on Thomas, earl of Ormond. This nobleman, accompanied by the earl of Thomond—an armistice having been concluded a short time previously—sought an interview with O'Neill and O'Donnell, for the purpose of concluding the war, which was both expensive and distasteful to the Queen. After passing three nights with the northern chieftains a short time before Christmas, all they could obtain from those whom the fortune of war now seemed to favour, was a prolongation of the truce to the first of May following. The earl of Thomond was despatched by the lords Justices in the beginning of the following January to the Queen and council in England, to inform them of the posture of affairs, and to be the bearer of the propositions and conditions on which the confederate chieftains were willing to lay down their arms.

The truce agreed to by the northern chiefs and the earls of Thomond and Ormond having expired, and the demands of the Irish leaders having been rejected by the Queen, hostilities were resumed in the summer of 1598. The victory of the Yellow Ford, gained by O'Neill, aided by O'Donnell and other chiefs of the north, on the 10th of August, when Sir Henry Bagnal, the English general, and fifteen hundred of the Queen's troops were slain,⁽⁸⁾ spread the flame of insurrection through the entire of the kingdom, and raised the re-

putation of the earl of Tyrone to a great height throughout Europe. It was after this victory that he received the consecrated plume of phoenix feathers from the Pope, and was regarded as monarch of Ireland, in which capacity he addressed letters to the Leinster leaders, directing them to march to the assistance of the rebels of Desmond, and conferred, of his own authority, the earldom on James, the nephew of Gerald the last lawful possessor of that title.⁽⁹⁾

The insurrection spread, among other places, through Thomond. The insurgents of this district were encouraged to revolt by the successful campaign made by O'Donnell in the middle of autumn in the territory of the earl of Clanrickard, which he ravaged without opposition to the very borders of Clare. The arbitrary and unjust arrangements of the commissioners in 1585, which gave the lion's share of the spoil to the earl of Thomond and his kinsman the baron of Inchiquin, leaving the junior branches of the race of Brian without property or consideration, also tended to swell the numbers of the disaffected. The discontent reached such a height that even Teige O'Brien, the next brother of the earl, joined their ranks, and seized on the lands of Portcrush, on the opposite bank of the Shannon, near O'Brien's bridge, belonging to the widow of the lately deceased baron of Inchiquin. He also forcibly obtained possession of the castles of Cloone, near Tulla, and of Scariff, in the county of Clare. The other malcontents of this family named by the annalists were Conor O'Brien, son of Donald, son of Mahon, son of Brian O'Brien, who deprived John Macnamara of his mansion and lands of Castletown, in upper Clancuilen; and Torlogh, son of Mahon O'Brien, the former owner of Clonoon, who lost his life defending his castle against the assault of Sir Richard Bingham. Torlogh, from whom the lands of Coill O'Flanchada had been taken at the death of his father, when they were conferred on George, son of the late Chancellor Sir Thomas Cusack, only waited for a favourable opportunity of regaining his patrimony by force. This presented itself in the month of July, 1599, when he slew Cusack and resumed the possession, conferring on Mahon, the son of Torloghboy, a portion

of the recovered property. To these are to be added Torlogh and Dermot Roe, the sons of Morrogh O'Brien of Caherminane, who also joined the standard of the earl of Desmond, and Teige Caech (the one-eyed) Macmahon, chieftain of west Corcovaskin, the nephew by the mother's side of Sir Torlogh of Ennistymond, one of the steadiest of the Queen's adherents at the time.

To confirm the revolted Irish of Leinster and Munster in their opposition to English authority, as well as to report the progress of the insurrection, Tyrone sent his son Con, in the month of January of this year (1599), to visit his friends and confederates in these provinces. The annalists state that a correspondence was carried on between this young chieftain and Teige, the brother of the earl of Thomond, by whom the young O'Neill was apprised from time to time of whatever occurred of importance on the north side of the Shannon. It is a curious and unexplained feature of the troubled close of the sixteenth century, that the earl of Thomond, who was under such great obligations to the Queen, should have resided for the whole of the year 1598 in England, while his two brothers, Teige and Donald, took opposite sides and entered into the strife with the utmost earnestness. While Teige, whose loyalty had been suspected long before his correspondence with the son of the earl of Tyrone had been discovered, for which he had been committed to prison in Limerick, whence he had the address to effect his escape, had placed himself at the head of a battalion of six hundred infantry and sixty horse, and had obtained possession of several castles heretofore held for the Queen, his youngest brother Donald, afterwards the Viscount Clare, at the head of the retainers and followers of his brother the earl, co-operated against the disaffected with Sir Torlogh of Ennistymond. The latter chieftain put himself at the head of his own people, and also collected a body of hired soldiers to support the authority of the crown against his rebellious kinsmen, and thus kept in check the disaffected of the northern parts of the county of Clare. The western parts were, however, entirely devoted to the cause of the insurgents, and Teige Caech Macmahon, their

chief, the lord of western Corcovaskin, had repaired early in 1599 to the *sugane* earl of Desmond, and entered fully into the confederacy. On his return from Kerry to signalize his zeal for the cause in which he had embarked, Macmahon attacked Donald O'Brien, who then occupied one of his brother's castles, that of Kilmurry in Ibrickane. The assault was, treacherously enough, made on the night of the 17th of February, when the young O'Brien was wounded and made prisoner after several of his men had been cut down around him. He was then taken and confined in the castle of Dunbeg for a week, after which Macmahon set him at liberty unconditionally.^(9*)

Just about this time of the year the Four Masters record the invasion of Thomond by O'Donnell. This chieftain had already drawn to his standard the whole of the disaffected throughout the province of Connaught, except the county of Clare. With the view of confirming the malcontents throughout this county in their opposition to the Queen, and also as a retribution for the share taken by the earl of Thomond and the baron of Inchiquin in the siege of his castle of Ballyshannon, he projected an incursion into their territory. Accordingly, soon after the feast of St. Bridget, an army was mustered under the command of the following chieftains, his tributaries :—Hugh Oge and Niall Garv (the rough) O'Donnell, his kinsmen ; O'Doherty (John Oge) ; O'Boyle (Teige Oge) ; Macsweeny Fanad, Macsweeny Banagh,⁽¹⁰⁾ all these commanding the troops of Tirconnell ; Maguire of Fermanagh ; O'Ruarc of Breifney ; and the Macwilliam lately inaugurated by himself, each with his own followers. So numerous were the forces under the command of these several captains, that Macwilliam and Niall Garv O'Donnell were left as a reserve to occupy and ravage the extent of the county of Mayo, from the borders of Roscommon to the ocean. With the main body O'Donnell marched to the south through Clanrickard, halting the first night at the hamlet of Rovehagh, between Kilcolgan and Ardrahin. Arrived by daybreak of the next morning at the borders of Thomond, at a place called Coill-O'Flanchada,⁽¹¹⁾ O'Donnell formed marauding parties, one

of which, under the command of Teige O'Ruarc and Macsweeny Banagh, he detached to the right into Burren, while to the southward he despatched another party to Ballyhogan of Coillmor (the great wood), to Tullyodea and to the gates of the castle of Ballygriffy.⁽¹²⁾ Maguire advanced to the castle of Inchiquin, which he occupied, making a prisoner of Conor O'Brien, who was wounded in the defence of the place, while O'Donnell himself marched with the main body through Rockforest, and arrived shortly before mid-day at Kilnaboy. The party detached to the southward rejoined O'Donnell after rounding Tedane Lough, making their way by Corofin. Having halted for the night at Kilnaboy, O'Donnell set forward next day to Kilfenora, from whence he despatched parties to Inagh, Brentir of Ui-fermaic, and Ui-cormaic to Inistymon, to Killeaspuiglonane, and Ballyphaidin.⁽¹³⁾ On the day after his arrival at Kilfenora, the several parties despatched by O'Donnell to plunder the inhabitants, rejoined him, when the spoils were found to be so numerous and valuable, that he determined on returning home. His route is described to have lain through the locally well-known passes of Nuaghaval, Turlach na-Gcoilean, the abbey of Corcomroe, Caircar na-Glerach, (the narrow path of the clerics), and Rubha (Corranrue), where he encamped for the night. Having been employed three days on this *raid* in Thomond, O'Donnell reached his home at the castle of Ballymote, in the county of Sligo, without receiving any opposition deserving of notice.

O'Donnell's incursion into Thomond on the present occasion did not extend beyond those portions of the country which were under the influence of the earl of Thomond, the baron of Inchiquin, and Sir Torlogh O'Brien of Ennistymond. While he ravaged without mercy the baronies of Inchiquin and Corcomroe, he carefully avoided the districts inhabited by the insurgents, acting no doubt on the advice and information of Teige, the brother of the earl of Thomond, of whose local knowledge he must have availed himself, and without which he could not have given such precise directions to his marauding parties, who punctually met him after the execution of his orders at places and times previously concerted.⁽¹⁴⁾

Soon after the departure of O'Donnell, Sir Conyers Clifford despatched seven or eight battalions of troops into the county of Clare, to awe the disaffected and succour those who were exposed to injury for their loyalty. These forces, under the command of Theobald Dillon, had orders to proceed to Sir Torlogh O'Brien, and act under his direction. Having halted the first night at Kilkeedy, on the borders of the county of Galway, the troops commenced their march the following day towards Corcomroe, when they were attacked by Teige O'Brien, the earl's brother, who having received intelligence of their approach, had formed an ambuscade to receive them as they passed through the wood of Rockforest. The Queen's troops, after the loss of some of their comrades, pursued their march and halted that evening at Kilnaboy. Teige O'Brien lost only a few, but among them Dermot Roe, the brother of Torlogh of Caherminane. The annalists remark on this affair that Teige, as if ashamed, came to the resolution of dismissing his band of mercenaries who had made the attack, and despatched messengers to Dillon at Kilnaboy, and to the governor of the province at Galway, with proposals of submission to the Queen. His close connexion with the earl of Thomond must have insured their acceptance, for from this time forward nothing more is recorded of his history.⁽¹⁵⁾

On the arrival of the troops the day after the affair of Rockforest, at the quarters of Sir Torlogh O'Brien, it was resolved by him and Dillon to lay siege to the castle of Caherminane in the barony of Corcomroe. This place belonged to Torlogh O'Brien (son of Morrogh, fifth son of Conor, the last king of Thomond), who was in alliance with the disaffected of the district, and it served as a den for robbers and other evil-disposed persons whom these troubled times raised up. On the first summons, the owner feeling his inability to hold out, the castle was surrendered to the Queen's troops, after which Sir Torlogh and Dillon proceeded to west Corcovaskin, in order to detach Teige Caech Macmahon from his alliance with the *sugane* earl of Desmond. Macmahon, although strongly urged by Sir Torlogh, who was his uncle,⁽¹⁶⁾ refused to comply, on which his

territory was plundered by the soldiers under his uncle's authority as a punishment for his disloyalty. Sir Torlogh and Dillon then marched into east Corcovaskin, and thence to Ennis, where a court was held for the space of a fortnight, which was attended by the principal men of the county. At the end of the fortnight Dillon departed, leaving at the disposal of Sir Torlogh O'Brien four companies of soldiers, and having appointed a sheriff and other officers, with a stipulation that crown rent, the payment of which had been discontinued since the commencement of the insurrection, should be regularly paid for the future.

The earl of Thomond, who had returned to Ireland at the beginning of the year, and had sojourned with his kinsman the earl of Ormond since his arrival, determined on visiting the territory of his ancestors about a week after the departure of Theobald Dillon from Thomond. His chief object appears to have been to punish Teige Macmahon for the attack on his castle of Kilmurry, and the wounding and imprisonment of his brother Donald. Collecting a considerable force of the Queen's troops and of the loyalists, he marched into west Corcovaskin (Moyarta), and on Monday, in Easter week, laid siege in form to the castle of Carrig an Chobhlaigh.⁽¹⁷⁾ In four days he was master of the castle, and as soon as the Easter holidays were over, ordnance having been procured from Limerick, the earl sat down before Dunbeg, another of Macmahon's castles, that in which his brother had been confined about two months before. Although the place was surrendered before a shot was fired, the earl exacted a terrible vengeance for the insult offered to his brother, by ordering the garrison to be hanged in couples on the nearest trees. He obtained possession in like manner of the neighbouring castle of Dunmore, after which, proceeding eastwards to the plain country of Thomond, he restored to the rightful owners, to be held for the Queen, all the places of strength which the insurgents had contrived to reduce into their possession. Among these are particularised the castles of Derryowen, taken the year before by Torlogh, son of Mahon O'Brien, from George Cusack, and those of Cloone and Lisoffin,⁽¹⁸⁾ belonging to

John Macnamara, chieftain of west Clancuilen, which had been seized by the earl's own brother Teige when acting with the insurgents.

The operations of the earl of Thomond, during the remainder of the year 1599, consisted in attending the earl of Essex in his ostentatious progress through the south of Ireland. That nobleman's instructions, according to Camden (annals, A.D. 1599), directed that he should encounter the Ulster rebels, and place garrisons in O'Donnell's fortresses in Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon. In direct opposition to these orders he marched to the south, and after making himself master of the castle of Cahir, proceeded in a sort of mock triumph to Limerick, where he was attended by the governor of Connaught, the gallant and truthful Sir Conyers Clifford, whose fall in the Curlieu mountains so soon after, the Irish annalists themselves do not think it unbecoming of them to mourn.⁽¹⁹⁾ The earls of Thomond and Clanrickard also attended him at the same place. After conference had with Clifford and these noblemen, Essex, dismissing the governor and the earl of Clanrickard, proceeded to make war on the Geraldines of Desmond, retaining in his suite the earls of Thomond and Ormond. The campaign was inglorious. No impression was made on the rebels, who occasionally obtained some trifling advantage, and Essex, who had projected to penetrate into the fastnesses of Desmond, no sooner met with a slight resistance in passing the bog of Rower, near Adare, than he gave up the project, contenting himself with throwing supplies into Askeaton, which still held out for the Queen. Retracing his steps, the Geraldines, who seem to have formed a due estimate of Essex's imbecility and incapacity, hung on his rear and cut off some of his troops, among whom is reported to have fallen Sir Henry Norris. The earl of Essex after this loss proceeded to Kilmallock, thence to Fermoy, and on to Lismore; and it was not until he had crossed the Blackwater and arrived in the Decies of Waterford, that the Geraldines ceased to annoy his troops. The earl of Thomond parted from him on their arrival at Dungarvan, returning by Youghal and Cork to Limerick, while Essex

pursued his fruitless march to Waterford and Dublin, harassed in his progress by the Irish insurgents of Leinster, as he was by the Geraldines in his retreat from their territory. After an equally profitless journey into Ulster, resulting in a suspension of hostilities with Tyrone for two months, Essex left Ireland, in the language of the annalists, without peace or tranquillity, committing the sword to the custody of the lord Chancellor and Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench.

CHAPTER XVII.

A.D. 1599-1603...Arrival of lord Mountjoy...Conference between the earls of Thomond and Ormond and O'Moore of Leix...Ormond made prisoner by O'Moore...Plot to deliver up the sugane earl of Desmond to Thomond and Sir George Carew...He is rescued by the three knights, his relatives...Progress of the president and the earl of Thomond against the Geraldines and O'Connor Kerry...Second incursion of O'Donnell into Thomond...Projected third incursion frustrated by the defection of O'Donnell's cousin, Niall Garv, who joins the English...The rebellious Burkes and Teige O'Brien of Ennistymond ravage the county from the borders of Galway to Clonroad...Capture of the sugane earl of Desmond and Fineen Macarthy...The earl of Thomond holds a session of jail delivery in Ennis...His severities...Proceeds to the court of Elizabeth to present his youngest brother, Donald...Is despatched with reinforcements to Mountjoy, at Kinsale...Conclusion of the war...Death of Teige Caech MacMahon.

A NEW chief governor in the person of Charles Blount lord Mountjoy, having arrived in the latter end of February 1599-1600 accompanied by Sir George Carew as president of Munster, the earls of Thomond and Ormond, the former governor of the county of Clare since the 15th of the preceding August, when Sir Conyers Clifford was defeated and slain in the engagement with O'Donnell, the latter invested with the chief command of the Queen's forces since the departure of Essex, attended the new chief governor at the seat of government. After conferring with Mountjoy the earls returned to Kilkenny, a few days after which took place an event that spread considerable alarm and distrust among the friends of English government. A conference, at the desire of O'Moore (Owny), the chieftain of Leix in the Queen's county, was proposed to be held near Ballyragget with the earl of Ormond, when the latter requested the earl of Thomond and the president of Munster to attend. They complied, suggesting as a precaution that the president's guard of one hundred horse should be added as a re-

inforcement to the earl of Ormond's body of cavalry amounting to two hundred, attended by which the three presented themselves at the appointed place. Leaving the escort at some distance contrary to the advice of his companions, Ormond advanced with them to meet O'Moore, who appeared at the head of a considerable body of pikemen, while Ormond's attendants amounted to no more than seventeen troopers. After a fruitless conference with O'Moore, Ormond demanded to see a Jesuit named Archer, noted for the ardour of his zeal against England and its Queen, and who had been sent into Ireland as one of the Pope's missionaries ; and while engaged in a rather angry discussion with him, one of O'Moore's followers advanced, and seizing the rein of the earl's horse, made him a prisoner. Sir George Carew and Thomond suspecting treachery, burst through the crowd of armed men, the latter having been wounded in the affray which took place, and rejoined the escort, leaving Ormond a prisoner in the hands of O'Moore, and returned to Kilkenny.⁽¹⁾ Ormond remained from the 10th of April, when this event occurred, till the 12th of June, in the hands of O'Moore, when he was set at liberty on delivering sixteen hostages for the payment of a ransom of three thousand pounds.⁽²⁾

After the capture of the earl of Ormond, the president Carew and the earl of Thomond proceeded through Waterford and Youghal to Cork. Having while in this city agreed to a truce of a month with Finneen or Florence Macarthy, who had joined the sugane earl of Desmond, they proceeded to Limerick. Here a plot was concerted between them and Dermot O'Connor, who, acting under a commission from O'Neill the Pope's sovereign of Ireland, had the command of a large body of troops. It was to seize the earl of Desmond, and thus strike at the root of the rebellion by crushing its head. O'Connor, who had married the lady Margaret, daughter of the late unfortunate earl, was without difficulty induced to co-operate in the capture of one who assumed the title and estates of his wife's brother, who was residing at the court of the English Queen, and who through means of his brother-in-law's service might be restored to his

country and friends. The sugane earl was at once captured and placed by O'Connor in confinement in Castle-ishin, one of the Desmond strongholds in the county of Cork. This plot, which promised so well, was however frustrated by the speedy delivery of Desmond, who was set at liberty by the combined exertions of his kinsmen, the knight of Kerry, the knight of Glin, and the white knight, aided by Macmaurice of Kerry, and the earl's own brother John. The president and the earl of Thomond, after the liberation of Desmond, were necessitated to adopt open measures and renew the war. Proceeding along the north shore of the Shannon, through Clare, with a large body of troops, they crossed that river at Colmanstown, opposite to Glin, and having obtained heavy ordnance from Limerick, took the castle of Glin in two days in the beginning of July. The capture of this place was followed by important results. O'Connor Kerry at once repaired to the earl and the president, and tendered his submission to the queen, surrendering at the same time his castle of Carrigafoyle. The annalists state that the entire population of O'Connor's territory were seized with such terror, that they fled southward to the river Mang on the borders of Desmond, deserting their habitations. Not only was the castle of Glin garrisoned by the queen's troops, but possession was also taken by the president and Thomond of the castles of Askeaton, Tralee, Ardfert, and several others. Listowel alone remained with the insurgents, but even this was reduced in the following November.

While the earl of Thomond was occupied reducing the followers of the sugane earl of Desmond, his former antagonist O'Donnell, who had meditated a second *raid* into the county of Clare, put his plans into execution. Leaving the care of his territory, in which Sir Henry Docwra had landed with four thousand foot and two hundred horse, to the vigilance of O'Doherty, chieftain of Inishowen, (the father of the celebrated Sir Cahir), and of Niall Garv, his cousin and brother-in-law, O'Donnell assembled his forces of Ulster and Connaught, and marched to the south to punish the earls of Thomond and Clanrickard, by ravaging

their respective territories. His enmity was increased by the fact that it was owing to the advice of these lords that a fleet, which was for some time prepared for a descent on such parts of the Irish coast as might be most desirable, was ordered to enter Lough Foyle, and construct a fort on O'Donnell's territory. Arriving at a place called Oireacht-redmond, in the west of Clanrickard, on Saturday, the 21st of June, he encamped, with the determination of pursuing his course the next morning. Notice of his approach had been conveyed to the inhabitants of Thomond, who had too much reason to dread a second visit within a year, but it was not apprehended that he would stir from his encampment on the Sabbath, and the cattle were not removed to a distance in time. Rising up at break of day on Sunday, he entered the county in the district of Cinel-Donghaile,⁽³⁾ proceeded through upper Clancuilen, and before noon crossed the Fergus, having set fire to and consumed the entire town of Ennis, with the exception of the monastery. If the statement of the Four Masters is entitled to credit, O'Donnell's soldiers plundered on this Sunday the whole extent of the county, from the borders of Galway on the north-east to the Atlantic ocean. Their ravages after burning Ennis extended from Craggy-Kerrivan in the parish of Clondegad and cantred (or barony) of Islands, to Cahermurphy in east Corcovaskin, (barony of Clonderalaw), to the gates of the castles of Kilmurry and Cahir-rush in Ibrickane, from Moy in the same barony, to Baile-Eoin-Gowan (Smithstown) in Corcomroe, and to Both-neill in Inchiquin. Having obtained great spoils from his marauding parties, O'Donnell set forward on his return on the Monday morning. His route lay north-east through Thomond, a somewhat similar road to that traversed by him on the former occasion, and on night overtaking him, he encamped at the monastery of Corcomroe. So leisurely did O'Donnell's troops march, and so little were they in dread of attack, that two of his chieftains, O'Boyle and O'Clery, who had been mortally wounded in the attack of the earl of Thomond's residence, the castle of Clare, and who died of their wounds soon after, were conveyed for interment to the abbey of Donegal.

O'Donnell, having despatched the spoils taken in Thomond under an escort to Tirconnell, and having dismissed to their homes O'Ruarc and other chieftains of Connaught, retained a band of five hundred foot and sixty horse, and made a *detour* to Loughrea, the principal residence of the earl of Clanrickard, to punish him for his share in advising the despatch of a fleet to the Foyle. The country around for miles was, as in Thomond, stripped of its flocks and herds, with which O'Donnell marched across the Suck, and home through the plain of Roscommon, having consumed ten days on the expedition.

A third invasion of Thomond was contemplated by O'Donnell about the end of the month of October following, and his preparations were so far advanced as to have collected the necessary troops at Ballymote, when he received intelligence of the defection of his brother-in-law and cousin Niall Garv, who with his three brothers went over to Docwra, then in command of the English, who had established himself on the banks of the Foyle. The expedition to Thomond was accordingly abandoned, and O'Donnell obliged to return home to defend his principality.

This alteration in the plans of the chief of Tirconnell did not, however, save Thomond from the threatened attack. The sons of John Burke, son of the first earl of Clanrickard, (whose claim, on the ground of the alleged illegitimacy of his elder brother Rickard, had been disallowed by the Privy Council), Redmond, William, and John Oge, had been defeated in an encounter with the Butlers, and John made prisoner and conveyed to Kilkenny, where he was confined.⁽⁴⁾ Redmond and William having escaped to the north, received a commission from O'Neill to raise forces, with which they returned to plunder Clanrickard and Thomond. When Redmond arrived at Lough Cooter on the borders of the county of Clare, he was joined by Teige, a son of Sir Torlogh O'Brien of Ennistymond, who, anxious to distinguish himself, had without his father's knowledge joined the ranks of the freebooters. Under the command of this young leader of the O'Briens, the party ravaged the country on each side of the Fergus as far as Clonroad and Ballyalley,

and returned to Kilraghtis at night with their spoils. They were, however, attacked the next morning by the "rising out" of the two cantreds of Clancuilen, the inhabitants of which had been the previous day robbed of their flocks and herds. The forces of the earl of Thomond also joined in the pursuit of the plunderers, who, although they were hard pressed in their retreat to Meelick O'Grady, still retained the spoils. The *raid* proved fatal to its originator Teige O'Brien, who received a mortal wound in carrying off the prey. His father's known loyalty induced the deputy of the governor of the province of Connaught and the baron of Dunkellin, to send to the wounded youth a letter of protection and an invitation to the castle of Leitrim, one of the residences of the earl of Clanrickard. Teige survived his wound only a few days, and was interred, according to the annalists, successively in Loughrea and Athenry, in "one week."

Among the obits recorded in this year (1601) as deserving of notice in this work is that of MacIbrien-Ara, (Torlogh, son of Mortogh, son of Donald). This chieftain, eighth in direct descent from Brian Roe, had wisely made his submission about thirty years before his death, and having resigned his distinctive appellation of MacIbrien, and surrendered his various castles and lands into the queen's possession, received by order of council, dated the 3d of November, 1569, a re-grant of the same to be held in *capite* by knight's service, pursuant to her majesty's letter of the 28th February, 1567.⁽⁵⁾ This chieftain was held in very high estimation by Elizabeth for his steadiness and consistency, in proof of which that princess bestowed on his second son Mortogh the bishoprick of Killaloe by letters-patent, bearing date the 15th of May, 1570 ; and six years elapsed, during which, under a writ of restitution of the temporalities of that see, the embryo bishop enjoyed the profits, before he was authorized by consecration to enter on the performance of his duties. The eldest brother of the bishop, Donogh, having been induced to join the unfortunate earl of Desmond, at length saw reason to change his course, and sought for letters of protection to enable him to make his

peace with his father and the English government. He had only returned home after obtaining the letters, when another brother, the third son of this family, by name Torlogh Carrach (the scabbed), pursued and slew him. This fratricide is recorded at the year 1582. By the death of Donogh the bishop Mortogh became the chief of this house, the estates, subject by the law of tanistry to a new distribution on the demise of each head of the sept, now by the recent re-grant descending according to the course of the common law. In addition to their value, which, however, only accrued to the bishop upon the demise of his father, he enjoyed the profits of the see of Killaloe for a period of six and thirty years from the date of his patent. According to Ware, MacIbrien Ara, bishop of Killaloe, died on the last day of April, 1613, having resigned his charge a year before his death. He left two sons, Torlogh and John, who died without issue, and one daughter, by name Mor, or Mary, the wife of Teige, grandson of Sir Torlogh O'Brien of Ennistymond.⁽⁶⁾

While the *sugane* earl of Desmond was at large, a rallying point for the enemies of the English government was not wanting. His capture was accordingly an object of prime importance to the president of Munster. For the sum of one thousand pounds the earl, who was found lurking on the borders of the white knight's territory⁽⁷⁾ among its woods and fastnesses, deserted by his followers, was surrendered by that chieftain, one of his former deliverers, to Sir George Carew, by whom he was sent to London, where he was imprisoned in the tower for the remainder of his life, a period of about seven years. He was accompanied to London by another prisoner of note, Florence or Fineen Macarthy, who had claimed the title and pre-eminence of Macarthy More. By the seizure of these individuals, the Irish or national party of the south were deprived of their principal leaders, and the hopes of all were directed to the north, where O'Neill and O'Donnell still maintained their authority, and determined, relying on foreign aid, to hold out to the last.

The imprisonment of Desmond and Macarthy afforded

a short respite from the fatigues of a desultory campaign carried on too in the depth of winter. The earl of Thomond taking advantage thereof, and having been, since the death of Clifford, governor of the county of Clare, determined on holding a session of jail delivery, which had become a matter of necessity from the great number of prisoners that had accumulated for some time. The session was held at the monastery of Ennis, on the feast of St. Bridget (2d Feb.) in 1601, and lasted fifteen days. Sixteen persons suffered the penalty of death on this occasion, and after this terrible example the earl departed for England, taking with him his younger brother Donald to be presented to the queen. After a stay of some months at the English court, Donald returned to Ireland in the August following, leaving the earl still in England,⁽⁸⁾ where he remained until despatched by the queen and council with reinforcements to Mountjoy then engaged in the siege of Kinsale. On the defeat and dispersion of the northern chieftains, and the subsequent surrender of that place by the Spaniards, the earl returned to his government of the county of Clare, in which the insurgents, encouraged by the arrival of the Spaniards at Kinsale, had seized some castles and opposed the queen's forces. Living on free quarter according to the precedents of former times, the rebel leaders through the county of Clare, many of them the near kinsmen of the earl, used their strongholds as depots into which the plunder of the unresisting and helpless was conveyed. The castles of Derryowen and Castletown,⁽⁹⁾ which had been seized by the insurgents, were again put into the possession of the loyalists, and their late masters ordered to quit the territory within a fortnight. Torlogh, son of Mahon O'Brien, and his kinsman and comrade in rebellion Conor, great-grandson of Brian, son of Teige an Chomhaid O'Brien, together with Brian Ballach (the marked) and Teige Ultach (the Ultonian), brothers of Torlogh, were the principal leaders of the rebels. Loitering in the country on their brief parole of a fortnight, these gentlemen, with some of their humble followers, after the expiration of the allotted time, had proceeded through Clancuilen and Killaloe into

Duharra in the county of Tipperary. Here they were met by Donogh and Donald, the sons of Torlogh Carrach, son of the MacIbrien Ara, who had been so highly favoured by the queen, when the unhappy fugitives, with the single exception of Torlogh, were made prisoners ; and their parole having expired, and having no letters of protection, without which in those times of civil warfare it was not safe to travel, they were sent back in fetters to the earl at Killaloe, and by his orders hanged in pairs on the nearest trees.

By the surrender of Kinsale the war was virtually at an end. Faint hopes of succour from Spain were, however, still entertained by some of the Irish party, and O'Sullivan, prince or chieftain of Beare, in particular, relying on this slender expectation, refused to surrender his castle of Dunboy.⁽¹⁰⁾ The reduction of this stronghold, after a resistance remarkable for its hopelessness and obstinacy, was at length effected by the queen's forces under the command of the earl of Thomond. In the operations against this place occurred the incident which terminated the life of Teige Caech Macmahon. He had captured, a few years before in the commencement of the war, an English vessel which had put into Carrigaholt from stress of weather. After the surrender of Kinsale, when O'Sullivan had determined to hold out, he asked Macmahon for the loan of the ship to send to Spain for supplies and assistance. On Macmahon's refusal, who alleged that the vessel was necessary for his own protection, O'Sullivan went in a boat which also contained Macmahon to board the ship and take it by force, whereupon the latter called out to his son Torlogh, whom he saw on the deck of the vessel, to fire on O'Sullivan and his people. The compliance of the son proved the destruction of the father, who, wounded by a random shot, died within three days after.

By the death of Teige Caech and the exile of his son, who proceeded after the fall of Dunboy with other refugees to Spain, the line of the Macmahons of west Corcovaskin became extinct.

It would seem, notwithstanding the submission of Mor-

rogh O'Brien, the tanist of Thomond, to Henry the eighth, and the adherence of earl Conor and his son and successor Donogh to the English crown and law, that the notion of sovereignty or dominion over the other septs of Thomond had not been altogether abandoned by the great earl. The sept of the O'Loughlins of Burren, who from time immemorial had been opposed to the Dalgais and their princes, had by deed submitted to the authority of Conor, the last reigning prince of Thomond. This deed was revived and executed anew between the remaining chiefs of the O'Loughlins and Donogh, the earl. The document, copied from the manuscripts of MacCurtin, bears evident internal proofs of genuineness. It is obviously something more than an acknowledgment of tenancy, as the term is now understood. As the law of tanistry was in full force in Thomond in the time of the earl's great-grandfather, according to which the lands of the septs were subjected at the accession of each prince to a new distribution, the agreement between the O'Loughlins and Conor could be considered in no other light than as an acknowledgment of sovereignty on the one hand, and dependence on the other. This curious document, translated from the original Irish, will be found in the note.⁽¹¹⁾

It will not fail to strike the reader that while the signatures of the other parties to this instrument are in Irish, that of the earl is in the English language. Are we to conclude that Donogh O'Brien, who it is known was brought up at the English court from motives of policy by Elizabeth, was ignorant of the language of his countrymen? Or was his use of the English character in affixing his signature the result of a compliance with the statute of Henry to promote the adoption of English manners and language? If we arrive at the former of these conclusions, it furnishes a remarkable illustration of the saying, that the descendants of the Norman settlers were more Irish than the Irish themselves, particularly when it is borne in mind that only fifty-four years before the execution of the deed we are considering, four of the peers of Ireland of Norman descent, viz.,

the lords Roche, Barry, Fitzmaurice and Bermingham, were so ignorant of the English language that the earl of Ormond had to translate the chancellor's speech in opening the parliament of 1637 into Irish for their information. See State papers, No. 360, for this remarkable incident.

END OF MEDIEVAL PORTION.

HISTORICAL

MEMOIR OF THE O'BRIENS.

M O D E R N.

P A R T II.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A.D. 1603-1641...Accession of James the First to the crown of England...Parliament in Ireland...Its violent proceedings...Struggle for the election of speaker...Conduct of Sir Daniel O'Brien...Western plantation in Ireland proposed by the crown the principal cause of the rebellion of 1641 in the west and south...Measures of Strafford to procure a surrender of their estates by the Irish proprietors, and an acknowledgment of the title of the crown to the lands...His letters to the court...Fall and execution of Strafford...Proceedings of the Irish parliament...Evasion of the royal GRACES by the Irish lords Justices...Breaking out of the Irish insurrection of 1641.

THE defeat of the Spaniards at Kinsale, in which the great earl of Thomond, as he was usually styled, had so considerable a share, and the forfeitures of the earl of Desmond and his supporters on both sides of the Shannon, enabled the queen to reward such of the Irish leaders as maintained unimpaired their allegiance to her crown and dignity. Among these the brother of the earl of Thomond was not forgotten. This brother Donald, or Daniel O'Brien, received from her majesty the honour of knighthood, and the far more substantial one, of the estates left to the disposal of the crown by the defection and death of Teige Macmahon.

Although closely connected with the family which had given Elizabeth so much trouble, having been married to Catherine, daughter to Gerald the sixteenth earl of Desmond, Sir Daniel O'Brien gave a hearty co-operation to his brother, and was entrusted with the command of his troops when the queen required the presence of that nobleman elsewhere.

This correspondence in sentiment between the earl of Thomond and his brother was not, however, destined to be of long continuance. The death of Elizabeth, and the accession of her successor James, gave rise to differences which pervaded the entire kingdom, and threatened to renew the civil war which had been only recently terminated by the success of the arms and policy of the late sovereign. The devolution of the crown on the Scottish monarch rendered it necessary to have the oaths of allegiance and supremacy taken by all of his majesty's subjects who filled stations of trust and confidence, and hence scruples of conscience were entertained, and objections raised, which were turned to advantage by the enemies to the new order of things, and all those who had opposed the measures used in the late reign to establish the authority of English government in Ireland. The *recusants*, as the persons refusing to take the oath of supremacy were styled, increased daily in numbers and activity. Judges retired from the bench of justice rather than take the oath, and a very general discontent prevailed, which was not confined to any particular province of the kingdom. To calm the rising storm and devise means of remedy for the disorders incidental to the recent settlement of affairs, the calling of an Irish parliament was, as a matter of necessity, suggested. This seemed the more necessary, as, for a period of seven and twenty years, such an assembly had not been summoned, and the success which had attended, or had been supposed to attend, the parliament called by Sir John Perrot in 1585, it was not unnaturally expected, would again be witnessed in 1613. The royal intention was bruited about, and inspired the party of the recusants with alarm. Their emissaries were despatched through the provinces, and instructed to procure petitions to be forwarded to the throne against the measures

which it was known were in contemplation. Six of the lords of the Pale went so far as to address a petition, which from the boldness of its language might be more aptly termed a remonstrance, to the king, deprecating the calling of a parliament, and complaining that no communication of the laws proposed to be enacted in that assembly had been, according to custom, made to them who were of the grand council of the nation, and who, according to the law of Poynings, should have been associated with the chief governor of the kingdom in certifying to England the heads of the statutes which it was deemed necessary to pass. This document, notwithstanding the employment of the forms of adulation in which it was conceived, was not calculated to make the desired impression on a sovereign like James, and had only the effect of confirming the king in his design of calling the parliament.

To secure a majority in this assembly for the measures of government, forty boroughs were incorporated, many of which were mere villages of little or no consequence or importance. Of these, destined to return members to the House of Commons, several were not incorporated previous to the issue of the writs, and this formed, in the opinion of the recusant lawyers, a valid objection to the legality of the return of their members. In addition to this objection it was insisted that several of the members were incapacitated by law as not residents of the places by which they were returned, and utter strangers in the respective localities, ignorant of the wants or wishes of those by whom they were sent to parliament. Thus, even before the meeting of that assembly, questions were raised which were sure to produce violent and angry discussion. Accordingly, when the parliament met on the 18th of May, 1613, and the House of Commons was about to elect a speaker, there appeared to have attended of the total number of members, which was two hundred and thirty-two, two hundred and twenty-six. Of this number a hundred and twenty-five were protestants, one hundred and one being recusants. On the speech from the throne being delivered, they were directed to elect their speaker. This was the signal for the

expected conflict. The candidate for the speakership proposed by the crown was Sir John Davis, attorney-general. The recusants brought forward Sir John Everard, formerly a justice of the King's Bench, who had resigned his office on refusing to take the oaths. The party of this gentleman contended that previous to the election of a speaker, the right to sit in parliament of those by whom the election should be made, ought to be determined. The objections above cited were insisted on and maintained with warmth. The government party replied, that in conformity with the constant usage of parliaments, the speaker should be first chosen, and committees then appointed, by whom the validity of the elections of the several members should be examined and decided. In the course of the debate, it was suggested that those who held the latter opinion should, for the purpose of ascertaining the votes, retire from the house, while the opposite party should keep their seats. The recusants thus left to themselves, and satisfied that they formed the majority of legally elected members, placed Everard in the chair. On the return of the protestant party, who had elected Sir John Davis, finding the chair already occupied, they attempted to force Everard out of it, and failing in the attempt, they actually placed their man in the lap of his rival. This scene of confusion was terminated by the secession of the recusants ; and it being found impossible to transact the business for which parliament was summoned, it was prorogued, to allow time for the subsidence of those animosities which threatened to render its further session unproductive of any advantage.

The recusants, foiled in their attempt of having a member of their party in the speaker's chair, demanded letters of license to send agents to the foot of the throne to urge their grievances, and complain of the arbitrary and illegal conduct of the deputy. To counteract the efforts of these agents at the English court, the deputy, Chichester, was obliged to send on his part the earl of Thomond, Sir John Denham, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Oliver St. John. Besides the agents of the recusant party, some of whom, on their arrival in London, were committed to

prison, certain members of the Irish commons were summoned over to answer for their conduct in the disgraceful proceedings connected with the election of the speaker. Among these were Sir Daniel O'Brien. This gentleman and Sir William Burke were charged with having forcibly held Sir John Everard in the chair, and resisting those who were conducting thither Sir John Davis, alleged to have been duly elected to that office. The other member for the county of Clare, Boethius Clancy, was accused, among other offences, of having forwarded petitions against the proceedings of the deputy. The defence made by the earl of Thomond and his colleagues for Sir Arthur Chichester, and the complaints of the recusants having been heard by the king himself, his majesty commended, as might have been expected, the conduct of the deputy, and concluded with a severe rebuke to the Irish agents and their supporters, in which he used the following expressions:—"In the matter of parliament you have carried yourselves tumultuously and undutifully, and your proceedings have been rude, disorderly, and inexcusable, and worthy of severe punishment, which by reason of your submission I do forbear, but not remit, till I see your dutiful carriage in this parliament, where, by your obedience to the deputy and state, and your future good behaviour, you may redeem your bypast miscarriage, and then you may deserve not only pardon, but favour and cherishing."

With this rebuke the agents of the recusants were dismissed, and ordered to return to their duties. The necessary supplies having been voted with the full concurrence of the recusant members, who displayed great indignation at their being supposed to be deficient in loyalty to the sovereign, the parliament was rather unexpectedly dissolved. The earl of Thomond, who had already received signal proofs of the royal favour, had a further mark of his sovereign's approbation conferred on him, being appointed lord president of Munster, and having a council chosen to assist him, which included among its members his son Henry, lord Ibrickan. The earl had some time previously made an application, which was granted, that the county of

Clare should be separated from the province of Connaught, with which it had been connected in the time of Sir John Perrot, and be re-united to Munster ; and he had thus the satisfaction of exercising a species of viceregal authority over a territory which, for centuries, had acknowledged the sovereignty of his ancestors. The date of his appointment to this office was the 17th March, 1615.

But the tranquillity occasioned by the submission of the Irish or recusant party was not destined to last long. James's passion for plantations was eagerly seized hold of by parties who cast a longing eye on the possession of Irish estates, and various devices were invented to dispossess the ancient owners of their properties. The gentry of the county of Clare in particular had reason to be alarmed. In the parliament held in 1585, these, with the other proprietors throughout the province of Connaught, on their composition with Sir John Perrot, had surrendered their estates to the crown, but from ignorance of the law had neglected to enrol their surrenders, and take out letters-patent. The omission was supplied by the king, who, in the thirteenth year of his reign, issued a commission to receive their surrenders anew, and to grant fresh patents to the holders. The surrenders were made, the letters-patent received the great seal, but by a neglect of the officers, which can hardly be supposed accidental since a sum of three thousand pounds had been disbursed for the purpose, they were never enrolled in chancery.

Here were the *fons et origo* of the desolating civil war of the seventeenth century. Those who hankered after Irish estates took advantage of the omission to have the letters-patent enrolled, and their lawyers declared the titles defective, and adjudged the lands to be still vested in the crown. A western plantation, after the model of that adopted in the northern province, was suggested to the king, and readily received the royal sanction. But the project was interrupted by the demise of the crown and the accession of Charles ; not abandoned however, it was only postponed.

The efforts of the native proprietors to retain the possession of their estates—their applications to the throne and

their offer of pecuniary supplies to the king in his necessities—the royal promise to quiet the owners in their possessions, and to grant other GRACES—and the studied evasion of the ministers of Charles to have the GRACES carried into effect—are familiar to the readers of Irish history. They supplied the fuel to that conflagration whose embers, after more than two centuries, are still but too plainly discernible.

In this temper of the people the parliament of 1634 was convened to supply the wants of the crown. Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, the new lord deputy, was ill-calculated to manage the rising storm. From the county of Clare were returned to parliament, to give vent to the popular discontent, Sir Daniel O'Brien and his nephew Sir Barnabas, son to the late and brother of the present earl of Thomond. On the 21st of July of that year these gentlemen were appointed on the committee for grievances, but Sir Barnabas having been obliged to proceed to England where his stay was protracted, a new writ was issued, and his place supplied by the election of Donogh O'Brien, grandfather of Sir Donogh the first baronet of the Dromoland branch of the O'Briens.

The scheme of a western plantation was the ruling idea in the mind of the lord deputy. To carry this object into effect he proceeded in the first instance to the counties of Roscommon, Sligo, and Mayo, where his project received no opposition. A far different success attended his proceedings in the county of Galway, where the influence of the earl of Clanrickard and St. Albans was paramount, and the deputy had the mortification of seeing that the jury empanelled to find the expected title in the crown refused their consent to follow the example of their neighbours in the other parts of the province. For their disobedience, the sheriff and jury were fined, the former in the sum of one thousand, the latter in that of five hundred pounds each. These arbitrary proceedings, although they met the approval of the sovereign, were strongly censured in England, and coupled with other instances of oppression on the part of the deputy, contributed to raise that storm, which in a few years later ended in the ruin of both master and servant.

Not discouraged by the opposition he met in Galway, Wentworth determined to follow up his favourite project in Clare and the adjoining baronies of the Ormonds in the county of Tipperary. The royal approbation was conveyed to him in a letter of secretary Coke from Whitehall, dated 3d May, 1637, in which the following passage occurs :—

“ You may take the opportunity the time offers to you to go on with the plantation in the county of Clare, and from his majesty you may expect encouragement and support” (Strafford Letters, vol. 2, p. 76).

On the 17th June following Coke further writes :—“ If you clear anything in the county of Clare, the study is well employed, and you may believe his majesty doth not think you to be asleep when he heareth you have watched almost your eyes out of your head.”

The deputy himself, in a letter to the king of a date nine days later than the foregoing, thus gives expression to his readiness to give effect to the royal wishes :—

“ Since it is your majesty’s pleasure to have us go on presently to find your title to Ormond and Clare, it shall be perfectly obeyed.” And on the 15th August, 1637, shewing the rapid progress he had made in the fulfilment of the foregoing promise, he writes from Clonmel as follows :—

“ His majesty’s title to the two Ormonds is found. I am most confident we shall have like success for Clare, where we are able to make a clear and undoubted title of ourselves.”

The greater success attending the proceedings of the lord deputy in Tipperary and Clare is to be attributed to his practices with the earls of Ormond and Thomond, who had in the late reigns received so large a share of royal favour. This appears from the letter of Wentworth to secretary Coke. Writing from Limerick on the 23d August, 1637, he says :—

“ I must certify you that his majesty’s title to the county of Clare and Limerick is found by inquisition with strange cheerfulness and contentment. * * * * *

“ I know it privately by some intelligence I have among

them, that my lord of Thomond, lieutenant-governor of that county, hath been exceeding diligent and forward in this service, not only leading himself, but persuading others into this good conformity."

Henry, earl of Thomond, the fifth of that title, dying without male issue, was succeeded by Sir Barnabas, his brother. The services of the deceased nobleman were thus acknowledged by the deputy in his letter to the king of the 22d April, 1639 :—

"I have this day received news of lord Thomond's death, who was a person of very good affection to your majesty's service." The writer proceeded to state that the new earl had requested to have Clare put under his command, which he (Wentworth) considered would be of ill consequence, the point to be considered being, whether the king ought to extend his favour in the intended plantation of Clare in as great measure to the new earl, "who merited nothing, as to his brother who did." The deputy proposed to follow a middle course, which would produce to the crown the considerable sum of twenty thousand pounds.

Further, on the 9th of July following, Wentworth, acknowledging the receipt of a letter from the king, in which his majesty suggested the adoption of lenient measures towards the earl of Clanrickard, thus gives expression to his opinion of the Thomond family :—

"If regard be had to the memory of this nobleman's father (the earl of Clanrickard), who opposed your title with all the height and extremity possible, and both father and son popish to boot, what may be expected by the earl of Thomond, whose father was every way of equal merit to the other ; by much a greater lover of the English ; whose brother to a much obscurer title nobly submitted, and entrusted wholly to your majesty ; and all of them, father and sons, good Protestants."

While Wentworth was thus employed in his project of subverting the titles of the Irish proprietors, and forwarding the plan of the western plantation so favourite a project with the king and his courtiers, affairs in Scotland were becoming daily more alarming. The king, whose reliance

on the deputy was unbounded, sent for that officer to advise with him in his emergency, and the result of the conference was, that a parliament should be convened in Ireland, from which the king was assured supplies would be readily obtained, and an army raised and equipped to enable his majesty to coerce his rebellious subjects of Scotland. This advice led to the calling of the Irish parliament of 1639, an assembly which at the outset professing the utmost loyalty to the throne and readiness to vote whatever supplies were needed by his majesty, very soon were found ready imitators of that celebrated body in the sister kingdom, which brought, in the long run, monarch as well as minister to an untimely end.

To this parliament, which sat on the 14th of March 1639-40, were returned from the county of Clare its former member Donogh or Donat O'Brien, and Dermot, son of Teige next brother to the fourth earl of Thomond. The new member was thus first-cousin to Sir Barnabas, who at the same time took his seat in the lords as successor in the earldom to his brother Henry. In the commons the new member who is designated in the journals of the house as captain Dermot O'Brien, was not an idle or inactive representative. In the committees during that stirring and turbulent period, his name is found more frequently than that of any other member. On the 22d of February, 1640, he appears as one of a committee to consider the petitions forwarded from the King's and Queen's counties, and from the natives of other parts of the kingdom. Again, on the 25th of the same month, he was nominated to attend the lords justices (with whom the sword of state had been left by the deputy now created earl of Strafford and who was absent with the king in England), to require the transmission of bills to the English council, or to have exceptions stated to them, in order to their being laid before the house of commons. The enemies of Strafford were now actively employed in examining into the conduct of that nobleman, and the vengeance of the Irish commons was about to fall on the agents and abettors of his arbitrary and tyrannical government. Articles of impeachment were ordered to be

prepared against Sir Richard Bolton the chancellor, Bramhall bishop of Derry, Sir Gerard Lowther chief justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir George Radcliffe. These had been among the most active supporters of Strafford in his inquiries into defective titles, and his plan of a western plantation. On this committee captain Dermot O'Brien was named. The flame of discontent, it seems, had spread to the students of the university. A committee of the commons was at this time appointed to repair to the college of Dublin to examine the several charters and letters-patent granted to it, and the statutes in force for its government. One of these, by which the students were precluded from exhibiting any complaints except to the provost and fellows, was particularly examined into, and declared by the house, on the report of the committee, illegal and void. On this committee captain Dermot O'Brien took a leading part.

The journals of the house of commons contain several other notices in which the services of this active member are recorded. While the Irish parliament was sitting and engaged in inquiring into the abuses of the government, news reached them that the axe had fallen on Strafford. Three days after this event, namely, on the 15th May, 1641, Dermot O'Brien was named on a special committee of the commons appointed to meet a similar deputation of the house of lords, and to proceed to the lords justices to procure authentic copies of the king's letters to them, in order to have them read to the house of commons. It had transpired that his majesty, to appease that assembly, which he saw evidently animated by the same spirit as that which influenced the English commons, had addressed a letter to the lords justices, in which he declared that it was his pleasure that all his Irish subjects should enjoy the full benefit of his GRACES in the amplest manner, and directing them to prepare and transmit bills for, among other things, limiting the title of the crown to sixty years, for annulling all proceedings against the proprietors of Connaught and Clare, and for securing the estates of the subjects in that province from all claims of the crown.

The execution of the obnoxious minister did not abate

the zeal of the Irish commons in their work of examining into the various abuses of government. The administration of justice had been loudly and justly complained against. Committees of the house were accordingly appointed to investigate these complaints ; and on that named to inquire into the abuses in the King's Bench was Donogh O'Brien, his colleague captain Dermot undertaking a similar duty in the committee on the courts of chancery and castle-chamber.

All the abuses in the government of the earl of Strafford were now sedulously inquired into, and a patient and even eager ear afforded to every one who had a ground of complaint against that nobleman, or any of the agents or abettors of his mis-government. One of these, Bramhall, bishop of Derry, was a particular object of the vengeance of the commons. He had been recommended, some years previous to the summoning of the present parliament, by Laud, lord archbishop of Canterbury, to his friend Strafford, as a person whose talents and zeal might be found of advantage in the difficult task of Irish government. The deputy accordingly employed the protégé of his friend, and found that his representation of the young ecclesiastic's merit was not unfounded. On the mission for the inquiry into the defective titles in the western province, Strafford was accompanied, among others, by Bramhall, who prosecuted the inquiry with the degree of diligence which was to be expected from one recommended by so high an authority as the primate of England. On entering Clare, after the check received in the neighbouring county from the Clanrickard faction and their followers, he was surprised to find the revenues of the see of Kilfenora, small though it was in extent, producing no more than eighty pounds per annum, a scandal in the eyes of a minister of that church which both the sovereign and the deputy were so bent on upholding. Whether this was the source of his dislike to the members of the O'Brien family, who were far from according a willing assent to the co-operation afforded by the earl of Thomond and the young baron of Inchiquin to the violent measures of the deputy, does not appear, but

a petition was presented to the commons by Teige O'Brien, "uncle to the earl of Thomond," against Bramhall, and a committee appointed to examine and report on the charges. This petition, on the motion of captain Dermot, was ordered to be sent up to the house of lords on the 3d of July, 1641, with a request, that it should be taken into consideration, and forwarded to England to swell the list of charges against the accused prelate.

The activity of the commons in asserting the privileges of their house, was seen in another instance. On the 7th August in this year, it being reported from the committee on the courts of justice, that on the 10th July, 1634, during the sitting of the house of commons, an information had been exhibited in the castle chamber by the attorney-general against Sir Daniel O'Brien, then, but not now, a member of the house, and Sir Daniel having at the time petitioned the deputy on the ground of privilege, that the information should be taken off the file, and having been refused, the deputy ordering that he should stand to his justification, which ended in a censure being passed on the petitioner on the 23d June, 1637, long after the proceeding had been originated: the house of commons now, on the ground that no relator had been named in the information, and that the proceedings had been "with high hand and in violation of the privileges of parliament," voted—

1. That the privilege of parliament was broken by the exhibition of the said information, during the sitting of the house, against one of its members.

2. That the privilege was lawfully demanded by Sir Daniel O'Brien.

3. That the said information and all proceedings thereon be vacated.

These are a few of the proceedings of this memorable assembly, which, as they relate to the county of Clare and its members, appear to deserve notice in these pages.

The king's letter to the lords justices requiring the bills to be forwarded to England in order that the GRACES to his Irish subjects already mentioned, should be made law, was as much dreaded by those to whom, on the death of

Strafford, the reins of government had been committed, as it was ardently desired and longed for by the Irish proprietors and the lovers of peace in general. The lords justices, informed by their correspondents that they might expect to receive such a document, took care to defeat the royal wishes if indeed his majesty had ever been sincere in expressing them, by proroguing parliament just two days before the arrival of the letter, and thus again were the expectations of his majesty's subjects in Ireland doomed to disappointment. The members of both houses were released from further attendance and parliament prorogued to the month of November following, before which period the fire which had been sometime smouldering, burst forth with a fury which knew no bounds.

It is inconsistent with the design of this production to enter into a narrative of the atrocities by which the outbreak of the rebellion of 1641 was preceded or accompanied. Those, and they must be few, who can expect to find either profit or entertainment in the perusal of this gloomy page in the history of their country, are referred to the historians of the period. That the rebellion was provoked by a series of acts of oppression on the part of those who had the charge of the government, is matter of history. Fanaticism and bigotry on both sides,—a desire to root out the natives and to dispossess them of their properties on the part of those who urged the forming of new plantations, encountered by the efforts of the owners to retain them,—these were the exciting and sufficient causes, which ended in the confiscation of the greater portion of the land throughout nine and twenty counties in Ireland.

The insurrection having been at the commencement confined to the province of Ulster, had taken little effect in the other parts of the kingdom, when the severities of the soldiery of the president of Munster, Sir William St. Leger, drove the noblemen and gentlemen of Kilkenny and Tipperary to form themselves into an association for their mutual protection. In the disturbed state of the country, without any system of police for the security of life or property, bands of predatory natives roamed about, committing

robberies and outrages on such of the English settlers as were exposed to their ravages. A process of retaliation, without having regard to the necessity of discriminating real from supposed offenders, was adopted by St. Leger and his soldiers, and innocent persons in great numbers were sacrificed to the fury of incensed troops. Remonstrances were made to the president by those noblemen who were interested in the preservation of order, and ill-received. The viscount Mountgarret, a near relative of the earl of Ormond, and who had been then joined in a commission with that nobleman, finding his remonstrances against the conduct of the president contemptuously disregarded, communicated his suspicions to some other persons of like rank and consequence with himself that designs hostile to their interests were contemplated. The alarm spread—a general defection from the government ensued—Kilkenny was seized by Lord Mountgarret—Waterford by his son. The flame quickly spread into the county of Clare, where the influence of the earl of Thomond was vainly exerted to maintain order among the turbulent and numerous factions of the various branches of the O'Briens. The young baron of Inchiquin was at the time in England, and hastened to his sovereign to make a tender of his services which were readily accepted. How varied and important these were will be seen in the following pages.

CHAPTER XIX.

A.D. 1641-1646...Proceedings of Morrogh O'Brien, baron of Inchiquin...Confederation of Kilkenny...Inchiquin joins the English parliament, who appoint him president of Munster...Arrival of the Nuncio Rinuccini...The castle of Bunratty surrendered to the parliamentary troops by the earl of Thomond...Retaken by the confederate forces under the command of the Nuncio and lord Muskerry...The Nuncio's letter to his court detailing the victorious progress of the confederates.

MORROGH O'BRIEN, familiarly known as Morrogh *an tothaine*, (the incendiary), an epithet applied not in a figurative sense as it is occasionally at present, but literally, this leader making as much use of *fire* as of the sword in his operations among his countrymen, was the grandson of the baron of Inchiquin of the same name, who perished at the Erne in 1597, fighting on the side of Elizabeth along with his relative the great earl of Thomond against the Ulster Irish headed by red Hugh O'Donnell. He had thus an hereditary as well as a personal interest in the success of the party whose cause he espoused. Being a minor at the time of his father Dermot's decease, he was given in ward, according to the feudal usage of the period, to a relative; and on the 23d July, 1636, being then in his eighteenth year, he obtained a special livery of his lands. Inheriting the martial spirit of his ancestors, and having no opportunity at the time to gratify this taste at home, he proceeded to Italy, then the scene of a portion of the great thirty years' war, and entered into the service of Spain. Returning home in 1639, when the discontents of the peers and commons of Ireland were assuming that formidable character against the administration of Strafford, which ended in that nobleman's execution, he took his seat among the peers, and soon attracted the notice of the lord deputy

who was anxious to increase the number of his supporters, and provide against the storm which was but too plainly gathering on both sides of the channel. To the interest taken by Strafford in the young baron of Inchiquin is to be attributed the following letter of the king. It will be observed that a part of the scheme of plantation proposed to be carried out in Clare, as well as in the province of Connaught, was to seize for the crown one-fourth of the lands of the proprietors. The importance of the concession made to Inchiquin in the king's letter will be thus seen :—

“ Among others of our well-affected subjects in Ireland, we have understood by you the readiness shewn by Morrogh, baron of Inchiquin, to advance and further the plantation in the county of Clare, by submitting himself to our title there, in which respect we are pleased to extend our grace and favour to him, that he may not in course of plantation have the fourth part of his lands in that county taken from him as from others the natives there, but be suffered still to retain them upon such increase of rent as shall be set on those quarters of land which are left to the several possessors after our own fourth part shall be taken from them. Westminster, 2d March, in the fifteenth year of our reign.”

This letter was forwarded to Strafford just fourteen months before his execution, and about a year and half before the breaking out of the rebellion. It was followed by a still further mark of favour, Inchiquin having been on the 2d April, 1640 appointed vice-president of Munster under Sir William St. Leger, whose daughter he had married. The flame of rebellion having shortly after burst forth, Inchiquin attended his father-in-law in his operations against the insurgents, and afforded the assistance of that experience he had acquired in foreign service in the proceedings adopted to suppress the rebellion in the counties of Cork and Waterford. In these expeditions he was enabled to render signal service to the royal cause. One of his exploits, exhibiting the vigour which was at a later period so conspicuous, occurred on the 13th of April, 1642, when the Irish troops having driven the outposts of the English into the very streets of Cork, Inchiquin sallied out,

routed the assailants, and took the general's tent and baggage, without the loss of a man. The vigour and ability displayed in this and other exploits, disposed the lords justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, in whom since the death of Strafford the government of Ireland was vested, to confer on Inchiquin the entire military command in the province of Munster which had become vacant by the death of Sir William St. Leger on the 2d of July in this year. The earl of Barrymore was joined with Inchiquin in this commission to manage the civil affairs of the province, but the former dying in the September following, the whole civil and military administration devolved on the survivor.

The confederation of Kilkenny having appointed the viscount Mountgarret their president, that nobleman marched to the south to sustain the insurgents of the county of Cork, and was encountered at Liscarrol by Inchiquin, now invested with civil and military authority. The president had at his disposal no more than about 2,000 foot and 400 horse, while Mountgarret commanded a force amounting to 7,000 foot and 500 cavalry. Notwithstanding this great disparity in the relative numbers, Inchiquin defeated his opponent with a loss on the part of the Irish of 800 men, their ordnance, colours and baggage, he himself losing no more than twelve men, among whom, however, was the lord Kinalmeaky, son to the earl of Cork. This advantage enabled Inchiquin to put his troops into garrisons for the winter and procure subsistence, the more necessary as from the untoward state of the royal cause in England, he could expect little or no assistance from that quarter.

In the meantime the negotiations which had been set on foot for a cessation of arms between the confederates and the royal troops having at length been carried into effect on the 15th September of the next year (1643), Inchiquin was enabled to despatch to the service of his master a considerable body of troops, amounting altogether to five regiments. He subsequently proceeded to Oxford where the king had established his court, to solicit what he had expected as a matter of course, the appointment of lord presi-

dent of Munster, the duties of which, since the decease of his father-in-law St. Leger, he had, as a matter of necessity, particularly since the demise of Lord Barrymore, discharged. So far from succeeding in his application, he found that reports had been circulated to his disadvantage, productive of a great change in the king's mind. In answer to his application he was informed that the place had been already conferred on the earl of Portland. Full of resentment at what he considered unmerited illtreatment after so many proofs of the zeal and activity evinced by him in support of the royal cause, and particularly dissatisfied with the terms of the recent cessation, he returned to Ireland alienated from the service of, as he conceived, an ungrateful master, whose ear was but too open to the insinuations of evil and injudicious counsellors. Thenceforth determined to assert his own importance and prove to his detractors the value of those services to which so little regard had been paid, lord Broghill and the leading parliamentary agents found little difficulty in gaining him over to the cause of the parliament.

Clarendon, in his notice of the motives for Inchiquin's change to the side of the parliament, states that in addition to the personal reasons by which he was undoubtedly influenced, he was disgusted at the leaning shown at Oxford to the Irish commissioners, and was alarmed at the prospect of the danger to which the protestant cause was exposed, a cause of which he was a strenuous supporter. But by whatever reasons he may have been influenced, Inchiquin, on the 17th July, 1644, addressed a memorial to the parliament in England, strongly remonstrating against the cessation of hostilities for a year which had been signed by Ormond on the part of the king with lord Muskerry on behalf of the Irish confederation. The memorial was signed also by lord Broghill, Sir Percy Smith, and some other officers of distinction. The effect of this appeal was that Inchiquin was appointed by the parliament president of Munster, the post which he so much coveted, and which had been denied him by the king.

Winter had now now set in, and Inchiquin was reduced by the season and want of supplies to inaction. The ap-

proach of spring (1645) found the confederate general the earl of Castlehaven in the field, at the head of an army of 5000 foot and 1000 horse, with which he overran the country. Inchiquin on his part put his troops in motion, amounting to no more than 1500 foot, but with a select body of cavalry to the number of 1000. Among the operations in the spring of this year, lord Broghill's capture of Castlemartyr and Rostellan are mentioned, the latter place, however, being shortly after retaken by Castlehaven, and Henry, brother of Inchiquin, taken prisoner therein.

The war thus raging between the subjects of the same prince, the Irish confederates on the one hand, and the parliamentarians and royalists forming one body but in name, on the other, was now about to be still further embittered by the infusion of a foreign element. The exertions theretofore made by the agents of the supreme council of Kilkenny at foreign courts, were so far successful, that in the end of October, 1645, considerable succours were received in money and military supplies from the pope, Innocent the tenth. These were entrusted to the care and disposal of John Baptist Rinuccini, prince and archbishop of Fermo in Italy, who with the rank of nuncio extraordinary, had been accredited to the supreme council. He brought with him, of arms, 2000 swords, 500 cases of petronels, 20,000 lbs. of powder, and what were more valued by the confederates, five or six trunks filled with Spanish gold pieces. His arrival in November among the confederates of Kilkenny was celebrated by unusual rejoicings. Their joy was, however, damped by the intelligence that Inchiquin had obtained possession of the important post of Bunratty belonging to his relative the earl of Thomond, in which, besides military stores and other articles of value, he found horses in sufficient number to remount his cavalry. This was a great blow to the confederates of Kilkenny, whose supreme council, while professing the most devoted loyalty and allegiance to Charles, did not consider it inconsistent with these professions to confer the title of baron of Inchiquin on Christopher, Morrogh's younger brother, who headed the discontented faction of the county of Clare.

We are enabled to find a clue to the conduct of the earl of Thomond in thus surrendering to the parliament this important post, from the fact that he had received intelligence from his countess, who was then resident in England, that the king's affairs were in a desperate condition, and that it would be the part of prudence to give no cause of offence to the prevailing party. The disturbed state of Clare, and some reported designs of an attack on himself also, predisposed him to take the step. These will appear in the sequel.

When the supreme council of the confederation had despatched troops to the relief of Ross, they removed their residence from Kilkenny to Clonmel, mainly with the view of being able to pay attention to what was passing in the city of Limerick. They were well aware that the inhabitants of that city had from time immemorial maintained friendly relations with the descendants of their native princes and chiefs; and now, more than ever, held correspondence with the earl of Thomond and lord Inchiquin. Accordingly, on the arrival of the council at Clonmel, they despatched two of their members to Limerick, to confirm and support the party of the confederation, to ascertain with as much prudence and circumspection as possible the real state of affairs, and to endeavour by all means to have an invitation forwarded to the council from that city to pay the citizens a visit and take up their residence among them. The gentlemen deputed to discharge this somewhat delicate mission were Sir Daniel O'Brien, who had represented his native county in the parliaments of 1613 and 1634, and Mr. George Comyn. Sir Daniel, whose conduct in helping to keep Everard in the speaker's chair in the late reign has been already noticed, was a strenuous recusant, and had thrown the entire of his influence into the scale of the confederates. Both he and his colleague were intimately acquainted with the leading citizens of Limerick, and on their stating to these latter that their communications with lord Thomond and his relative Inchiquin had been made known to the council, the mayor sent them copies of all the papers which had passed between himself and these noblemen. By

these it appeared that the leading idea in the minds of the citizens was to keep themselves independent of both the parties engaged in the strife now desolating the kingdom, and to have their commerce undisturbed. The mayor, with respect to the desired invitation, was under the necessity of stating that the scarcity of provisions which then prevailed, rendered it impossible for the citizens to receive such a compliment as a visit from the supreme council, which, under more favourable circumstances, they would be only too happy to be honoured with. Thus disappointed in a main object of their mission, the council, on receiving the report of the deputation, gave a commission to Sir Daniel O'Brien, the uncle, and to Daniel O'Brien of Duagh, another near relative of the earl of Thomond, to seize the castle of Bunratty, and possess themselves of the person of the earl himself. In committing such an outrage, the parties selected for the purpose never entertained the least doubt that the exploit would be of as much advantage to the earl as to the confederation. Nay, further, it had been made matter of debate in the supreme council, and resolved, that if the earl of Thomond could be thus obliged to join their association without interfering with his religious opinions, he should be in the condition of a confederate. And if he could not be prevailed on to go beyond a simple neutrality, a competent portion of his estates could be settled on him, on condition of not adhering to the enemies of the confederation, and maintaining his neutrality inviolate. But these speculations fell to the ground, as the castle was surrendered to the forces of the parliament before the intended design on itself or its owner could take effect, yet not before lord Thomond had laid in sufficient provisions to maintain for a long time the garrison which took possession, amounting to eight hundred foot and sixty horse. Having surrendered the castle to an officer of the name of Macadam, his lordship set sail for England.

The failure of the design on Bunratty was a great blow to the confederates. To retake the castle and keep the communication by the Shannon open, was now a principal object with the council, and with that view, as well as to

repress the inroads made by the garrison into the adjoining parts of the county of Clare, it was resolved that a force of three thousand foot and three hundred horse should be despatched into that county to recover the possession of so important a post. These troops were portion of the ten thousand men which the council, on agreeing to the cessation of hostilities, had agreed with the earl of Glamorgan to send to the aid of his majesty, now severely pressed by his rebellious subjects in England. The loss of Bunratty, however, caused them to receive a different destination.

The command of the force to be employed in the intended siege led to frequent and protracted debate in the supreme council. Glamorgan had been sometime before appointed to a high command in the armies of the confederation, and had the confidence of the nuncio Rinuccini. The viscount Muskerry stood deservedly high in the estimation of his countrymen from his known patriotism and disinterestedness. Both these noblemen were closely allied to the house of Thomond, Muskerry having been married to the lady Margaret, daughter of Donogh, fourth earl, and Glamorgan having taken to his second wife another Margaret, a daughter of Henry, the fifth earl of that title. The choice between parties so intimately connected appeared to present some difficulty, but was eventually decided by the appointment of Muskerry, who at first refused to undertake so responsible an employment, alleging his own inability to discharge so difficult a duty, and the discontents of the officers and men of the army ready to disband at not having their just demands satisfied. He objected besides that the selection was made in the absence of the earl of Glamorgan, who was an interested party, and ought to be heard, and he protested that he would not meddle with an employment, the acceptance of which by himself might have the effect of disgusting a nobleman who was so highly esteemed by his sovereign, had merited so well of the kingdom, and was besides his own professed friend and kinsman. These objections were answered by the statement, that had the earl of Thomond remained in Ireland, the influence which his nephew Gla-

morgan possessed with the king might, in conjunction with his near alliance, have had effect on that nobleman, and inclined him to listen to wholesome advice ; but now that he had departed to England, no means remained but to take the castle by force. The council concluded by urging that Muskerry would best discharge the duty he owed to his country by no longer persisting in a refusal to accept the proffered command. On his compliance, the necessary warrant was signed for preparing his commission, and he shortly after proceeded with the troops to lay siege to the stronghold of the earl of Thomond, which its commander Macadam was every day occupied in strengthening against the expected assault of the confederates.

The operations against Bunratty were deemed of so much importance by the nuncio, that that ecclesiastic, so far from feeling any repugnance to interfere in such scenes, himself accompanied Muskerry and the troops, and took up his quarters with the army. Of the pecuniary supplies with which he had been furnished on his departure from the continent for the scene of his nunciature, he brought to Bunratty the sum of six hundred pounds, an amount not sufficient to supply the wants of the army if it were to be detained for any considerable time in the siege. Vigour and promptitude were therefore alike necessary to crown the enterprise with success.

Bunratty castle, which has not yet, even in our own day, become a ruin, stands on the north side of the river Shannon, about six miles below Limerick. It is washed on the east side by the estuary of the Raite or Sixmilebridge river, which at the period of which we write was unimpeded by a bridge, and thus afforded a defence in that direction. To the north at some distance from the castle is an elevated ridge of earth forming the boundary of the castle park. The interval between the castle and this ridge being the most open to the besiegers, was fortified with earth works, and planted with four pieces of cannon. On the west a deep trench enclosing the church of Bunratty had been nearly completed, and this it was intended to have filled with

water from the Sixmilebridge river, but the besieged had not had time to give effect to the plan.

Muskerry having for some days refreshed his soldiers with the venison in which the park and demesne of Bunratty abounded, sat down before the place. He had under him lieutenant-general Purcell, major-general Stephenson, and colonel Purcell, all of them officers trained in the great struggle known since as the thirty years' war. Some weeks were consumed in pushing forward the operations of the besiegers, in which they were interrupted by frequent sallies, when Muskerry discovered that he had only succeeded in making a lodgment in the neighbourhood of the enemies' works after all his pains, while the sea was still open to them, and fresh meat supplied to the men and forage to their horses. In this state of things it was resolved to send for two heavy pieces of cannon to Limerick to batter a small castle close to an outwork which the besieged had constructed for their defence, and from which the confederates had suffered much annoyance. Two days the castle was battered, and as stoutly defended by those to whom it was entrusted, when on the evening of the second day Macadam, its commander, was killed, and the garrison, disheartened at the loss of a brave and skilful leader, whose place they found it difficult, if not impossible, to supply, capitulated. The besieged returned by sea to Cork to join Inchiquin, leaving to the confederates the castle, the cannon, and a considerable number of arms, ammunition, and provisions.

The taking of Bunratty by the confederate troops was an event of the greatest importance. It was considered not inferior to that of Roscommon, which about the same time yielded to Preston, another of their generals. But the victory of Benburb gained by Owen Roe O'Neil over Monroe, raised the hopes of the confederation to the highest pitch. Father Hartigan, who had been sent into Ulster as chaplain-general to the troops, returned to Limerick on the 13th of June, bringing with him the news of this victory and thirty-two standards captured from the enemy. The

nuncio, writing to his court from Limerick on the 16th of this month, gives an account of the thanksgivings offered up for these successes, in the following terms :—

“The next day (Sunday, the 14th of June, 1646), at four o'clock in the afternoon, a triumphal procession was formed from the church of St. Francis, where the standards had been deposited. The whole of the military in Limerick under arms led the way. After them came the standards borne aloft by the gentlemen of the city. The nuncio, accompanied by the archbishop of Cashel and the bishops of Limerick, Clonfert, and Ardfert, followed ; after whom came the members of the supreme council, the mayor and magistrates, in their robes of office. The people filled the streets and windows, and on the arrival of the procession at the cathedral, *Te Deum* was sung by the nuncio's choir, he himself offering up the accustomed prayers, and concluding with a solemn benediction. Next morning he assisted at the mass for giving of thanks, which was chanted by the dean of Fermo, in the presence of the prelates and magistrates above-mentioned.”^(a)

These victories, which the nuncio assured his court were altogether owing to pontifical aid in the supplies of money and arms with which he had been furnished on his mission to the Irish confederation, inspired that minister with the idea that he was the arbiter of the destinies of the Irish nation, and that through his agency not only was heresy to be put down in the British islands, commencing with Ireland, and extending through England and Scotland, but that the example might reasonably be expected to be followed in the northern parts of Europe, which had withdrawn their allegiance from the holy see. These sanguine expectations were incessantly repeated in the nuncio's communications to the cardinal-secretary at Rome, and supplies as constantly solicited for the promotion of so desirable a result. All notions of a peace between Charles and his Irish subjects, as it would be fatal to such magnificent projects, were from the very outset disrelished and discountenanced by the nuncio. But overtures of an accom-

(a) Author's translation from the *Nunziatura in Irlanda*. Florence, 1844.

modation between the marquis of Ormond and the Irish catholics had been in progress before the arrival of the Roman envoy. These it will be necessary briefly to advert to, as they will be found to have had an important bearing in determining the conduct of the parliamentary general, who was kept constantly well informed of every thing that was passing in the councils of the confederates.

CHAPTER XX.

A.D. 1646–1651...Petition of the catholics of Ireland to the king...Their demands...Successful progress of Inchiquin...Capture of Dungarvan, Fethard, and Cahir, and storm of Cashel...Rout of Taaffe at Knocknoness...Lord Lisle appointed by the parliament lord-lieutenant of Ireland for one year...Inchiquin suspected by the parliament, is sought to be deprived of his command...He refuses to comply...Narrative of the proceedings to that effect, and failure and departure of lord Lisle...Inchiquin abandons the parliament and urges the return of the marquis of Ormond...Execution of the king in London, and proclamation of Charles the second at Carrick-on-Suir by Ormond...Operations of Inchiquin against the republicans at Drogheda and Dundalk...Landing of Cromwell...Failure of Ormond and Inchiquin to induce the confederate leaders of Limerick to receive a garrison of royal troops...Departure of those lords from the kingdom...Limerick taken by Ireton...Execution of four and twenty persons, including two bishops, by order of Ireton.

IN the general assembly which was held in Kilkenny soon after the outbreak of the rebellion, the catholics drew up a petition to the king, in which they declared that they had not taken up arms against his majesty, but against the parliamentary faction by whom they were oppressed, and who laboured to extinguish the catholic religion in Ireland, and establish puritanism (as they expressed it) in its stead. They claimed, therefore, that as in Scotland the subjects were allowed the free profession of their peculiar tenets, they, in like manner, might be permitted to enjoy the open exercise of the catholic religion; that the hierarchy and religious orders should be maintained in the enjoyment of their ancient possessions; that bishops and catholic priests should be secured in the possession of church property, to the exclusion of protestant heretics; that the viceroys and other chief governors and ministers of the crown should be of the catholic religion; that the properties which catholics possessed in the reign of Elizabeth should be restored; that colonies of English or Scots should be no longer admitted into Ireland unless they were catholics, or, at least, moderate protestants; that they should be permitted to trade

freely with foreign nations ; that the parliament of Ireland should no longer be dependent on that of England. The petition concluded with a protestation that they had no wish to withdraw their allegiance from his majesty, but were ready, with their lives and properties, to defend and maintain his royal prerogatives, and to acknowledge his lawful authority in civil matters, in the same way as they acknowledged the Roman pontiff their spiritual head. These demands, which it was obviously out of the power of the king, at war with his parliament, to concede, the nuncio's instructions enjoined him to insist on. And he was required to inform the supreme council of the Irish confederation, that any conditions proposed by the king or his ministers, which were not founded on these bases, could have no validity, and must be regarded as dangerous and dishonourable.

This petition, the work of the clergy, could not fail of creating a division in the ranks of the confederates. They had never contemplated the arrival of a nuncio, and only sought from the pope, as they had from other princes, pecuniary supplies to enable them to bring their struggle with king and parliament to a successful issue. The nuncio himself states, that when Sir Richard Bellings, the agent of the confederation who was despatched to the pope, heard at Florence that a nuncio was appointed, he was struck dumb, well knowing how ill-cherished by the laity, if not indeed by several of the Irish clergy, such an appointment would be. The existence of this feeling among the confederates was no secret to Inchiquin, and he took his measures accordingly.

Apprehensive that the influence of the nuncio and the clergy would, as indeed happened, result in the adoption of violent and extreme courses, he lost no time in expelling the catholic magistrates from the seaports of the county of Cork, in order that his communications with the parliament should be free from interruption. He replaced them in the city of Cork, and the towns of Youghal and Kinsale, by protestant magistrates in whom he could confide, and retaking Rostellan, and seizing Castlemartyr, which belonged to his uncle Edmond Fitzgerald, a zealous adherent of the

confederation, he levied contributions on the adjoining baronies of Barrymore and Imokilly, a measure rendered indispensably necessary from want of supplies from England to maintain his ill-fed and worse-clad troops.

Reduced to inaction from want of those supplies which he incessantly solicited from the parliament, but which could not be afforded, the year 1646 passed over without any active operations being undertaken by Inchiquin. The following year, however, beheld him at the head of 5000 foot and 1500 horse, and with these marching into the county of Waterford, he reduced, one after another, Cappoquin, Dromana, and Dungarvan. The parliament at last sent him the oft-demanded succours. With these, entering the county of Tipperary, he took the strong castle of Cahir, the town of Fethard, and the rock of Cashel. The taking of Cahir was the result of a fortunate accident. One of a party of his troopers employed on a plundering excursion in the neighbourhood [of that place, was wounded by some of the Irish and carried prisoner into Cahir. The man was allowed to send to the English head-quarters for a surgeon to dress his wounds. Inchiquin had before this time encouraged officers who had been employed in the royal army to enter into the service of the parliament, and among these was a colonel of the name of Hipplesley, whose skill and experience, Inchiquin was informed by a friend, would be of great value. Hipplesley happened to possess some knowledge of surgery, and was besides skilled in engineering, and in the attack and defence of places. This officer undertook to go in disguise into the castle and dress the wounded soldier. In the discharge of this duty he had an opportunity of observing not only the strength of the place but the remissness with which it was guarded by the garrison. Observing some defects in the walls, he on his return reported to Inchiquin the practicability of an assault. The hint was taken at once, the place assaulted and surrendered. On entering it, Inchiquin found that he could not have reduced it by force, had the garrison had the courage to maintain a gallant defence. This success was the more surprising when it was known that Cahir stood out for two months,

in 1599, against the earl of Essex at the head of 20,000 men.

From Cahir Inchiquin proceeded to Cashel. The inhabitants of this city relying on the strength of the fortified rock on which stood the cathedral and castle, refused the terms offered by the parliamentary general, namely, that on payment of a sum of £3000 and a month's pay for his troops, the place would be spared. The assault was, in consequence ordered, and a dreadful carnage ensued, which was stopped only by Inchiquin's entry into the place. Before his arrival, in the fury of the soldiery, who either were unable or unwilling to make distinctions between clergy or laity, twenty ecclesiastics are stated to have been massacred. This slaughter of the clergy obliged Taaffe, the general in command of the confederate troops, and who was accused by the nuncio of a secret understanding with Inchiquin, to act with more vigour. Collecting his forces, Taaffe, in the month of November, marched to oppose Inchiquin. The confederates troops amounted to 7,500 foot and 1000 horse, the parliamentary forces to 5000 foot and 1300 cavalry. They met at a place called Knocknoness near Mallow, when the confederate army was completely routed, with a loss of three thousand men, six thousand stand of arms, thirty-eight colours, the tent of the general, besides baggage and artillery.

The intelligence of this signal victory was received in England with joy. The parliament without delay voted a supply of £10,000 for the support of the army in Ireland, and sent a present of one thousand pounds to Inchiquin himself.

But great changes had by this time taken place on both sides of the channel. In Ireland, Ormond, obliged to succumb to the successful arts of the nuncio and the clergy, had quitted the kingdom, resigning to the officers of the parliament the sword of state and the castle of Dublin, and obliged to take refuge in France. In England the king had been siezed by Joyce, and the army had turned against the parliament. The second civil war had broken out, and the independents were giving evident signs of their inten-

tion to abolish the monarchy. Affairs were in a very different position from that which existed when Inchiquin made his unsuccessful application to the king at Oxford for the presidency of Munster. He was well acquainted besides with the exertions made by the nuncio to have a protectorate of some of the foreign powers established in Ireland. Pressed by these considerations, and perhaps touched with remorse at his former abandonment of the royal cause, Inchiquin was once more obliged to review his conduct, and consider the consequences of maintaining a position, which, day by day, was becoming more adverse to the monarchy. He was well aware of the intrigues of the leaders of the independents in England, and saw through their designs. The government of Ireland, on the departure of the marquis of Ormond, had been committed to the care of lords justices, who, in April, 1646, were superseded by the appointment of lord Lisle as lord-lieutenant. The parliament, exercising the supreme authority of the state, still, however, in the name of the King, who was a prisoner with the army, could only give a temporary authority to that nobleman, and his commission was accordingly limited to the period of *one* year from the date of his appointment. It consequently expired at noon of the 15th April, 1647. It is the more necessary to particularise this date, as it will be found of importance in explaining the conduct of lord Inchiquin, when the attempt was made by the newly-appointed lord-lieutenant to deprive him of the command of the army.

Lord Lisle, leaving his brother, the afterwards celebrated Algernon Sidney at Bristol, in command of a portion of the troops furnished by the parliament, embarked for Cork, having with him a sum of £30,000 in money, seven pieces of cannon, one thousand muskets, and an hundred barrels of powder. On the arrival of Algernon Sidney, who had been appointed lieutenant-general of the troops of the parliament serving in Ireland, the lord-lieutenant reviewed the various garrisons in the province of Munster which acknowledged the authority of the parliament, and as his commission was so soon to expire, the general officers petitioned, that in case his lordship was not continued in his

office, the command of the army might be conferred on them. Inchiquin holding the high office of lord president of the province, feeling that such an application conveyed a direct censure upon him, opposed their application, and was supported by his friends. At first his opponents proceeded by the gentler methods of argument, but when these were found unavailing, threats were had recourse to. But on Inchiquin these had no better effect. As this nobleman is known to the readers of the civil war in Ireland more as a soldier than a politician, the interview between himself and the emissaries of lord Lisle, the arguments addressed to him and his replies, exhibiting his possession of high diplomatic ability, are here subjoined. Bellings, the secretary of the confederate catholics of Ireland, one of the ablest of those employed by the supreme council of Kilkenny, thus describes the attempt to entice or coerce Inchiquin to submit to the views of the lord-lieutenant and his officers (*Desid. Cur. Hib.*, vol. 2, 293).

“The lord Lisle, with authority from the parliament, limited to a day prefixed in his commission, came about this time into Ireland, to act as lieutenant of the kingdom, bringing with him one hundred and twenty horse, and five thousand foot, who did little ; and those attempts he made were successful, so as the time of his government being within a few days to expire, he resolved to join his brother, who was his lieutenant, the lord of Broghill, and Sir Hardress Waller, in commission with the lord of Inchiquin, to command the army ; and having acquainted the lord of Inchiquin with the result of the council in that behalf, upon the lord of Inchiquin's refusal to admit of any partners in the trust which was solely to be executed by himself, the lord Lisle by several posts sent for all the field officers in the garrisons, immediately to repair to Corke, removing the lord of Inchiquin's regiment from thence, and drawing in his own. The officers having met, and the day being come whereon his own commission was to expire, he sent for the lord of Broghill's regiment of horse into town, and gave order that they should be drawn up before the lord of Inchiquin's house, and that his own regiment of foot should

stand to their arms, charge their muskets, and light matches, causing the gates to be shut, and all men to be kept out but such as were known to be of his faction. This being done, he sent his brother with the lord of Broghill and all those officers he had sent for to the lord of Inchiquin, to whom his brother declared that the lord-lieutenant being to repair into England, they were come with a commission signed by him, wherein his lordship was joined with those other three persons to command the army ; to which the lord of Inchiquin answered that the command of the army belonged to him, by virtue of letters-patent under the great seal of England, and that he could not postpone that authority to paper commission of my lord lieutenant's, but that lest the officers of the army should run into an error through his want of care to let them know their duty, he was ready to shew them the authority he had, and if then they should think fit to obey my lord Lisle rather than him, he would employ no force to compel them to the contrary, though he knew he might do it lawfully, but would retire into England, to give an account of the trust reposed with him, and of the violence that was that day done to the authority given him.

“ The lieutenant-general said, he came not to expostulate any thing with his lordship, but to offer to accompany him for the publication of my lord-lieutenant's commission, which, if he refused, they were to publish it without him, it being directed to any three of them, in case the fourth should be either incapable or unwilling, whereupon he withdrew with all those that came with him, and went straight where the council of war, who had been warned by the lord-lieutenant to meet at that hour, were gathered. The lord of Inchiquin, as soon as they were gone, took those commissions he had both from the parliament and the king, and followed them to the place, where he arrived just as the commission from the lord Lisle had been read ; and being come in, he addressed himself to the officers, saying, he came not there in pursuance of the summons given by the lieutenant-general, but to acquit himself of that trust which was reposed in him, in the discharge whereof he

found himself obliged to premonish them of the danger which he saw them like to be involved in by the lord-lieutenant and his council, whose authority he said would be determined in one hour ; that although he saw a regiment of horse drawn up at his door with pistols charged, and the garrison all in arms, with matches lighted to awe him, yet he would not be deterred from any circumstance of his duty, which was to let them know, that if after the lord Lisle's commission, which was limited to twelve o'clock that day, they should obey any other authority than that he had there to shew them, they would be guilty of treason. And then he caused his secretary to deliver his commission to be read. As soon as lieutenant-general Sidney heard the lord of Inchiquin declare he came not to comply with the lord lieutenant's orders, he retired, and with him the lord of Broghill, Sir Hardress Waller, lieutenant Harrison, and two or three more, who said they were not called hither to hear of any other authority but that given by the lord-lieutenant, who could not be thought to be less faithful to the state of England, nor less trusted by them than the lord of Inchiquin, and that therefore none of them ought to stay there any longer. However, the rest of the officers staid, and desired to hear the lord of Inchiquin's commission read, which being given them, his lordship withdrew, to leave them the liberty of considering what they ought to do, wherein they spent the time till twelve o'clock, being the hour that determined the lord Lisle's commission ; and then all those officers, to the number of eighty (whereof at least twenty had rid all that night by the lord Lisle's orders, who designed they should serve him on that occasion), came straight to the lord of Inchiquin's house, where they declared to him that they saw clearly their obedience was due to him, and that if the lord Lisle and the lord of Broghill did use any violence against him, they would not be accessory to it. To which the lord of Inchiquin answered, that he was glad they were as well witnesses of the lord Lisle's proceedings that day as sensible of their duty, but that he expected no more from them than the opposition of their consents, which they promised, and sent one immediately from them to let

the lord Lisle know that certainly he was ill-advised, and that the parliament would much condemn his proceedings against the lord of Inchiquin that day. This his lordship rejected with scorn, sending them word they were to obey, not to advise him, who had a council qualified for that purpose by the parliament, by whose advice he acted ; however the officers finding his commission was then expired (the date whereof he had concealed from them), did not think proper to obey him, which gave his lordship occasion to sit an hour with his select friends, whereof two, namely, Sir Adam Loftus and Sir John Temple were of the council, and having taken his resolution, he sent them to my lord of Inchiquin, who told him that they were sorry with all their hearts his lordship had proceeded so far to mislead the officers of the army against their duty that certainly the trust reposed by the parliament with him could not come in balance with that they had committed to the lord-lieutenant, who would have many advantages over his lordship, whenever that should come to be questioned ; and therefore, that they as counsellors of state and his friends, advised him of the danger he did precipitate himself into, if he should occasion one part of the army to oppose the other, employing those swords to their own destruction (and consequently for the enemy), which should be employed for the English interest against them ; that my lord Lisle had with their advice found it expedient for the encouragement of the army he had brought, to go on cheerfully in the service, to join some of those officers that came along with them in the command with him, till the parliament should take further order ; and that feeling he was left chief in commission (notwithstanding colonel Sidney's being lieutenant-general of the army), the parliament would make ill constructions of his actions ; and in conclusion they said that his concurrence after the inconsiderate declaration of the officers to obey him, would be an act which would merit the parliament's greater regard of him, since they could not but consider that he was not led by any ambition or private interest.

“To this the lord of Inchiquin answered that he would always acknowledge an obligation to all that had friendly

intentions in their councils ; and therefore he thanked them for their care of him, but that he believed and was confident they were mistaken both in his duty and their own ; for his part he would not postpone the authority of parliament under the great seal of England to a paper illegal commission ; and that withal he thought they would be questioned not only for the approbation they had given thereof, but also for not opposing that day's proceedings ; that the concurrence of the officers that came over with my lord Lisle (except those few that being interested had joined themselves with the lord of Broghill to supplant him), together with those before them in the kingdom, who were all ready to obey him, did make it manifest that there was no division like to be in the army that would march unanimously against the enemy, if the contrary were not occasioned by them who took unwarrantable ways that would not be approved by the parliament, being they were manifestly against their authority ; and that therefore he conceived it was their duty to advise my lord Lisle to wish those that had more regard to his will than their own duty to join with their companions in obeying that authority which was extant from the parliament among them. Those men finding the lord of Inchiquin resolved against any compliance with their desire, said they would employ their endeavours to dispose him to all moderation in his proceedings, but that they doubted he would persist in the course he had taken ; and so they returned to give an account of what had passed between them and the lord Inchiquin, whose resolution did somewhat surprise the lord Lisle, who believed that seeing the posture of the garrison, he durst not have opposed, and being in great rage, he swore he would send him prisoner immediately into England. But his council having persuaded him that his commission being expired, which the lord of Inchiquin well knew, and had publicly declared it to the officers, he had not authority to do what he might have done two hours sooner ; on the contrary, that if my lord of Inchiquin appeared with those officers that gave him obedience in the head of the men, and declared to them that he and his council acted without authority, and to the pre-

judice of the public service, the lord of Inchiquin might possibly make his lordship and his council prisoners. Whereupon it was concluded that they might not attempt any thing of that kind, but that seeing yet those that were in arms in the garrison were at their devotion, they should endeavour to compass their ends by a threat, and for that purpose sent the same two persons back to the lord of Inchiquin to let him know that they had made the lord Lisle acquainted with his resolution and reasons, but that they feared he was resolved to exact that by force, which he could not otherwise compass. That he might see men drawn up before his window, and two thousand men armed in and about the town, ready to execute his commands, who might send him prisoner to England if he pleased ; and therefore that they desired his lordship once more to reflect on the necessity of complying with the lord Lisle, to avoid a mischief that might give the enemy great advantage.

“ When they came with this message, the lord of Inchiquin was in his dining room among all those officers that had promised obedience, and he had no sooner heard out those ambassadors than he repeated their message aloud to the officers, and withal told them that he had been so much a stranger to all designs, since the lord-lieutenant's coming into Ireland, that he did not wonder to see the soldiers in the city, in the posture they were in, though he knew not the reason. And he could not (he observed) till then imagine that the lord Lisle, who pretended so much integrity, and so much merit in the parliament service, should design to employ them to make him a prisoner, because he executed rather the commission of the parliament under the great seal of England than the paper he had signed to divest him of the authority they had given him ; that he thought fit to let them know this, that they might be witnesses of it, but that he did not expect any man should draw his sword against any violence that should be offered ; on the contrary, he forbade them to do it, saying, he had courage to suffer all that should be attempted against him, rather than betray his trust and honour by an unworthy submission to such insolence, but

that he would not engage them in blood against their comrades, and that the state's service might receive prejudice thereby. He added then, that the lord Lisle was as much obliged to give him obedience, as he had been, some hours before, to him. He therefore wished those ambassadors to go back immediately to him, and let him know that he protested in the presence of those officers that the lord Lisle could not attempt anything against him wherein the honour and interest of the parliament was not equally concerned ; and if he durst injure them, he durst suffer, rather than see the authority blemished. This he spoke in so fierce and resolute a tone, that the two counsellors retired without further reply, sufficiently affrighted.

“My lord Lisle seeing this last attempt prove vain, immediately sends away by boat his trunks with his monies, plate, and what he had of importance, to the vice-admiral Crowder, with orders to him to take them into the ship and to be ready to set sail in the morning, as soon as his lordship should come to him. But the vice-admiral being advertised of what had passed in the town before their arrival, refused to receive them, saying his lordship had no further authority, and that it was the lord of Inchiquin's warrant he was to have ; which answer being brought suddenly back to the lord Lisle, put him and his council into an extreme rage, and no less confusion. But in an hour they grew calm and so humble, as they sent to the lord of Inchiquin, to intreat him to be pleased that he would give order to the shipping to receive the lord Lisle's trunks ; and that such of the officers as would go along with him, not exceeding half a score, might have licence ; which being granted, he departed the kingdom.”

Lord Lisle, defeated in the attempt to deprive Inchiquin of his command, proceeded to England, accompanied by his brother and lord Broghill. Provoked by the resolute opposition exhibited to the lord-lieutenant by Inchiquin—and it is not unlikely—penetrating his designs, Broghill and Sir Adam Loftus preferred articles of impeachment in parliament against the lord president of Munster. The parliamentary leaders were at this time engaged in en-

deavours to disband and remodel the army, which had, nearly to a man, adopted the views of the independents. It was also known that Inchiquin had too many friends in England to allow the promoters of the impeachment to succeed in their objects. It was accordingly dropped. Instead of appearing at the bar of the high court of parliament to answer for his conduct, Inchiquin sent repeated remonstrances to that assembly for the neglect exhibited by them in supplying his troops, and stating the necessity in which he was placed, in consequence of that neglect, of entering into a cessation of hostilities with the Irish. To counteract the machinations of his enemies in England, he drew up and circulated a protestation explanatory of his views, which he caused to be signed by his officers.^(R) At the same time he earnestly pressed Ormond with whom he maintained an uninterrupted correspondence to return to Ireland, as the only means left to preserve this kingdom in its allegiance to its lawful sovereign. To give a colour to his proceedings and with the view of lulling suspicion, he marched to Carrick-on-Suir and Callan, and threatening Kilkenny then occupied by the supreme council, he retraced his steps and turned off towards Clonmel. While in Carrick, which was one of the places of residence of the Ormond family, he let fall observations as to the probable speedy return of Ormond as lord-lieutenant, a position which that nobleman still held, the king refusing to receive his resignation of that high post when tendered to his majesty by the former previous to his departure for France. Inchiquin's designs being thus discovered, a conspiracy was formed by some of his officers to seize during his absence with the army the towns of Cork and Youghal. The conspiracy was discovered, and the officers concerned in it seized and imprisoned, but the parliament having been apprised of the proceedings, sent a force to block up Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal. Obligated by these movements to declare himself, Inchiquin made urgent applications to Ormond to hasten back, who, after a considerable delay and loss of time, wasted in insincere and unavailing negotiations with cardi-

(R) Vide post, Appendix.

nal Mazarine, landed on the 29th September, 1648, at Cork, and was received by Inchiquin and the army with due honour, while the confederates themselves urging the marquis's presence among them in his ancient castle at Kilkenny, completed his triumph by dissolving their union and resigning into his hands the powers which they had so long and to so little purpose enjoyed.

But this revolution in the affairs of the royalists was unavailing to stay the purpose of the independents. While the actors in this memorable drama on this side of the channel were preparing to follow up their success by fresh exertions in the royal cause, the tragedy was brought to a precipitate conclusion by the execution of the king.

Ormond was at Youghal on his return from visiting prince Rupert, who had arrived at Kinsale with the fleet, when he received the intelligence of the king's death. On reaching his residence at Carrick-on-Suir, he immediately proclaimed the prince of Wales king, and caused like proclamation to be made in all the places to which his authority extended. As Dublin was in possession of the troops of the parliament, his operations were, of necessity, directed to recover the seat of government. Reinforced by two thousand of Inchiquin's foot, he marched to the capital and encamped at Finglas. Jones, the parliamentary general, on the 20th June, with the view of cutting off Ormond's supplies, detached a considerable body of cavalry to Drogheda, a movement which it was of the utmost importance to counteract, and Inchiquin was immediately despatched in pursuit with a strong detachment of dragoons. With his accustomed celerity and vigour, he surprised and routed the party, laid siege to Drogheda, and forced it to surrender within less than a fortnight. In addition to this important service, having learned that a large body of infantry and cavalry had been detached to escort ammunition to Owen O'Neill, who had, after the withdrawal of the nuncio, transferred his services from the church to the parliament, Inchiquin attacked the cavalry, routed them, cut the infantry to pieces, and on the 15th of July invested Dundalk. Monk, the eventual restorer of the monarchy, happened to be in com-

mand of the place, and had the mortification of being forced by his own troops to surrender it to Inchiquin, whose name, from the tide of success which accompanied it, carried terror wherever he appeared. Having reduced some other places of no great consequence, Inchiquin returned in triumph to the camp at Finglas.

In the unsuccessful operations to recover Dublin from the troops of the parliament, Inchiquin had no share. A large reinforcement had reached Jones, and the further intelligence was communicated to him and widely circulated, that Cromwell was about to sail from Bristol for some port in Munster, at the head of a large army. Inchiquin, holding the commission of lieutenant-general, and having by this time been appointed president of Munster by Charles the second then resident at the Hague, was despatched to the south with three regiments of horse to strengthen the garrisons, and confirm the people in support of the royal cause. Cromwell, however, instead of making a descent in the south, preferred striking a blow at the centre of the kingdom. His operations against Drogheda do not require to be repeated here. The sanguinary policy by which they were directed was repeated in Wexford, nor could all Inchiquin's efforts succeed in defeating them. This lord's exertions in support of the royal interests were even foully misrepresented, and he was accused of an intention to betray the royalists. Articles of agreement to this effect, purporting to have been entered into between himself and Jones, were forged, but the forgery was detected, and to complete his exculpation, confessed. But his influence among the protestants of Munster where from the outbreak of the rebellion he had been looked on as the champion of their cause, was now on the wane. Lord Broghill, who had been terrified by Cromwell into joining the parliament, and whose intentions of proceeding to the continent and joining the king with the view of accompanying his majesty to Ireland, were known to Cromwell and by him disclosed to Broghill, not only consented to raise forces for the service of the independents, but he also succeeded in influencing the protestants to separate from Ormond and his army (as they

were designated) of confederate Irish. The result was that in a short time the principal places in the province declared for Cromwell, and Inchiquin had the mortification of witnessing the defection of Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, Bandon, and Mallow to the forces of the parliament, when he was obliged to yield to the torrent, and retire, among his friends and retainers, to the county of Clare. Yet even then he did not cease to exert himself in opposition to the parliament, for we find that in the month of August of the next year (1650), the governor of Cork, receiving information that Inchiquin was actively employed in Kerry in raising forces for his sovereign, marched at the head of some troops into that county to prevent him. Ormond's exertions to stem the torrent to which he found he could offer but a feeble resistance, were still persevered in. In order to oppose the progress of the republican forces, he endeavoured to strengthen the garrisons which had not as yet been occupied by Cromwell's soldiers. Among these the city of Limerick occupied a foremost position as being the pass into the county of Clare and province of Connaught. His negotiations with the inhabitants of this city are thus described by Borlase :—

“The marquis of Ormond was willing to believe that they (the citizens of Limerick) had fancied and imagined to themselves some expedient for their preservation which could not fall within his own comprehension ; and that they might have contracted a prejudice to his person or to his religion, which might keep them from such an union and confidence as they might be reduced unto under some catholick, who might be as zealous to preserve his majesty's interest, and recover the kingdom to his obedience ; and he was the more confirmed in this his apprehension, by revolving the several passages which had happened at his being at Limerick, during the time that they seemed to pay him all respect when the lord Inchiquin had been then with him, towards whom they had observed the marquis had a great confidence and friendship, as he well deserved : at which time some principal persons of the city and some of the bishops had, under a show of great confidence and trust,

repaired to the lord-lieutenant and declared unto him, that all that indisposition and waywardness of the people proceeded from the prejudice they had against the lord Inchiquin, who had always, they said, prosecuted the war against them with the utmost rigour and animosity ; and the places and persons which had been most at his devotion, having treacherously revolted to the parliament, the people were not confident of him, and jealous that the marquis had too great confidence in him ; so that if he would dismiss that lord, and discharge the troops that yet remained under his command, of which some frequently ran away to the parliament, not only that city but the whole nation would, as one man, be at his disposal.

“While these insinuations were thus proposed to the lord-lieutenant, other persons, (and these as leading men) with an equal number of bishops, applied themselves to the lord Inchiquin, and told him, that whilst the affairs were conducted by the marquis of Ormond, they expected no good fortune ; that they looked upon him as not of their nation, and one so solicitous for the English interest, and all English men, that he was nothing regardful of them and theirs ; *but that his lordship was one of the most ancient extraction of Ireland, and under that notion looked upon with great affection and reverence by the Irish ; and if the government and command were exercised by him, there would be such an obedience paid to him that he would in a short time grow strong enough to oppose the enemy and recover his country.*

“When these two lords had communicated, each to other, (as they quickly did) the excellent addresses which had been made to them, and agreed together to draw on and encourage the proposers that they might discover as much of their purposes as was possible, they easily found their design was to be rid of them both : and when they (the addressors) perceived, by the continuance of the same friendship, that they had communicated with each other, they less dissembled towards both, but proceeded with those disrespects which are mentioned before.”

How the efforts of these two noblemen were unavailing is matter of history. A fatal, perhaps an unavoidable mis-

take had been committed by Ormond on signing the articles of peace with the supreme council at Kilkenny, in the month of January of the previous year, and only a few days before the execution of the king. Anxiety for the royal interests, and a too great confidence in the party with which he was dealing, and perhaps, also, in his own powers of persuading them eventually to make common cause with the royalists, and aid these in opposing the further progress of the republicans, induced him to consent to the appointment of twelve commissioners, to be nominated by the confederates, and whose duty it should be, to look to the performance of the articles of peace until the same should be ratified in a full and peaceable convention of parliament. These gentlemen, styled commissioners of trust, he agreed to having *joint authority in all respects with him, and without whose sanction no appointments could be made or orders given whatever.*

These were (their names are here given from Borlase) Thomas, lord viscount Dillon of Costello, lord president of Connaught; Donogh, lord viscount Muskerry; Francis, lord baron of Athenry; Alexander Macdonnell, Esq.; Sir Lucas Dillon, knight; Sir Nicholas Plunket, knight; Sir Richard Barnwal, Bart.; Geoffry Browne; Donogh O'Callaghan; Tirlogh O'Neil; Miles Reilly, and Gerald Fennell, esquires.

Hampered by these joint sharers in his authority, the most of whom strongly imbued by the spirit of the nuncio, were still under the influence of the bishops and inferior clergy, a large number of the former having been appointed during the nunciature whose principal recommendation had been an entire coincidence with the views of their patron, Ormond and Inchiquin, thwarted and opposed by the clerical faction who had constantly supported the nuncio in his opposition to any peace but one to their own liking,—unable from want of means to offer any effectual resistance to the progress of the republican troops, were at last obliged to give way. The marquis of Ormond had been in possession of a letter from the king authorizing that nobleman to retire from the kingdom whenever he could no longer with

any prospect of advantage to his sovereign or security for his own personal safety, continue to hold the sword of state, and empowering him to place it in the hands of some person in whom he could confide. The marquis of Clanrickarde, between whom and Ormond a close friendship and unanimity of sentiments and views had through the entire of their struggle with the parliament, subsisted, and whose religious opinions coincided with those of the Irish party, appeared the most proper for this trust. Resigning the vice-regal authority to this nobleman, Ormond and Inchiquin, accompanied by some other officers who could no longer render any service to the royal cause, on the 6th December, embarked at Galway for France.

After the departure of the lords Ormond and Inchiquin, the feeble resistance offered to the active and energetic leaders of the parliament, was conducted in the southern parts of the kingdom by lord Muskerry. Ludlow commanded the troops of the parliament as lieutenant-general, Ireton being at the head of the government as lord deputy. To gain possession of Limerick was an object of the utmost importance, as it was expected that the war might thereby be speedily concluded. Accordingly, the deputy and Ludlow pressed on the siege of that city with vigour. Aided by the treason of an officer named Fennell, who surrendered to the enemy an important pass on the Shannon by which Ireton was enabled to invest the city on both sides, the republican general after repeated proposals to the citizens, which through the obstinacy of the clergy and magistrates were as often refused, became master of the place. The garrison marched out having laid down their arms, several of the soldiers as they passed along dropping dead from the plague by which the city had been desolated. Four and twenty persons, including two bishops and some of the inferior clergy who would listen to no terms of the besiegers, were, for their obstinacy, exempted from pardon and executed. The city was surrendered on the 29th of October, 1651.

CHAPTER XXI.

A.D. 1651-1660...Proceedings of Ludlow in the county of Clare...Fall of Conor O'Brien of Lemeneagh in opposing Ludlow...Operations of the parliamentary troops in Burren, and opinion of that country...Lemeneagh, the seat of the Dromoland O'Briens, occupied by Ludlow's troops...Incident of the lady Honora O'Brien...Death of Ireton at Limerick...Cromwell permits the Irish troops to enter into foreign service...Their indifferent reception in Spain...Charles the second obliged to retire from France into Germany...Lord Inchiquin created an earl.. Death of Cromwell...Capture of the earl of Inchiquin by an Algerine corsair, and his release...Death of Inchiquin, his will and character...Notice of his descendants.

PREVIOUS to the surrender of Limerick, lord Muskerry had collected about five thousand men in the counties of Cork and Kerry, which, with a force of three thousand more in the county of Clare, were destined for the relief of that city. The former were defeated and dispersed by lord Broghill, and Ludlow was ordered to the pass of Inchicronan to check the advance of the latter. At this place the Irish offering a determined resistance,^(a) the parliamentary general states that Conor O'Brien, who had been deputed by lord Inchiquin to command in the county of Clare, was shot from his horse, and his body carried away by his party. Thus fell the chieftain of Lemeneagh, and his troops, disheartened by the fall of their leader, retreated, no more than two or three of them falling into the hands of their enemies.⁽¹⁾

Limerick being surrendered, and those excepted from pardon by Ireton executed, Ludlow in command of the parliamentary troops was ordered to march into the county of Clare to reduce some places which still held out. At the head of two thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse he proceeded to Inchicronan, his route lying through Clarecastle, which being a place of considerable strength, he did not

(a) Ludlow, vol. i., p. 360.

think prudent to leave in the possession of the enemy in his rear. It was accordingly summoned, and, following the example of Limerick, surrendered on articles, the garrison receiving passes to enable them to return to their homes. Carrigaholt was next visited. In their progress to this place the English troops suffered great privations, it being the middle of November, and although the garrison at first demanded high terms, they also submitted. After taking Carrigaholt, Ludlow was returning to Limerick, when he was met by Ireton who had determined to share even in that inclement season the labours of the troops, and it was resolved to march into Burren, in the north of the county, to prevent supplies of provisions being sent into Galway, which still held out. It was on this visit that Ludlow remarked of the barony that "it was a country in which there was not water enough to drown a man, wood enough to hang him on, nor earth enough to bury him in, which last is so scarce that the inhabitants steal it from one another."

While in Burren the troops of the parliament took possession of Lemeneagh, "a house of that Conor O'Brien whom (says Ludlow) we had killed near Inchicronan, and finding it indifferent strong, being built with stone, and having a good wall about it, we put a garrison into it, and furnished it with all things necessary."

The day after taking possession of Lemeneagh the principal portion of the troops marched to Clare castle. They found the way thither so rocky that most of the horses of the cavalry lost their shoes, and although they had been sufficiently provided with these articles from the stores, Ludlow states that before the day's march was over, a horse shoe was sold for five shillings.

An incident which occurred on the march from Clare castle to Limerick, shewing that the stern nature of Ireton was not inaccessible to sentiments of pity, deserves to be mentioned here. The lady Honora O'Brien, youngest daughter of the late earl of Thomond, was accused of protecting the goods and cattle of the people who lived in her neighbourhood, under pretence that they belonged to her. Being brought before the lord deputy and charged with this

offence and told by him that he expected a more ingenuous carriage from her ladyship, she burst into tears, and assured him, that if he would forgive her, she would never again do the like. Ireton withdrew as if to determine what he should do under the circumstances, and the lady entreated Ludlow, who witnessed the interview, to intercede for her. On his supporting her prayer, Ireton observed, "as much a cynick as I am, the tears of this woman moved me." The deputy's protection was accordingly continued to the suppliant.

Both deputy and general were now seriously attacked by disease. On the day on which the above-mentioned incident occurred, Ireton ordered Ludlow, who appeared very ill, to halt and take some repose in the castle of Bunratty and attend him on the Monday following at Limerick. Determined not to give way to the symptoms of illness by which he was himself attacked, Ireton proceeded to Limerick, and on the 26th of the month (November, 1651), just four weeks from the day on which the bishop of Emly, O'Brien, when led out to execution, summoned him to appear at the bar of the Almighty to answer for his crimes, accompanying the summons with a prediction that he would not long survive himself, the stern representative of the English parliament in Ireland, expired.

Lord Muskerry, with the shattered remnant of his troops, still held out against the parliament after the surrender of Limerick. It being, however, manifestly fruitless to continue the struggle any longer, commissioners were appointed to treat of a pacification, and terms were agreed on which were signed by Ludlow and Muskerry, the latter giving, as hostages for the due performance of the articles on his part, his own son and Sir Daniel O'Brien. The consequence of this treaty was that about 5,000 horse and foot of the Irish troops laid down their arms and surrendered their horses. The general, who had thus abandoned all further resistance to the parliament, was not permitted to leave the kingdom until he had undergone a trial on a charge of assassinating several Englishmen, of which, however, he was honourably acquitted. He was then permitted to depart, taking with him whatever portion of his troops chose to follow the for-

tunes of their leader. It was the policy of the ruling powers in England to give every opportunity to the Irish soldiers to depart the kingdom, and we are informed by Thurloe the secretary of state of the commonwealth, that Cromwell, by letter from Whitehall in Feb. 1654, gave permission to have troops raised in Ireland for the service of any foreign state not opposed to the commonwealth of England. Under this permission no fewer than 27,000 men in one year left the kingdom. Muskerry proceeded with his men to Spain, where on account of his opposition to the measures of the nuncio Rinuccini in Ireland, he was so coldly received that he entered into a treaty with the Venetian republic to be employed with his men in the service of that state. Colonel Murtough O'Brien, an active partisan officer, and one of the last who, hoping against hope, held out against the parliament, at a later period obtained the usual letters of transportation, and proceeded to Spain at the head of 1,200 men, in the month of April, 1654.^(b)

Murtough O'Brien had hardly landed in Spain, when he experienced the same discouragement which drove Muskerry to abandon the Spanish service. Thurloe's correspondent, writing from that country, says :—

“The Irish are ill-treated at Madrid, and will probably cause the ruin of Spain. * * * * *

They would wish themselves back again in Ireland. Three hundred of them in a body lately deserted from the king of Spain at Fontarabia.”^(c)

In another letter^(d) it is stated that 3,000 Irish troops, headed by their officers, marched in a body to join the French in Catalonia. At this time lord Inchiquin was in command of the French army in that province, and it is not too much to conclude that the prestige of his name added to the ill-usage experienced by the Irish troops from the Spaniards, had a powerful effect in causing his countrymen to transfer their services to the ranks of a nation to whose

(b) Thurloe, vol. ii., p. 224.

(c) Thurloe, State Papers, vol. i., p. 323, 337, 362.

(d) To Thurloe, dated 27th Sept. 1653.

people they bore a closer resemblance in manners and character than to the grave and stately inhabitants of the Spanish peninsula.

The services of lord Inchiquin to the crown of France in withdrawing his countrymen from the Spanish army, and causing them to enter that of France, was extremely agreeable to cardinal Mazarine. Yet, encountered by the influence of Rinuccini, by whom he was represented to the French court as the murderer of the priests of Cashel, he could not, when soliciting the appointment of commander-in-chief of the Irish troops, prevail further than to obtain the command of two regiments. The royalists had not laid aside all hopes of once more trying their fortune in an attempt to overturn the power of that uncrowned personage who proudly preferred the title of protector of the liberties of England to the splendour of an unhereditary diadem. The English secretary was informed that 8,000 or 9,000 Irish troops were to leave the Spanish Netherlands in a body, and were promised by Mazarine to be conveyed either to Scotland or Ireland as would be most convenient for the intended design. Thurloe, who had his spies in every part of Europe, was not long in receiving information of the proceedings meditated by the royalists, and the protector was not slow in resenting the encouragement afforded to them by the French court. Dreading the vengeance of the English commonwealth, the French ministers adopted so cold and reserved a demeanour to Charles that he was obliged to withdraw from France into Germany. It was while resident at Cologne in the latter country that Charles, to convey to Inchiquin his sense of his services in Ireland and on the continent, conferred on him the rank of an earl^(s) in the peerage of Ireland, and nominated him with Ormond and others on his privy-council. Inchiquin continually cherished the hope of being employed in the endeavour to restore his sovereign to the throne, and had been destined to command the troops which were ready for the intended descent in some part of the British islands, when the vigorous measures of the English ministry obliged the French statesmen to change their course. This was a grievous disap-

(s) Vide post, Appendix.

pointment to one of so active and enterprising a genius, and who had now for so many years been an exile from his native country. His letters after the king's retirement from France are very desponding. He stated his fears, that he should never again see his friends in Ireland, but adds that he had hopes of being employed again by his majesty in England before six months. The death of the protector,^(e) and the feeble government of Richard Cromwell, had excited the hopes and encouraged the expectations of the friends and adherents of the royal family that the restoration could not be distant. The tide of opinion set strongly in this direction. A change, prompted no doubt by private interests, came over the views of those who had not dared during the lifetime of Cromwell to oppose his authority, but who now, watching the turn of affairs, were among the foremost to advance the new order of things. In Ireland, the republican Waller, and the in heart royalist Broghill, vainly endeavoured to uphold the authority of the commissioners of parliament. The former, who had sat as one of the late king's judges, endeavoured to maintain the castle of Dublin against Sir Charles Coote, Sir Theophilus Jones, and some others, but after a resistance of five days was obliged to submit, and was sent prisoner to England. Broghill, although he termed it "a ruinous wickedness" to oppose the authority of the commissioners sent by the Rump parliament to replace Henry Cromwell, was in correspondence with the king, and urgently pressed his majesty's arrival in Ireland. The proceedings of Monk, who seemed now to have the destiny of king and people at his disposal, determined his majesty to delay giving compliance to the invitation from Ireland, although urged by the influence of Inchiquin and others to take that step. Ireland, harassed by an internecine war of nearly twenty years' duration, in the progress of which the best and noblest of her sons had lost life, liberty and property, those of them who survived devoting themselves to the service of such of the powers of Europe as afforded an asylum to their exiled sovereign, was certain not to be outdone in demonstrations of loyalty to its king. The de-

(e) 3d Sept. 1656.

claration from Breda soon arrived, and was followed by the proclamation of the royal authority in all the towns of Ireland, with joy unfeigned, but with hopes destined to be disappointed.

Among the vicissitudes of Inchiquin's eventful life his capture by an Algerine corsair must not be omitted. The revolt of Catalonia, and the successful insurrection of the Portuguese against the usurped authority of Spain, both events occurring in the same year (1640), had decided the court of France at a later period to give aid to the insurgents, and the reputation of Inchiquin pointed him out as the person best fitted to carry out those views. Appointed viceroy of the revolted Spanish province some time after his retirement from Ireland, he was placed in command of an auxiliary force destined to assist the Portuguese. At the time the ocean as well as the Mediterranean swarmed with corsairs under the Turkish flag, and when nearly arrived at his destination, Inchiquin, almost in sight of Lisbon, was attacked by the pirate, and after a brave but unsuccessful resistance, in which lord O'Brien his son lost an eye, was overpowered and carried into Algiers. The command of the French auxiliary force was in consequence transferred to count Schomberg. The influence of England had by this time been felt in the Mediterranean, and the dreaded protector of her liberties had obliged the Dey of Algiers to conclude a treaty of peace under the terror of Blake's guns. It was Inchiquin's good fortune also that his capture should have occurred within a year from the death of Cromwell, when the parliament was restored, and the reviving loyalty of the English people began to give signs of life. Whatever were the influences by which they were moved, the newly appointed council of state made a demand on the Dey of Algiers for the immediate release of the lord Inchiquin^(f) and his son, and the gallant soldier was at once set at liberty. He was consoled for this disappointment at the restoration, when Charles had contracted a treaty of marriage with Catherine of Braganza, and had determined to aid the Portuguese still struggling for their emancipa-

(f) Heath's Chron. 440.

tion from the Spanish yoke. Heath states^(g) that in 1662, by virtue of the alliance and treaty with Portugal, forces were sent to assist that kingdom against the Spaniards. These set sail from Dunkirk, lately taken by the united arms of France and England and surrendered to the latter power, and were placed under the chief command of his excellency the earl of Inchiquin, "the famous soldier in Ireland." The troops, it is stated on the same authority, arrived well and in good health on the 29th of June in that year.⁽²⁾

The notices afforded to us of the remaining years of the earl of Inchiquin's life are few and comparatively unimportant. Lord Broghill, whose adhesion to the parliament had been occasioned by the threats of Cromwell, and who had never been considered sincere in his support of the republican faction, having been deprived of his command by Ludlow acting on the orders of the Rump parliament, was for his services in the cause of his sovereign on the restoration, created earl of Orrery and made lord-president of Munster to the exclusion of Inchiquin on account of his religion. In 1665, having had occasion to proceed to England, Orrery left the care of the province to Inchiquin as his vice-president. Thus was terminated an estrangement of many years' duration which had subsisted between these noblemen, and which had grown out of Orrery's adhesion to Cromwell, when Inchiquin was president of Munster. Even so far back as the year 1649 the king exerted himself to have Broghill and Inchiquin reconciled, and wrote to Ormond to that effect. His majesty's letter is found in Orrery's papers, vol. 1, p. 21. The reconciliation was entirely cemented not only by the support given by lord Inchiquin to his friend Orrery when impeached of high treason in 1669 by the discontented commons of England, but also by a double alliance which had taken place between the families of the reconciled friends, Orrery's second son Henry having married the lady Mary, youngest daughter of Inchiquin, while William, the son and successor of the last-named earl, was united to Margaret, Orrery's daughter.

Lord Inchiquin's life was not of long duration. His

(g) Heath's Chron. 511, note.

demise took place on the 9th of September, 1674, at the comparatively early age of 56.⁽³⁾ By his will bearing date the 11th September of the previous year and proved 14th November, 1674, he directed that his body should be buried in the cathedral of Limerick, in such manner as his eldest son William, lord O'Brien, should direct, whom he orders, after the payment of debts and legacies and the marriage portion of his youngest daughter the lady Mary, amounting to £3,000, to erect a decent monument over his grave in such manner as he should think fit. The will contained among other provisions the following :—"Whereas there is a debt of above £200 due to me from the lord viscount Dillon and his son by bond and judgment, I bequeath the same to Patrick Nihill of Limerick, gent., for him to pay and satisfy thereout to my servant Philip Roche FitzDavid, £50 which I owe him ; to William Connery, £100 which I owe him ; £20 to the Franciscan friars of Innis in the county of Clare ; £20 to Richard Assin, and the remainder to be disposed of by him, according to the directions of the said Philip Roche, as well for the performance of the usual duties of the Roman Catholick clergy, as also for other pious uses, as I have already instructed the said Philip. And forasmuch as my said eldest son is now beyond the sea, my will and desire is, that if God shall please to call me out of this world before his coming home, those of my friends that will be by me at the time of my death, shall immediately after my death bury and inter my corpse privately."

Lord O'Brien having been appointed governor of Tangier in Africa in the early part of the year in which his father departed this life, the remains of lord Inchiquin were, according to his own direction as above stated, privately interred in the cathedral of St. Mary, Limerick. The garrison, however, from respect to the memory of so brave and distinguished a soldier, paid the usual honours, and fired minute guns at the funeral.

The estimates formed of the character and conduct of Morrogh O'Brien differ as much as the writers who have given them expression. By the catholics he has been described as the relentless persecutor of themselves and their religion,

and in support of this imputation they point to his conduct at Cashel, and to his putting heretical or presbyterian (in their opinion the same) bishops and clergy into the vacant sees of the province of Munster. On the other hand, the adherents of the republican party before he joined the parliament, and after his abandonment of them, the independents, denounced him as one whose sole aim was self-aggrandisement, and they instance as justifying these charges, his frequent change of sides. But the temper of the times, and the state of parties must always be taken into account, if we attempt anything like a correct estimate of the motives and conduct of the parties who figured in the transactions of those days. It must not be forgotten in weighing the charges advanced against Inchiquin by the catholic party, that foreign agency had been employed to stir up the catholic subjects of Charles to resist his authority and to oppose any peace that did not embrace concessions which it was out of the power of the king to grant, or, if he had the power, which he ought not to concede. Nay, further, that Inchiquin was well aware from his correspondents in the council of Kilkenny, that the nuncio meditated, and went so far as to propose, to confer the kingdom upon either the Pope or the Grand Duke of Tuscany. It is not unreasonable to suppose that in such an alternative, and with such a prospect before him as this, Inchiquin may have considered his own personal interests at stake, and that his determined opposition to the measures of the nuncio and the clergy, may have received additional strength from a view to these interests. How far he may have been influenced by merely religious considerations, if at all, it is scarcely in the power of a writer of the history of those times in the present day to decide. The reader may prefer the estimate given of Inchiquin's motives and conduct by Borlase, a contemporary. They are here submitted to the reader from that author's work, p. 278 :—

“Nor can his change of sides (to which some say he was too mutable) be so properly imputed to any defect of judgment, as to the unhappy crisis of the times ; his own expressions making it clear, *that had all things been the same*

they were pretended to be, he would have continued as he was ; but impostures having been discovered, he thought it ill to persist in their fellowship. Afterwards indeed he changed his religion and thereby gave a suspicion that though he fought against his countrymen, he had a reverence for their idea. Certain it is he had desired much to be president of Munster, nor could anything have barred him of it since his majesty's happy return wherein his servants had the fruits of their fidelity but his change of religion, which equally prejudiced the lord Dillon in the presidency of Connaught, truly observable in them both."

It is obvious from this extract that Inchiquin's protestantism like that of many others in later times, was more of a *political* than a *religious* character. But it was during his exile in France that this change became more evident. Wanting the will or the ability to resist the importunities of Henrietta the widow of his sovereign, aided by Cardinal Mazarine, the virtual ruler of France, who urged that his children should be withdrawn from the influence of their mother a daughter of St. Leger's, painful dissensions sprung up in Inchiquin's family which obliged his wife to return to her friends in England. Lockhart, the English envoy at the French court, informed Thurloe that lady Inchiquin was so persecuted by her husband's instances that her child should be brought up in the catholic religion, that he could not refuse her the charity of a pass to go into England, a favour which he granted from fear of scandalizing the protestants in Paris who were witnesses of the lady's sufferings and greatly commiserated them. Through the influence of lady Inchiquin's friends with the powerful protector whom the cardinal was anxious to conciliate, the child was eventually consigned to the custody of the English ambassador, and Inchiquin threatened, in case of refusal, with banishment and loss of his pensions and appointments in the French service.⁽⁴⁾

As to the accusations brought against him by the republican or independent party and his change of sides, these it is but just to observe he was liable to in common with nearly all the leading men of his time. Castlehaven, while

tendering his services to the government in the suppression of the rising rebellion, was insulted by the lords justices, and even indicted for high treason, and was thus, from the instinct of self-preservation, impelled to join the ranks of the confederates. Yet we find him eventually acting with the royalists, and aiding in the restoration of his sovereign. Taaffe, in like manner, driven to occupy a high command in the armies of the confederates, ended by assisting Ormond in the endeavour to restore the monarchy. Broghill, first a loyalist, then a republican, was in the end one of the most influential in the re-establishment of the royal authority. Nay, Monk himself, whose fortune it was to have the principal share in bringing about this result, was obliged by the course of events and the general inclination to return to the former state of things, to change his conduct and party. Such is the difficulty of keeping a straight course in the midst of revolutions when people do not know what a day or an hour may bring forth. If Inchiquin is to be censured for change of party, there is hardly a man of his day who could escape censure.

The career of Inchiquin as a commander presents some striking points of resemblance to that of captains who have figured on larger theatres than it has been his fortune to occupy. Like some of them he held high command at an early period of life, being only in his twenty-fourth year when, with far inferior forces he defeated lord Mountgarret at Liscarrol. Owen O'Neill, the only officer of undoubted capacity that appeared on the side of the confederates had such an opinion of Inchiquin's ability that he twice declined to encounter him,—once at Kilkenny, which was relieved by the rapid advance of Inchiquin's troops, and a second time, at Fort Falkland or Banagher, when O'Neill found it prudent to retire from the encounter, to the surprise and mortification of the nuncio. But the chief merit of Inchiquin seems to consist in his having, for eight years, with little assistance from England, contrived to subsist his troops and make the war support itself, levying contributions on the part of the country occupied by his soldiers in spite of the utmost efforts of the confederate generals to prevent him.

Of the sons of Morrogh first earl and sixth baron of Inchiquin, namely, William, Charles, and John, the last two left no issue. William succeeded his father, whom he had accompanied to Catalonia, and under whom he served in the operations conducted by the French in that province. On his accession to the title, he was appointed by Charles the second captain-general of his majesty's forces in Africa, and governor of the fort of Tangier, ceded by the Portuguese as a part of the marriage portion of Catherine of Braganza on her union with the king of England. In this employment he continued for six years. In 1689, he and his son William (afterwards third earl) were attainted by the Irish parliament of king James, and their estates sequestrated. After the revolution he was appointed by king William governor of Jamaica, an office which he held for little more than a year, as he died in the month of January, 1691. By his wife, lady Margaret Boyle, William the second earl left three sons, William, Henry, and James, of whom the last two died without issue.

William, third earl and eighth baron of Inchiquin, who, along with his father had been attainted by the parliament of James, served with distinction both on the continent and in Ireland under king William by whom he was appointed governor of Kinsale. After the decease of his majesty he was in 1702 appointed privy-councillor to queen Anne, an office which, on the 9th October, 1714, was confirmed to him on the accession of George the first. He also held, until his decease, the important office of governor of the county of Clare. Dying at Rostellan on the 24th of December, 1719, he was interred in the cathedral of Cloyne.

William, third earl of Inchiquin, left three sons, namely, William, Charles, and James. Of these Charles died unmarried. William, who had sat in the house of commons of England during several parliaments, took his seat in the Irish house of lords for the first time on the 23d September, 1721, as ninth baron and fourth earl of Inchiquin. On the death, in April 1741, of Henry, eighth earl of Thomond, who had received the appointment of governor of Clare on the demise of the third earl of Inchiquin, this im-

portant post again reverted to the Inchiquin family, having been conferred on William, the fourth earl of that title. By his wife, the lady Anne Hamilton, daughter and heiress of the earl of Orkney, William (fourth earl) had issue four sons, William, George, Augustus, and Morrogh. Of these the first-named three died in infancy, leaving Morrogh them surviving. Morrogh was the lord O'Brien named as devisee in tail in the will of Henry, earl of Thomond, and he too died without issue.

The earldom, by the failure of issue of William fourth earl, accordingly devolved on the family of James, third son of William third earl. James had three sons, Morrogh, John,⁽⁵⁾ and Edward. Of these Morrogh became fifth earl, and was raised to the dignity of marquis of Thomond in the year 1800, thus reviving the ancient title which had expired by failure of issue of the eldest branch of the O'Briens. But dying in 1808 without leaving issue, and John his brother also dying without offspring, the dignities of the family vested in the issue of Edward, the third son of James, who was the third son of William, third earl of Inchiquin. The said Edward having departed this life in 1801 before Morrogh the first marquis, leaving two sons, William and James, the title descended to William as second marquis, on whose decease on the 21st August, 1846, without issue, his brother James succeeded to the title and estates of the family. By the demise of this nobleman on the 3d July, 1855, without issue, the marquissate and earldom which had descended for so many generations in the line of Dermot the eldest son of Morrogh who surrendered the crown of Thomond to Henry the eighth for a peerage, came to an end. The barony, however, after the interval of 313 years, vests in Sir Lucius O'Brien, bart. of Dromoland, as descendant of Donogh, the third son of Morrogh the tanist of Thomond.

CHAPTER XXII

A.D. 1653-1667...Proceedings of the English parliament in the settlement of Ireland, and disposal of the forfeited lands...Transplantation of the natives into Connaught and Clare...Cromwell declared lord protector...Relaxation of the orders of transplantation...Letter of Henry Cromwell to Thurloe, and from Fleetwood to the same on this subject...Visit of Inchiquin's son to Henry Cromwell...Letter of the latter to Thurloe...Lord Thomond solicits favours from the protector's government...Measures adopted on the restoration of the monarchy to adjust the claims of the royalists and republicans in Ireland...The royal declaration the basis of the act of settlement...Sir Daniel O'Brien created viscount Clare...The earl of Inchiquin and the viscount Clare restored to their estates...Like favour conferred on Daniel O'Brien of Duagh, ancestor of the O'Briens of Ennistymond...Restoration to their properties of the Dromoland O'Briens in the person of Donogh, subsequently the first baronet...War declared between England and Holland, and between the former and France...Descent on the Irish coast apprehended...Measures of defence adopted by the earl of Orrery, lord president of Munster...Tender of service by the earl of Inchiquin...Rich prize taken by Charles O'Brien, second son of lord Inchiquin...Peace of Breda.

It will now be necessary to review the state of Ireland on its subjugation by the arms of the parliament, and the arrangements adopted there in the period preceding the restoration.

The surrender of Limerick was, after a brief and unsuccessful struggle on the part of lord Clanrickarde and the clergy, followed by that of Galway, when further resistance to the arms of the victorious commonwealth being at an end, nothing remained to the conquerors to do but to dispose of the spoil. How this part of the drama was performed, and its effects on the county of Clare, are now to be shown.

Soon after the outbreak of the rebellion in Ireland, the act of the English parliament, the 17th and 18th of Charles the first, was passed, encouraging persons willing to *adventure* their money on loans to the government to suppress the rebellion. By this act, lenders were to receive out of the

estates *which should be forfeited in Ireland*, one thousand acres in the province of Leinster for every sum of £600 subscribed, the same quantity in Munster for £450, and in Ulster for £200. Considering the longing eye cast in the reigns of Charles and James on Irish lands by those who never lost sight of the scheme of forming plantations in that country, it will be easily credited that vast sums were subscribed by the monied interest in England. It was now thought, after the lapse of ten years, high time to realise the fruits of these speculations.

But another party also had to be considered in the disposal of the forfeitures. These were the soldiers through whose labours and sufferings victory had been achieved and the rebellion suppressed. Considerable arrears of pay had been due to officers and soldiers, and now that the war was at an end, both parties, adventurers and army, were to receive the rewards of their investments, whether of their capital or of labour, from the supreme authority in the state, the parliament.

For this purpose an order of the council of state bearing date 1st June, 1653, was directed to certain persons therein named, appointing them to sit as a committee at Grocers' Hall, London, at eight o'clock in the morning of the 20th July next ensuing, "to regulate, order, and dispose the drawing of lots for ascertaining to the said adventurers where their dividends of lands shall be." Another commission, bearing date the 22d June in the same year, was addressed to Fleetwood, lord deputy, (the son-in-law of Cromwell), Ludlow, lieutenant-general of the horse, Miles Corbet, and John Jones, with certain instructions for the survey and admeasurement of the lands, tenements, and hereditaments forfeited in Ireland, and also of all lands, &c., belonging to the crown of England in the year 1630, or since; and for carrying out certain other acts of parliament and ordinances of state enumerated in their commission. In carrying out these instructions it was ordered, that adventurers might be at liberty to join in one and the same lot, provided that it did not exceed £1000, and that no more lots be assigned for Munster than should amount to

the sum of £110,000 ; for Leinster to that of £205,000 ; and for Ulster, £45,000, and that all monies should be accounted as doubled which were brought in under the ordinances of the 14th July, 1643, and the 13th November, 1647, to make up the aforesaid sums.

For the satisfaction of the adventurers and soldiers the forfeited lands in the following ten counties were assigned, viz. :—Limerick, Tipperary, Waterford, in Munster ; Meath, Westmeath, King's and Queen's counties, in Leinster ; and Antrim, Armagh, and Down, in Ulster ; the distribution to be by moieties in each to the adventurers and soldiers respectively. These instructions and ordinances were confirmed by an act of parliament passed on the 26th September, 1653, which contained an additional clause, that the counties of Down, Antrim, and Armagh, should be charged with the further sum of three hundred and sixty thousand pounds for the satisfaction of adventurers who had subscribed their money and for the payment of the arrears due to the soldiers, one moiety to each respectively. It was further provided by this act that if the moiety of the ten counties above mentioned should not be sufficient to satisfy the debt of the adventurers, the deficiency should be supplied by one moiety out of the forfeited lands in the county of Louth, except the barony of Ardee. And that if the moiety in the ten counties already named should not suffice for the payments to be made to the army, they should be paid from the other moiety in Louth, or out of forfeited lands in other parts of Ireland to be named by the commissioners. It was also further enacted, that to satisfy the arrears of so much of the army as had been lately, or were about to be, disbanded, so much of the forfeited lands in the province of Connaught and county of Clare, as was included in a belt commencing at the extremity of one statute mile round the town of Sligo, and so "winging upon the sea coast," not above four miles distant from the sea, and along the north bank of the river Shannon to the city of Limerick, and thence to Athlone, should be set apart and assigned to them, care being taken that the assigned lands should lie together without intervals.

In the lottery directed to be held at Grocers'-hall, a certificate was to be given to each adventurer of the proportion of lands to which he was entitled, and this being copied, was to be entered into a book, and kept as a permanent record to future generations.

The statute having established the machinery for settling the claims of the adventurers and securing them in the quiet enjoyment of the lands so allotted to them by placing soldiers side by side with them in their respective moieties of the forfeited lands, proceeded to clear the greater part of three provinces for their reception. For this purpose it was enacted that all persons in Ireland who had right to articles or to any favour and mercy held forth by the act for the settlement of Ireland, should, before the 1st of May, 1654, remove and transplant themselves into the province of Connaught or county of Clare, there to inhabit and abide, and to have set forth to them such proportions of land, and for such estates or terms, and under such conditions and reservations, as should be answerable in value to those held by them under their articles, in such place and manner as should be authorised by the commissioners. And this was enforced by a penalty unexampled in the history of England, as follows :—

“And that whatsoever person or persons aforesaid shall, after the said first day of May, 1654, be found inhabiting or remaining in any part of the provinces of Leinster, Munster, or Ulster (except in the said county of Clare), or (without a pass from you or any of you, or under the hand and seal of such person or persons as shall be authorised by you to that purpose) travelling in any of the said provinces (except the said county of Clare), he and they shall be reported spies and enemies, and shall for the same suffer death.” A further clause provided that none of the persons so ordered to remove into Connaught or Clare should be admitted into any port, town, or garrison within the said province and county, without license, or should keep arms used in war or ammunition, under the penalty of being tried by a court-martial, and if found guilty, of suffering death.

Other restrictions, not immediately connected with the

purpose of this narrative, are contained in the statute in question. Those relative to the transplantation were, so far as Clare is concerned, to be thus put in force,^(a) the inhabitants of the county of Kerry to be transplanted into the baronies of Burren and Inchiquin, those of the counties of Kilkenny, Westmeath, Longford, King's County, and Tipperary, into the baronies of Tulla, Bunratty, Islands, Corcomroe, Clonderalaw, Moyarta, and Ibrickan. Although a considerable part of the county was appropriated to the disbanded troops of the commonwealth by the adoption of the line on the sea-coast and the Shannon, it appears there was room for transplanted persons, the county having been nearly denuded of its inhabitants ; for in their petition to be relieved from the monthly assessment, they state, that the country was "totally ruined and deserted, and that of thirteen hundred ploughlands which Clare contained, there were not more than forty at the most inhabited, these lying in the barony of Bunratty."

But before the year in which these sanguinary edicts were promulgated had expired, an extraordinary revolution had taken place in England, which was not without important effects in Ireland. Oliver Cromwell was invested with supreme authority, and proclaimed protector of the liberties of England on the 19th of December, 1653. In the instructions which he transmitted to the deputy and council in Dublin for the government of Ireland, the protector suggested that they might dispense where necessary with the orders for the transplantation of the natives to Connaught and Clare, and with the penalties and forfeitures imposed on those who should be found to have transgressed these orders.^(b)

Various reasons conspired to produce this relaxation of the severe policy of the government. Besides the conspiracies against the life of the protector which he was enabled by timely notice to evade, attempts were constantly made by the friends and dependents of the royal family to collect troops, and to prepare for a descent in such parts of the British islands as afforded most likelihood of being at-

(a) Order for transplantation, 12 Feb. 1655.

(b) Thurloe, ii. vol. 508.

tended with success. Emissaries were despatched from various parts of the continent to Ireland to prepare the natives for an invasion, and to keep up the spirits of those who were extruded from their lands to make way for the adventurers and soldiers of the commonwealth. The act for the transplantation had been translated into the French, Italian and Latin languages and widely circulated, to shew to the world the cruelty practised on the Irish natives by the governing power in England. And it was freely spoken on the continent that the severity of the transplantation was the only cause that the Irish looked for the return of king Charles. The act had in fact become impossible of execution from its very severity. Henry Cromwell, writing on this subject to the secretary in England, Thurloe, 12th March, 1655, thus expresses himself:—^(c)

“The council last week gave, by an express information to his highness, that we had secured (on the account of non-transplantation) several Irish who had been in arms, and are like again to be troublesome in case there should be any new attempts. It was offered to his highness (they being clearly at our mercy) that it would be good service to the public to send these men either to some foreign plantation or to some other service. We continue them both to our charge and trouble in restraint till we receive his highness's pleasure, which I desire you would hasten to us. I believe the number of them is about 1000.”

And on the 4th July in the same year, Fleetwood, writing to Thurloe, says:—

“The transplantation is obstructed by our own orders. The words are so penned as to give parties the liberty to keep Irish proprietors on their estates, and this is disowned by most of the council as not being within their intention to grant.”

Further, he says: “I see clearly we must encounter more difficulties when the adventurers and soldiers are in possession, Irish tenants being easier to get, and of more present profit than English.”

The severity of the orders for transplantation in fact de-

^(c) Thurloe, iv. vol. 606.

feated the objects of the council, many of whom had obtained large grants of land, which, if denuded of the population, became valueless. Public opinion in England besides was divided, and able treatises were written to show the impolicy of carrying out the orders to their full extent. One of these attributed to Vincent Gookin, himself a commissioner for setting out lands to the adventurers and soldiers, produced a great effect. But above all, the change in the policy of the government must be taken into account, Cromwell having now attained the object of his ambition, the protectorate. The orders for the transplantation were accordingly relaxed, but not before a considerable number of persons had been removed to the county of Clare from the adjoining counties of Kerry and Tipperary, whence the removal could be accomplished with least difficulty.

Ireland, having by the arms and policy of the English commonwealth been converted into a comparative solitude, had peace. The mission of the protector's son Henry was still further calculated to produce this effect. To what a degree the deputy had succeeded in restoring confidence among the Irish may be seen in the circumstance that the son of Inchiquin did not scruple to trust himself to pay a visit to the protector's son at the very seat of his government. If there was one person more than another obnoxious to the government of Cromwell it was the earl of Inchiquin who deserted the republican party just at the time that the future protector was laying the foundation of his power and moulding the army to his ambitious projects. Writing to Thurloe on the 7th April, 1658, Henry Cromwell says:—

“Here came to me Inchiquin's son without anything like pass or permission. He hath been three weeks landed in Munster conversing there with his father's friends and interest. He is a young man, nevertheless I would not be too secure. Indeed I will not imprison him, but only bid him not to return without notice given me. In the meantime let me have your advice concerning him. I hope there is no great matter in the thing, yet I think it fit to discourage presumptions of this kind.”

That other members of this family were not indisposed

to acquiesce in the protector's government appears from a letter written on the 15th December preceding the date of the foregoing, and addressed from London by Fleetwood to Henry Cromwell. It is as follows :—^(d)

“Lord Thomond has been here asking that I should remind you of an antient grant to his predecessors, the government of Thomond. I know you will shew as much respect as becomes you with a due regard to the public safety.”

That such a request was made and received in so favourable a manner shews that the two leading branches of the O'Briens occupied very different positions in the estimation of those who were at the time in power. But it cannot have escaped the recollection of the reader that in 1646 the earl of Thomond, who now sought the government of his native county, had surrendered to the troops of the parliament his strong castle of Bunratty, and had since that time lived in retirement in England, giving no trouble to the occupants of power, while on the contrary, Inchiquin's adhesion to the royal interests brought on him the hatred of the republicans by whom he had been declared to have forfeited life and estates, and on account of which he had become an exile, dependent on his pay and pension in a foreign service for his own support and that of his family. The short space of two years changed his position, as it did likewise that of other faithful followers of their sovereign's fortunes.

The restoration of Charles the second to the throne of his ancestors was, as a matter of course, attended with a prosperous change to those who had with such singular devotion adhered through good and evil report to the monarch's fortunes. In the train of the prince there returned to their native country the earl of Inchiquin and his family, Daniel O'Brien the grandson of Sir Daniel of Carrigaholt and Moyarta, and several others. All these exiles now considered their restoration to their homes and properties as the certain and immediate reward of their fidelity, and looked with some impatience to be put in possession of their estates. Some had even entered on their lands by force, and

^(d) Thurloe, vi. vol 681.

dispossessed those who had been settled on these estates by an act of the parliament of the commonwealth. Besides those persons who had from time to time entered into the armies of foreign princes who had afforded an asylum to their exiled sovereign, and at his instance had, when it was calculated to promote his interests, transferred their services from one power to another, there was a particular class of persons entitled to his majesty's consideration in an especial manner. These were the protestant officers who had served in Ireland from the beginning of the war to the year 1649, and who as royalists had been denied any satisfaction by Cromwell for their arrears of pay. To adjust these claims and resettle a country already in possession of the adventurers and soldiers of the commonwealth was now the unwelcome but inevitable duty of the restored monarch and his ministers.

Various plans were proposed for satisfying the obviously just claims of "innocent" *papists* or natives, these terms being considered synonymous, as well as for satisfying the demands of the "*forty-nine*" officers, as those were termed, who had been in the royal service *previous* to June, 1649. Broghill, now created earl of Orrery, Sir John Clotworthy and Sir Audley Mervyn, three of the leading undertakers, made an estimate of lands which it was thought would be sufficient, after the adventurers and soldiers had been confirmed in their possessions, to recompense or *reprize* the innocent Irish. The plan was submitted to the king and, in the conflict of claims by which he was beset, readily adopted. His majesty, in accordance with the suggestions of the principal undertakers, issued a declaration which was to be embodied in an act of the Irish parliament for the *settlement* of the claims of all parties concerned. This important document contained the following provisions:—

In the first place, the adventurers were to be confirmed in the lands possessed by them on the 7th day of May, 1659, agreeably to the act of the 17th and 18th of Charles the first, on the faith of which they had advanced their money.

In the second place, his majesty confirmed to Cromwell's soldiers the lands allotted for their pay, with the exception,

however, of church lands, of estates procured by fraud, of lands possessed by the persons excepted out of the act of oblivion and indemnity, and those who since the restoration had been concerned in disturbing the public peace.

In the next place the royalist officers, otherwise styled the forty-nine men, who had served *before* the month of June, 1649, and who had not yet received lands for their pay, were to be satisfied with lands, houses or other securities, out of which they were to receive an immediate instalment of twelve shillings and sixpence in the pound, with the prospect of full payment at a subsequent period, if lands sufficient for the purpose could be found.

Protestants, whose estates had been given to adventurers or soldiers of the commonwealth, were to be restored, unless they had been in rebellion before the cessation of September, 1643, or had taken out decrees for lands in Connaught or Clare. The parties who were thus to be removed were to be *reprized*, but were not liable to account for *mesne* profits.

Innocent papists, although they had taken lands in Connaught or Clare, were to be restored to their estates, and the parties thus removed were to be *reprized*. But innocent papists who had had properties in towns, instead of being restored to these properties, were to be reprized in the neighbourhood.

Papists who submitted and adhered to the peace of 1648, if they *staid at home*, sued out decrees and got lands in Connaught or Clare, were to be held bound by their own acts.

Those who had not staid at home, but had gone abroad and served under the royal ensigns, were to be restored to their old possessions, but not until the adventurers and soldiers of the commonwealth should be satisfied for their disbursements or reprized.

Thirty-six of the Irish nobility and gentry were named in the declaration as objects of the king's special favour. Among these held a principal place the earl of Inchiquin, Sir Daniel O'Brien of Carrigaholt and his sons, colonel Christopher O'Brien, brother of lord Inchiquin, and others of that family.

This declaration on its being received in Ireland was passed by the Irish parliament, and is the foundation of the act of settlement. Its provisions were loudly exclaimed against, and it became necessary to have them reconsidered and explained. It was found that sufficient lands were not to be had to reprice those who under the 14th and 15th of Charles the second, chap. 2, were to be removed to make way for parties contemplated to be restored by the act of settlement. The difficulty was got over by a proposal on the part of the Irish catholics that the adventurers and soldiers should resign one-third of the lands enjoyed by them respectively on the 7th May, 1659. This proposal being accepted, a bill of explanation was drawn up, in which the names of twenty additional persons were included whom the king intended to restore to their estates, and who had not been comprised in the act of settlement. This on being passed by the Irish parliament became the act of explanation, and was enacted in the 17th and 18th years of Charles the second, anno 1665. In the interval between the passing of the two statutes in question, the merits of the junior branch of the Thomond family were recognised and rewarded by the elevation of Sir Daniel O'Brien to the dignity of the peerage by the title of viscount of Clare.^(r) This promotion was caused by the interest felt by the king in the younger Daniel the grandson of the new peer, who had not *staid at home*, but ventured life and fortune in foreign services for the sake of his exiled sovereign. The considerations moving his majesty to the grant of this peerage are recited in the preamble to the letters patent of the 11th July, 1662, and bear a noble and just testimony to the loyalty and devotion of the O'Briens of Carrigaholt, qualities, the persevering in which during the reign of his successor, brought on their possessor once more, exile and loss of property, and occasioned the permanent residence of the viscounts of Clare in France.

The act of settlement contained provisions for the restoration to their properties of Colonel Christopher O'Brien, brother to the earl of Inchiquin, Captain Dermot O'Brien, brother to Colonel Murtoagh, Captain Michael Morrissey,

(r) Vide post, Appendix.

captain Murtoagh Clanchy, ensign Torlogh O'Hehir, and some others who were deemed from "special merit" entitled to be regarded as objects of the royal favour. But the greatest gainer by, as he was certainly the most entitled to, the gratitude of the restored monarch, was the earl of Inchiquin. By the 104th section of the act of explanation, 17, 18 Car. 2, ch. 2, he was awarded a sum of £8000 as compensation for the losses he had sustained in his majesty's service. His estates in the counties of Clare, Limerick, Tipperary, and Cork were restored, amounting in the first of these to 39,961 statute acres, in Limerick to 1138, in Tipperary to 312, and in Cork to 15,565 acres. It is worthy of notice that in this grant of the Cork property there was a reservation to Inchiquin's uncle Edmond Fitzgerald and his family, of such right as he or they might be enabled to establish to Rostellan Castle and two thousand acres of the land contiguous thereto. Inchiquin's possession of this castle which thenceforward became the favorite residence of his successors, gave occasion to the enemies of his ally Orrery to attack the latter nobleman on the ground of mal-administration in his judicial capacity as president of Munster. The third article in the impeachment of Orrery ^(e) by the discontented commons in the year 1669 was, "that he dispossessed Edmond Fitzgerald of a house and two thousand acres of land on pretence of a statute acknowledged to the earl of Inchiquin, and which statute was never executed according to law." The defence of Orrery was, that the presidential court of Munster had jurisdiction in cases of restoring and quieting possession when the party had been three years in occupation,—that lord Inchiquin had presented a petition to the court, and had made an affidavit that he had been three years in possession, and that he had been ousted by force,—and lastly, that Fitzgerald was a notorious papist, and that the house was a stronghold, and near the sea.

Considering the temper of the times, and the severity with which the laws against recusants were enforced, there

(e) Orrery's Mem. vol. i. pp. 111-121.

can be no doubt that the last-mentioned argument fully disposed of the third article of the impeachment.

The next objects of the royal favour were the newly-created viscount Clare and his family. Sir Daniel of Moyarta and Carrigaholt who lived to witness and profit by the restoration of Charles, could not have been under four-score years of age when raised to the peerage. In the last year of the previous century, the Four Masters record that he was placed in command of the troops of Elizabeth by his brother Donogh, the great earl of Thomond, and it is hardly to be supposed that such a charge would be imposed on a minor. After a life chequered by almost as many vicissitudes as Inchiquin himself, having witnessed the invasion of his native country by the Spaniards and their defeat,—having sat in the eventful parliaments of the first and second of the Stuart princes,—retired from the parliament assembled in 1639 to take his place in the confederation of Kilkenny,—seen his extensive estates occupied by the transplanted of Cromwell,—the act of settlement restored to him and his descendants eighty-four thousand three hundred and thirty-nine acres of land in the baronies of Moyarta, Bunratty, Inchiquin, and Islands in the county of Clare, with some smaller portions of land in the barony of Connello in the county of Limerick. As lord Clare was of very advanced age, in pursuance of the proviso in the act of settlement an act was passed for settling the estates on Daniel, the grandson, who had petitioned the crown to be restored without reprisals. The remarkable manner in which this petition was answered, and the degree of royal favour accorded to the petitioner, is thus set forth in the act of explanation, sec. 3 :—

“And be it enacted, that all and singular the messuages, castles, manors, lands, tenements, and other the hereditaments whereof Daniel O'Brien, now lord viscount of Clare, or his brother Teige O'Brien, or Conor O'Brien, son and heir apparent of the said viscount, or Morrogh O'Brien, one other of the sons of the said viscount, or any person in trust for them or any of them, were on the 22d of October, 1641, lawfully seized of any estate of inheritance or of a

term of years yet in being, shall be by the commissioners for executing this act, set out and allotted unto Daniel O'Brien, Esq., son and heir to Conor, *without any previous reprisal, and that until such settlement, it shall be lawful for the said Daniel O'Brien to enter upon and keep possession of the premises*, and that all and every the adventurers and soldiers, protestant purchasers of lands in Connaught and Clare, and commissioned officers who served before the 5th June, 1649, who shall be removed to make way for such restitution, shall be satisfied by the allotment of some other forfeited lands as may be equal to their two-thirds parts respectively, and all the persons transplanted into any parts of the premises shall have full satisfaction out of the forfeited lands undisposed of to the English protestants, as the lord-lieutenant and council shall think fit."

By the 118th section it was enacted, that as Colonel Christopher O'Brien was one of those persons who merited the special favour of his majesty, and had, since the passing of the act of settlement, departed this life without leaving issue, his property should be given to his brother the earl of Inchiquin.

Similar favours were conferred on Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, John Macnamara of Creevagh, and a few others specially named in his majesty's declaration. These were ordered to be put in possession of their estates without further proof.

Daniel O'Brien of Duagh, notwithstanding his former opposition to the English, and his having been an active member of the confederation of Kilkenny, was restored to his castle and to two thousand acres of land. The grandson of this Daniel, namely, Donogh, the father of Christopher of Ennistymond, is recorded as one of those who, in the thirty-second of Charles, in virtue of the acts of settlement and explanation, had an enrolment made of estates in his own right and of others in that devolving on him as son and heir of his mother, More or Mary Butler, otherwise O'Brien.

Of the numerous branches of the O'Brien family destined to share the benefits of the restoration, none were

more entitled from their sufferings and loyalty to particular notice, than that of Conor of Lemeneagh. On the breaking out of the rebellion Inchiquin had appointed Conor O'Brien to take his place in maintaining order among the discontented factions of the county of Clare, while he himself was engaged in the south of the kingdom in co-operating with his father-in-law, Sir William St. Leger, to oppose the confederate armies of the council of Kilkenny. The earl of Thomond having at an early period of the struggle quitted the kingdom a prey to civil war, and Inchiquin's brother Christopher having along with other leading members of his name joined the confederation, there remained to support the royal cause but Conor of Lemeneagh. The reader has seen how this chieftain sacrificed his life at the head of his troops in a skirmish at Inchicronan with those commanded by Ludlow, and how his castle of Lemeneagh was garrisoned by the parliamentary forces. From that occupation dates the desertion of this noble mansion by the Dromoland O'Briens. Occupied by the soldiers of the commonwealth until the restoration, its fine avenues of ornamental timber the stocks or stools of which are visible to our own times, supplied fuel to the garrison in a country particularly destitute of that necessary article. Expelled from her home with her orphan child Donogh, the widowed mother was compelled to take up her abode in the adjoining village,^(a) where the O'Brien residence is still pointed out, and, with a different fortune from the baronial mansion of Lemeneagh, yet inhabited. Donogh, the Sir Donogh of Dromoland, the first baronet of the family, was scarce ten years of age at the death of his father. It is not surprising, then, that on the passing of the acts of settlement and explanation he was particularly pointed out as entitled to be restored to his ancestral estates. In the abstracts of grants under these statutes he is returned as having enrolled decrees for two thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven acres of land in the baronies of Inchiquin and Bunratty.^(b) Vast were the changes produced in the county of Clare by

(a) Corofin.

(b) See 15th Report of Commrs. on Public Records, vol. iii. folio. London 1825.

the operation of the acts of settlement and explanation. The leading families of that county eighty years before, have been enumerated in the indenture made with Sir John Perrot in 1585. With the exception of Sir Edward Waterhouse, Luke Brady, Edward White, and George Cusacke, the names in that instrument are those of the earl of Thomond, the baron of Inchiquin, the bishops of Killaloe and Kilfenora, also O'Briens, together with a long list of the same family, Macnamaras, Macmahons, O'Deas, O'Loughlin, Clanchys, and some others. Between adventurers, soldiers, and transplanted families, no fewer than one hundred and fifty names are recorded of persons who enrolled decrees for lands in Clare under the acts of settlement and explanation on the restoration of Charles the second. It cannot then be matter for surprise that Clare for a long time furnished cause for anxiety if not alarm to the president of Munster, within whose jurisdiction that county at the time was placed. Hemmed in by the belt of the mile line of military colonists—for the arrangement of the commonwealth leaders was but slightly disturbed at the restoration—the disputes about land were of common and almost daily occurrence, and these disputes sometimes reached so far as to be brought before the highest tribunal in the land. The journals of the Irish parliament inform us that on the 15th April, 1663, the earl of Thomond was obliged to petition the Irish lords against an order of the commons in favour of Colonel Carey Dillon, who had intruded on the earl's property, the latter alleging that he had been in possession for the three years last past and was therefore entitled to peaceable possession. This was but one among many instances of the like nature.

Charles was scarcely seated on the throne when the commercial jealousy of England precipitated a war with the Dutch which produced those brilliant struggles for pre-eminence between the rival powers illustrative of the early history of the English navy. France, afraid of the consequences to herself, declared war against the former power, and a descent on the coast of England was daily expected. The vulnerable point, then, as often since, was felt to be

Ireland, and particularly the south and west portions of the kingdom which afforded such facilities for the apprehended descent. Notwithstanding the devotion of the catholics to the cause of Charles and the share they had in his restoration, they were viewed with jealousy by the parliament, and the laws against their clergy, both secular and regular, were strictly enforced. The earl of Orrery, the lord Broghill of Charles the first and the commonwealth, was, on the restoration, appointed president of Munster, and distinguished himself by his activity against the friars, who were looked on as emissaries of France. This nobleman writing from Charleville on the 4th January, 1666, to Ormond, the lord-lieutenant, says,^(c) "that he had, by an order to the new sheriff of Clare, seized on the friars, four in number, who had established themselves in a monastery at a place called Rooscagh, in the district of Brentra in that county, and had them transmitted to the county jail, but that edifice being ruinous they were let out on bail.⁽¹⁾ The papists in that county, he observes, are grown very insolent, one of the Mahonys having given the high sheriff a box on the ear, and one of the Macnamaras having run a justice of the peace through the arm for appearing against him at the quarter sessions."

It would appear that Clare was, in the year of which we write, poorly supplied with regular troops. On the 15th June lord Orrery from Charleville, writes as follows:—^(d) "We have one company in Clare, viz., major-general Ingoldsby's. It was only garrisoned there to keep that castle, and to have an eye on the transplanted Irish. If your grace approves of it, I would send to my lord Thomond's steward to take care of his lordship's castle, and thereby get one company to strengthen Kinsale or Bantry fort."

Ten days previously he said, "Colonel Daniel O'Brien of Clare has very worthily in these alarms sent me not only an assurance of his steady loyalty to his majesty, but also an assurance of the ill inclinations of many Irish in that county, and of his readiness to suppress them if they rise,

(c) Orrery Mem. vol. ii. 109.

(d) Mem. vol. ii. 123.

which I pray your grace to take notice of to him as I have done it with my thanks for it."

As the army had been, on the restoration, reduced to 4000 foot and 1000 horse, besides a few garrisons, it is no wonder that great alarm should be felt. This was particularly the case in Ireland, which had been during the commonwealth so studiously drained of military men. A few volunteer corps appeared to be the only defence at hand, and even these were neglected. Lieutenant Colpoys of lord Ibrickan's troop, informs Orrery that the troop was neglected, lord Ibrickan not being in the kingdom. This young nobleman, who had been chosen one of the representatives of Clare in the parliament summoned at the restoration, had obtained leave of absence and gone to England, leaving the duties of the representation to be performed by his colleague Sir Henry Ingoldsby, one of Cromwell's officers who had obtained a large grant of lands in Clare and seen reason accordingly to support the new order of things.

The alarm of invasion continued to perplex the lord president for the greater part of the year 1667. Rumours of an intended rising in Clare on the arrival of the French continued to spread. On the 2d July, Orrery writes that "he had sent an express to Carrigaholt to Colonel Daniel O'Brien to be very watchful and prevent the looser people there from turning tories." On the 5th he receives a reply from Daniel O'Brien that he would keep an eye on the county. And lord O'Brien reached him at Kinsale with a letter from his father the earl of Inchiquin, tendering his services as a volunteer against the French should they venture to land. On the 12th of July, Orrery communicates to the government the intelligence that Mortogh O'Brien and colonel Macdonnell, brother to Colkitto who fell at Knocknoness in the engagement in which Taaffe had been defeated by Inchiquin, had been appointed to high commands in the French army destined to invade Ireland.

Within two days from the date of the foregoing despatch Orrery had to communicate further disagreeable news. Charles O'Brien, Inchiquin's second son, who was in command of the Advice, was sent by Sir Jeremiah Smith, whose

squadron had entered Timoleague bay, to inform the president that he apprehended if the ships came to land for repairs, the seamen would desert.^(e) This unpleasant intelligence was somewhat compensated for by the capture of a rich Dutch prize by Captain O'Brien, containing thirteen chests of silver, each amounting to the sum of eighteen hundred pounds. But the far more agreeable communication that peace was agreed on between the belligerents, was, a few days after, made to the Irish government, and dispelled all further fears of invasion. The peace of Breda, signed on the 10th of July, 1667, extinguished the hopes of all those in Ireland who expected to reap benefit from the further continuance of hostilities between France and England.

The alteration, now scarcely concealed, in the king's religious sentiments,—the hopelessness of a direct heir to the crown,—and the avowed conformity to the doctrines of the church of Rome professed by the duke of York, pointed to the accession of that prince as the event which was to afford the Irish people that relief for which they had so long but so fruitlessly prayed.

(e) Orrery, vol. ii. 234.

CHAPTER XXIII.

A.D. 1667-1692...Accession of James the second...Recal of the duke of Ormond, and appointment of the earl of Clarendon as lord-lieutenant of Ireland... Alarm of the Irish protestants at the apprehended repeal of the acts of settlement, and explanation...Clarendon superseded by Tyrconnel...Protestant exodus...Dismissal of protestant officers by Tyrconnel...Irish army embodied...Lord Clare's three regiments...Landing of king James at Kinsale, who appoints lord Clare governor of Cork...Irish parliament of James, their proceedings...Numerous attainders.. Connection of the Dromoland O'Briens with the royal family...Surrender of Limerick, and departure of Irish troops to France...Third confiscation of Irish properties...Disposal and amount of the forfeited estates...Commissioners of claims...Particulars of lord Clare's forfeitures.

THE reader has seen incidentally noticed in the course of these pages, but what is more fully developed in every account claiming to be impartial of the transactions of the seventeenth century in Ireland, the progress of that course of forfeiture and confiscation by which many thousands of innocent natives were deprived of their properties, not for having entered into rebellion against their lawful sovereign, but for too faithfully adhering to the fortunes of Charles the second. These "innocent papists," whose cases, though guaranteed by the royal promise, were too numerous to be heard, and the justice of whose claims must have presented an insurmountable obstacle to the rapacity of the courtiers and favourites of the restored king, were deprived of all hope by the passing of the acts of settlement and explanation. The injunction of the monarch to his ministers and parliament to have a regard to his honour and the promises made to his Irish subjects, and his declaration, made memorable by its violation, that he should "always remember the deep affection which a great part of that nation had manifested for us during our sojourn beyond the seas,

conduct which on their part is most worthy of our protection, favour, and justice," were alike by ministers and the sovereign disregarded and evaded. From Charles the injured natives had no hope. They naturally regarded the devolution of the crown to his successor as the event which was to afford them the justice so long denied, and which should restore to them those inheritances which they were conscious they had never justly forfeited.

By the death of Charles the second on the 6th of February, 1685, N. S. his brother James succeeded to the throne. The duke of Ormond, the main support of the protestant interest in Ireland, whose further continuance in the viceroyalty was deemed inconsistent with the king's views towards the catholics, was soon after recalled, and the earl of Clarendon, brother-in-law to the king, appointed in his room. Not to alarm the protestant possessors of property in this kingdom, Clarendon was instructed to declare that the king had no intention of altering the acts of settlement and explanation. This intimation alarmed the leaders of the catholic party, who, aware of the leanings of the king in their favour, went so far as to petition for a general reversal of the outlawries occasioned by the insurrection of the year 1641. When it is considered that the lapse of twenty years since the passing of the acts of settlement and explanation, must have made great and numerous changes in the possession of land in Ireland, we cannot wonder at the petitioners being told by the lord-lieutenant that such a proposal "would greatly alarm the English, and perhaps startle some of the Irish too, who had gotten new estates." The reply was deemed unsatisfactory, and an application to the throne itself decided on. At the head of the Irish gentry, Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnel, repaired to the king to make their complaints known, and was graciously received. The zeal of Tyrconnel in his advocacy of the cause of the Irish sufferers by the act of settlement, and the coincidence of his views with those of the sovereign, were rewarded by his being sent back to Ireland with power to command and regulate the military force of the kingdom independently of the lord lieutenant. He received

besides, particular orders to admit catholics into corporations, and to confer on persons of that persuasion the offices of sheriff and justice of the peace. This clashing of authorities and conflict of opinions between the commander-in-chief of the army and the viceroy, could not be long continued. It was terminated by an order from the king to the earl of Clarendon to surrender the sword of state to Tyrconnel, who, with the title of lord deputy, was directed to take charge of the government of Ireland.

The departure of Clarendon was the signal for the *exodus* of no fewer than fifteen hundred of the protestant families of Dublin and its neighbourhood, who, dreading the furious zeal of the new viceroy for his co-religionists, sought refuge for the most part in Holland, where those designs were being matured which ended in the invasion of England by the prince of Orange. Tyrconnel was earlier aware of the intended descent than James or his minister Sunderland, and prepared his measures accordingly. Dismissing such of the protestant officers of the army as had not accompanied Clarendon on his departure, he issued commissions to the catholic nobility and gentry to enrol their tenants and retainers, and to form a force for the defence of the kingdom and the maintenance of the authority of the king, his friend and master. The call was answered with alacrity, and the spring of 1689 saw embodied, in addition to guards, seven regiments of cavalry and forty-two of infantry, men and officers equally animated with loyalty to a sovereign from whom they were led to expect the long deferred fulfilment of their hopes and expectations.

Among the foremost of those who responded to the call of the viceroy was Daniel O'Brien, the third viscount Clare. Attached to the sovereign from having shared his exile during the usurpation of Cromwell, and being rewarded by a restoration to his extensive estates so soon to be sacrificed to a sense of loyalty and honour, this nobleman contributed to the military force of the king those regiments which in future years were destined to reflect undying glory on their country. At Carrigaholt was raised the regiment which in after years became so celebrated as the Clare dragoons,

and along with it were embodied two of infantry, which were commanded respectively by Daniel and Charles, lord Clare's two sons. The cavalry regiment consisted of six troops of sixty men each at its formation, the foot of thirteen companies each regiment, numbering sixty-three private soldiers to each company.

The bold enterprise of the prince of Orange in invading the dominions of his uncle and father-in-law, a step mainly occasioned by the league of Augsburgh framed to curb the ambition of Louis the fourteenth, was quickly followed by the pusillanimous flight of the king, and the declaration by the convention parliament of England that the throne had by the retirement of James become vacant. As the loyalty of the Irish nation was not questioned, and as the king had still numerous adherents in England, the opinion of the French monarch and his advisers determined James to resort to Ireland and throw himself for support on the people of that country. To the offer of a French army to enable him to regain his crown he declared that he would recover his dominions by the assistance of his own subjects or perish in the attempt. With this determination, and attended by a numerous train of followers composed of his own subjects and those of his friend and protector, he embarked at Brest, and on the 12th of March landed safely at Kinsale.

On James's arrival in Cork he was met by the lord deputy whom he created a duke. Arrived at Dublin on the 24th of the month, he issued some proclamations, one in particular ordering the return of all protestants who had lately abandoned the kingdom. That they had but slight encouragement to obey was soon made manifest by his exclusion from the privy council of all its remaining protestant members. Another proclamation summoned a parliament to meet in Dublin on the 7th of May ensuing. This was the meeting which was to realise the expectations of all those who had, since the restoration twenty-nine years before, continued to "hope against hope." In the room of the protestant members of the privy council whom the king had displaced, lord Clare and some others were appointed. He nominated this nobleman and Boileau, one of the French

officers who accompanied him to Ireland, joint governors of the city of Cork. The lord lieutenancy of his native county was also conferred on the viscount Clare, his deputy in the office being his relative Donogh O'Brien of Duagh, and, acting for Ennis, Florence Macnamara.

The parliament summoned by James met on the appointed day, the 7th May, 1689. From the county of Clare were returned Daniel O'Brien and John Macnamara of Cratloe, the burgesses for the town of Ennis being Florence Macarthy and Theobald Butler. Among the first acts of this assembly was that for the repeal of the acts of settlement and explanation. To disturb a settlement of property in force now for nearly a quarter of a century under which various interests had sprung up, did not, it was well known, meet altogether with the royal approbation. Judge Daly, although a catholic, attacked the bill on the ground of its injustice and impolicy with such vehemence that the commons summoned him to the bar of the house and obliged him to beg its pardon. It passed the commons as a matter of course and the house of lords also, notwithstanding the able opposition of the bishop of Meath one of the few protestants who still continued in the upper house, and who, it was understood, had been encouraged by James to oppose the bill, the king apprehending that it would have a fatal effect in England. But the promoters of the bill had a powerful supporter in D'Avaux, the French ambassador, and the king was obliged to give a reluctant assent. The act was accordingly passed.

It was entitled an act for repealing the acts of settlement and explanation, and all grants, patents, and certificates pursuant to them, and for resolution of doubts. The preamble recited that his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects had at the hazard of their lives defended the kingdom, had served in foreign countries under the royal ensigns in the time during which the late king and his present majesty were in exile, and had given numerous proofs of loyalty and devotion to the crown. It accordingly declared the acts passed in the late reign for the settlement of the claims of adventurers and other persons enumerated in the said acts

void, and enabled parties who themselves, or those through whom they derived title, were on or before the 22d October, 1641, entitled to any estates, to bring actions or suits for the recovery of such properties without regard to limitation of time or to the existence of a bar or non-claim by them of such properties. It contained the further provision that all attainders and penalties on pretence of the alleged rebellion of 1641 should be taken off the files of the courts and be cancelled in presence of the commissioners of restitution to be appointed under the act, under the penalty for refusal, of loss of office and a fine of five hundred pounds.

Another act was passed by this parliament no less deserving of notice than that by which the act of settlement was repealed. It was one which enacted the penalty of high treason against those who had retired from the kingdom and should not have returned before the first of November following. The list of those against whom this act was levelled contained the names of sixty-three peers, twenty-four countesses and other ladies, thirty-four baronets, forty-four knights, eighty-three of the clergy, and two thousand one hundred and eighty-two esquires gentry and inferior persons. On the presentation of this list to James by Nagle the attorney-general, and the king's inquiring how it was procured, that officer declared that "many were attainted on such evidence as satisfied the house, and the rest on common fame" (!)

The king's disinclination to the passing of an act which must have covered him with obloquy and alienated from him any remaining sentiment of loyalty in the breasts of his English subjects, was not unknown to Nagle. Publicity in the preparation or passing of acts of parliament was at the period in question unknown, and this act contained a clause preventing the king from exercising the power of pardoning after the 1st of November, 1689, the period limited for the return of the proscribed. This interference with the most valued and beneficent of the prerogatives was thus discovered. The act lay concealed in the custody of the chancellor. Sir Thomas Southwell, one of the proscribed, who had, four months after the limited period, re-

turned and been promised a pardon by his majesty, on obtaining a view of the act in order to instruct his solicitor and counsel to draw up the warrant for his pardon, discovered that the king's hands were tied up. On reporting the matter to James, and his inquiry into the interference with his prerogative, Nagle contented himself with insisting that the king was no more than a trustee for the forfeitures incurred by those who had not complied with the terms of the act, and that his majesty could not pardon Southwell. As the royal prerogative could not repeal an act of parliament, James had only to give vent to reproaches as unavailing as they were disregarded.

In the black list of this proscription are enumerated of the O'Brien family, and others, residents of Clare, the following :—William, earl of Inchiquin ; William, lord O'Brien, his son ; Henry, lord Ibrickan, son of the earl of Thomond ; Conor O'Brien ; Henry Hickman of Donogroge ; Thomas Hawkins ; James Hamilton ; Francis Burton ; Henry Brady of Tomgraney ; Francis Gore of Mount Shannon ; Samuel Lucas ; and John Drew.

It was fortunate for the leading members of the O'Brien race that James's attempt to regain his crown failed. His success would have parcelled out the extensive estates of the earls of Thomond and Inchiquin among his French followers. In whatever way the struggle was to terminate some members of that family were certain to suffer, as actually happened to the viscount Clare and those who sided with him. The Dromoland branch, as they have since been designated, although it was not until some years after the revolution that their residence was fixed at that place, had formed too close a connexion with royalty itself to suffer in any event. Donogh or Donat O'Brien, who was an infant under the age of ten years when his father Conor was killed at the head of his troop in the engagement with Ludlow's cavalry at Inchicronan, had attained his majority when the act of settlement passed, and had received a considerable part of his paternal estates. On the accession of James he received a further mark of the royal favour by having conferred on him the rank of baronet, the patent of which bears

date the 9th November, 1686. The marriage of his son Lucius with Catherine, daughter of Mr. Thomas Keightley and the lady Frances Hyde, aunt to the queens Mary and Anne, placed Sir Donogh in an intimate and close relation with both the contending monarchs, and in whatever way the struggle was destined to terminate, the interests of the Dromoland family were certain to be favourably considered. This position, while it operated as a bar to their taking an active part in the war of the revolution, necessarily protected the Dromoland estates from forfeiture. At all events the circumstances alluded to in the foregoing observations are sufficient to account for the absence of the names of any members of this branch from the list of those attainted by the parliament of James.

The earl of Inchiquin, William, the second of the title, was one of those who welcomed the prince of Orange as a deliverer. Carefully nurtured in the principles of the reformation by his mother a daughter of Sir William St. Leger, the earl joined by his relatives of the Boyle family, collected troops to oppose the progress of king James. He was, however, so ill sustained by the government in England, that his troops were shortly after dispersed by the superior forces of Macarthy, the lord Mountcashel, and he himself obliged to take refuge in England along with his son. They were consequently included in the act of attainder, and their estates sequestrated ; and having taken arms against a sovereign whose title to the crown of Ireland was in the opinion of many unaffected by the proceedings in the sister kingdom, the earl of Inchiquin and lord O'Brien could not have expected any mercy had the fortune of war decided in favour of James.

The earl of Thomond had before the commencement of the troubles gone to reside in England. His son lord Ibrickan, who represented the county of Clare in the parliament summoned at the restoration, dying in 1678, was succeeded by Henry Horatio, the earl's son by a second marriage. This young nobleman, under the influence of his father, who adopted Whig principles, was a favourer of the revolution, and on the arrival of William, joined the duke of Marl-

borough as a volunteer in the operations against Cork and Kinsale. Quitting Ireland on the recall of lord Clarendon, he was, as a matter of course, included in the list of the attainted.

This brief notice of the state of parties among the O'Briens will enable the reader to understand their relative positions, and how they escaped the ruin in which several of the ancient families were overwhelmed and extinguished.

Another measure adopted by the parliament of James was the grant to his majesty of a monthly subsidy of twenty thousand pounds, to be levied from *land*. Having obtained this, which turned out to be altogether insufficient to supply his wants, he by virtue of his prerogative and without the sanction of parliament, levied an equal amount on *chattels* and *personal* property. The commissioners appointed to applot on the county of Clare its share of these assessments were Sir Donogh O'Brien, John Macnamara of Cratloe, and Donogh O'Brien of Duagh, father of Christopher of Ennistymond.

The dependency of the Irish parliament on that of England was a doctrine altogether at variance with the views of James's Irish counsellors. This obstacle it was necessary to remove, and accordingly an act was passed declaring that the parliament of England could not bind Ireland, and that writs of error and appeals should no longer be prosecuted in England from the courts of the latter country. It cannot have escaped the reader's attention how perseveringly this claim of domestic and independent legislation has been pressed according to the exigencies of party through several reigns to our own times. It suited the views of the nuncio Rinuccini and the clerical party in the supreme council at Kilkenny, of which he was the head, and was made an indispensable condition of any peace between Charles the first and his Irish subjects. It became equally necessary at the period under consideration to lay down the principle of legislative independence, if the catholics were to be restored to those rights they had lost in the struggle between the republican and royalist parties thirty years before. In the foregoing instances the parties who advanced this principle

were the same ; but nearly a century later, after the catholic party had been, as it was believed, rendered entirely prostrate through the operation of penal laws, the advocates of protestant ascendancy armed with a monopoly of power, insisted on and carried through the weakness of England, the often-sought but never until then conceded independence of an Irish parliament. But as the laws at the time in force precluded the voice of the nation from being heard, and judicial decisions had ignored the existence of the great bulk of the people, the independence of the Irish parliament was conceded, but destined to last no longer than until the cause which permitted it was removed—the inability of the dominant country to refuse or resist the concession.

While the struggle of 1689 was carried on with various success in the northern parts of the kingdom but the balance inclining in favour of the protestants, James's officers in the south were not idle. Lord Clare had been appointed in conjunction with Boileau, a Frenchman, to the government of Cork. In the discharge of this duty Clare committed to prison and confined in the churches of that city the protestant inhabitants, while his colleague seized and appropriated their properties. It is stated that Boileau* in the month of August sent to Paris money and valuable property to the amount of no less than thirty thousand pounds. Possessed of the ports of Cork and Kinsale the two most important places in the south whence the communication with France was easy, James's attention was directed to the north where the resistance of the protestants at Derry had set an example of courage and fortitude to their brethren in the other parts of the kingdom. The gallant and successful defence of that city, paralleled by the equally brave and successful opposition to William in his first siege of Limerick, and its memorable capitulation in the next year the articles of which were so soon after to be violated, following on the affair of the Boyne⁽¹⁾ and the battle of Aughrim, need not to be described here. History records the devotion of his Irish subjects to a worthless prince, and the familiar expression still current in the mouths

* Smith's Cork, vol. ii. 196.

of the peasantry that "king James wore a brogue and a shoe," shew the opinion entertained of that monarch, and that while they were freely shedding their blood in his cause, he thought far less of them and the sacrifices they were making in his service than of his English subjects. No more striking testimony was ever adduced to the gallantry of a besieged army than that contained in the 25th article of the treaty of Limerick, by which it was stipulated, that its garrison could march out "all at once, or at different times, as they could be embarked, with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colours flying, six brass guns such as the besieged shall choose, two mortar pieces, and half the ammunition in the magazines of the place."

Such was the end of the war of the revolution. The articles of Limerick bear date the 3d October, 1691, and on the 23d of the following March the termination of hostilities was officially announced by proclamation.

After the surrender of Limerick the Irish troops assembled at the cavalry camp near the abbey of Quin. Ginkle, who had many proofs of their valour, and was impressed with the importance of securing the services of such a body of trained soldiers for his master, held out very advantageous proposals to them to enter into the service of William, who needed their assistance in the war with France. Deaf to these offers, and alive to the point of honour, these devoted soldiers declined his proposals, and embarked for France under the command of Sarsfield, D'Usson and Tesse, to the number of 19,000 men and officers. They were on their arrival addressed by James who thanked them for their devotion to his service, and assured them they should still serve under his commission and orders. William had, shortly after the capitulation of Limerick, left England for Holland, and his absence was considered by Louis a favourable opportunity to strike another blow for the restoration of the exiled monarch, his friend and cousin. James himself addressed letters to his partisans in England, assuring them that he would once more visit his dominions, and at the head of thirty thousand men to be embarked at La

Hogue. These troops, consisting of the Irish recently landed and some French, were actually prepared and ready to embark, when the French fleet by which they were to be conveyed was attacked and defeated by admiral Russell, along with the transports destined to convey them. The Irish regiments which had left Limerick the year before, and were flattering themselves with the hope of shortly returning to their native country, were witnesses of Russell's victory and the destruction of the prospects both of sovereign and subject. The victory of La Hogue occurred on the 22d of May, 1692.

The war between the royal relatives ended, its necessary consequence, the confiscation of the property of the vanquished, ensued. William distributed the prizes among his generals and courtiers, following in this respect the example set by Charles the second, who had been declared by his obsequious and interested parliament of Ireland entitled to dispose of "all lands, honours, titles and so forth, forfeited since the 22d October, 1641, notwithstanding that the former proprietors or any of them were not or had not been attainted for the said unnatural rebellion and war." So runs the preamble to the act of settlement.

But this, the third confiscation of the land of Ireland within the eighteenth century, was not allowed by the parliament of England to be disposed of in accordance with the royal will. Within a year from the capitulation of Limerick complaints of mis-government in Ireland were addressed to both houses of the English parliament, and on hearing a deputation from the former kingdom charged to present these complaints, the lords voted that there had been great abuses in the disposal of the forfeited estates, and addressed his majesty to apply a remedy to these and other complaints. Little regard was paid to these representations. The king's attention was entirely devoted to the prosecution of the war against the French, and it was not until after the peace of Ryswick that the inquiry into the disposal of the Irish forfeitures was seriously entered on.

In the meantime, William having by the decease of his queen become sole monarch, and having evinced his deter-

mination to employ the arms and resources of England to secure his continental possessions, general distrust and dissatisfaction prevailed. So thwarted was the royal deliverer by his parliament that he was described as stadtholder of England and king of Holland, reversing the titles by which he was connected with both countries. Towards the close of the century these sentiments were unequivocally expressed by the appointment of commissioners deputed by parliament to proceed into Ireland, and on the spot to institute an inquiry into the disposal of the forfeitures. The persons appointed for this purpose were Francis Annesley, James Hamilton, John Trenchard, Henry Langford, the earl of Drogheda, Sir Francis Brewster, and Sir Richard Leving. Of these gentlemen the first four were considered to share the sentiments of the opposition, the latter to be mere creatures of the court. As a necessary consequence a difference of opinion prevailed, and the latter three of the commissioners refused to sign the report agreed to by the other four. The report bears date the 15th December, 1699, and, reciting that it had been issued in virtue of a power conferred by the act of the 11th and 12th of the king which provided that a sum of £1,484,015 should be granted to his majesty to enable him to disband the troops and pay the navy, it proceeded to lay bare the profligate and wasteful system used in disposing of the forfeitures in Ireland. The commissioners in the outset of this report refer to the difficulties they had to encounter, which they describe as follows: First, they state that it had been usual for lords lieutenant and other chief governors of Ireland to carry away with them on their departure the books and papers relating to their proceedings during the time they had been in office. In the next place, that lands and goods forfeited were concealed from them; that the books of the commissioners of revenue were ill kept; that commissioners appointed to enquire into the forfeitures through the several counties had appointed sub-commissioners, so that the inquiry was shifted from one set of persons to another no less than *five* times since the battle of the Boyne. To these they add the unwillingness of parties to give information to them through

fear of the power of the grantees, who comprised among them persons high in office, whose resentment it would be dangerous to incur.

The commissioners then proceed to state that since the 13th February, 1688, there were outlawed in England on account of the late rebellion fifty-seven persons ; in Ireland three thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, whose names were entered in a book no. 1. Book no. 2 contained the estates of those persons, names, number of acres, with the counties and baronies in which they were situated, their yearly and total values. In the third book were entered the claims of persons adjudged to be entitled to the benefit of the articles of Limerick and Galway. These amounted to 491, to which were added by subsequent adjudications 792. The commissioners pointedly allude to the exorbitant charges demanded as fees from the parties thus entitled, contrary to the articles of Limerick by the fifth of which (the civil articles) only clerks' fees were to be demanded.

Of estates restored to parties through the royal favour—procured in most instances by bribes given to propitiate the king's mercy by abusing his confidence—the number of acres amounted to 74,733 of the annual value of £20,066, and, taken at thirteen years' purchase, of the total value of £260,863.

Of the forfeitures conferred on favourites and others, seventy-six grants had passed the great seal of Ireland since the battle of the Boyne. Most of these were conceded under the seal of the exchequer for a limited term of years or during the king's pleasure. The report proceeds to detail some of the most considerable of these grants. The reader will find them detailed at considerable length. One of them is pertinent to this work, and is here inserted.

To Mr. Thomas Keightley for ninety-nine years two grants, containing twelve thousand three hundred and eighty-one acres, as a portion for his daughter Catherine who had been an attendant on the late queen Mary, after whose death she lost a pension of four hundred pounds per annum, and in consideration of her father's losses during the war.

The lady here described as an attendant on queen Mary

was her first cousin, and was married to Lucius, the son of Sir Donogh O'Brien. The report of the commissioners stated that several of the grantees sold their grants to other parties, preferring ready money it is to be presumed, to a possession which in the course of events might turn out to be of no value. Mr. Keightley, they report, among others, sold a portion of his grants for the sum of £5,123 10s.

The average annual value of the lands forfeited at the revolution appears to be, by the plantation acre, about five shillings, the life interest six years' purchase, and the inheritance thirteen.

The commissioners in this report complain severely of the conduct of Broderick a privy councillor, and William Conolly, who had acquired vast estates by purchasing at the auction of the forfeitures. They were said to be partners in these transactions, and lord Capel, the lord lieutenant, is censured for having nominated Broderick inspector of the auctions though aware of the abuses of which he had been guilty.

The commissioners sum up by stating that the value of the whole of the estates forfeited since the 13th February, 1688, amounted to £2,685,130.

Estates restored by articles	£724,923
Ditto by favour	260,863
Debts affecting forfeited estates	161,936
Ditto due to forfeiting persons	170,013
Sums received by grantees from sales of estates	68,155

After all allowances and deductions they report that there remained available as the gross value of forfeitures since 13th Feb., 1688, and not restored, the sum of £1,699,343.

This report was signed by the first four of the commissioners of inquiry. The earl of Drogheda, Leving and Brewster refusing to concur, sent over a memorial to the house of commons stating their reasons for refusing their concurrence. The commons considering them as hirelings of the court, refused to receive a memorial which was not signed by a *quorum* of the commissioners, and ordered a bill to be brought in for the sale of the estates, and to have

the proceeds applied to the public service. On a motion being made to reserve a third part for the king's disposal, it was overruled, and the house passed the following resolutions :—That they would not receive petitions from any persons whatsoever concerning the grants ; that they would consider the great services performed by the commissioners appointed to inquire into the forfeited estates ; that the four commissioners who had signed the report had acquitted themselves with understanding, courage, and integrity ; that Sir Richard Leving, as the author of a groundless and scandalous aspersion on the character of his four colleagues, should be committed prisoner to the Tower. They next prepared an address to the crown, which contained the following resolutions :—That the preparing and passing these grants had occasioned great debts on the nation and heavy taxes on the people, and reflected highly upon the king's honour ; and that the officers and instruments concerned in the same had highly failed in the performance of their trust and their duty.

The king in his reply to this mortifying address, stated, that he was not only led by inclination, but had thought himself bound in justice, to reward all those who had rendered valuable service in the reduction of Ireland by grants out of the estates forfeited to him by the rebellion in that kingdom ; and that as a tedious war had left the nation in debt, their adopting just and effectual means of lessening that debt, was in his opinion what would best contribute to the honour, interest, and safety of the kingdom.

This reply was received with indignation. The commons immediately prepared a bill for the resumption of the forfeited estates, and ordered the report of the commissioners to be printed and circulated for their justification. They resolved that the procuring or passing exorbitant grants by any member now of the privy council, or by any one who had been a privy councillor in the present or the former reign, to his use or benefit, was a high crime and misdemeanor. In order that justice might be done to purchasers and creditors in the act for the resumption of the forfeitures, thirteen trustees were empowered to hear and

determine all claims relating to these estates, and to sell them to the highest bidders. After much discussion between the lords and commons, characterised by violent heats—the former endeavouring to mitigate the stringency of the bill, but to no purpose—it received the reluctant assent of the king. It was entitled an act for granting an aid to his majesty by the sale of the forfeited and other estates and interests in Ireland.

Under the act for the resumption of the forfeited estates, the following nine persons along with the four reporters already named, were constituted commissioners to hear and determine claims, and to sell the properties to the highest and best bidders, namely, John Baggs, James Isham, James Hooper, Sir Cyril Wyche, John Carey, Sir Henry Shears, Thomas Harrison, William Fellowes, and Thomas Rawlins. All grants made of these estates since the 13th of February, 1688, under the great seal of England or Ireland, or of the court of exchequer, were declared void. Power was given to reward the discoverers of forfeited estates by conferring part of them on the discoverers, an authority which led the way to great abuses, and eventually deprived many innocent persons of their estates in this and the subsequent reigns. Claims under this act were to be made on or before the 25th March, 1702, and any persons coming in after that date to be utterly barred. The trustees were ordered to close the sales on or before the 24th of June, 1703.

Of the forfeitures thus resumed by the authority of the English parliament which claimed the right of disposal of them according to the precedent of the long parliament fifty years before, the principal one in the county of Clare was that of the lord of that title. If adherence to a legitimate although mistaken sovereign deserved the penalty of loss of estate and exile, among the followers of James none could be found to have hazarded more than the nobleman who had raised three regiments for the service of that sovereign, and at their head in the field perilled his life. Lord Clare's extensive property had been bestowed on Joost Van Keppel, one among the many Dutch gentlemen who had followed the fortunes of the prince of Orange, and who had

been created earl of Albemarle on the decease of Monk without male issue. Albemarle had obtained letters-patent, dated 26th February, 1698, conveying these extensive estates for a limited term, and, whether doubting the security of his tenure or from what other cause does not appear, disposed of his interest to three gentlemen whose descendants continue to possess the estates to the present. These were Francis Burton, Nicholas Westby, and James Macdonnell. The earl of Albemarle received for his interest from these gentlemen two thousand five hundred pounds. Holding portions of the estates from the former proprietor lord Clare, for terms of years or other limited interests, they preferred their claims to have these interests secured to them under the provisions of the act of resumption, and at the sale shortly after became the purchasers of fifty-six thousand nine hundred and thirty-one acres, plantation measure, of lord Clare's estates. These were spread over eight baronies in the following proportions :—^(a)

	Profitable.	Unprofitable.
Moyarta bar. . . .	13,043	13,574.2
Clonderalaw, . . .	3,212	3,299
Inchiquin, . . .	3,369	938
Bunratty, . . .	4,265	1,411
Islands, . . .	3,708	6,132
Burren, . . .	147	529.2
Tulla, . . .	1,806	521
Corcomroe . . .	608	368
	30,158	26,773

We are not sufficiently acquainted with the secret history of these transactions, but it appears that the earl of Albemarle had obtained his grant of the forfeited property just one fortnight before he conveyed his interest to the above-named purchasers. The deeds of conveyance, a lease and release, bear date the 9th and 10th of March, 1698, his own grant being dated the 26th of the previous February. It is by no means unlikely that the intention of parliament

(a) Forfeited estates in Clare co. 1688. See Report of Commrs. on Public Records, vol. iii. 1825.

to resume these grants so improvidently made, was rumoured, and that the hostility to the Dutch, so strongly evinced in obliging his majesty to dismiss his guards of that nation, and the unpopularity of the king for his partiality to his countrymen, must have warned the grantee to part with his grant at the earliest moment that he could find a convenient purchaser. The fact is certain that within a year after the conveyance to Burton, Westby, and Macdonnell, the bill for the resumption of the forfeited estates in Ireland became law, and that on the 19th of March, 1702, the above-mentioned lands, part of the estate of Daniel, late lord viscount Clare, attainted, (he died in 1691) were, according to its provisions, sold to the purchasers before named for the sum of ten thousand one hundred and sixty-one pounds seventeen shillings and five pence three farthings, the lands to be enjoyed, and the purchase money contributed by them in equal shares, and to hold to them and their heirs for ever.⁽²⁾ Thus ended the connexion of the Clare O'Briens (as they are termed) with their native county. Henceforward they are to be found in the service of the princes of the continent, chiefly in that of the French monarchs.

CHAPTER XXIV.

A.D. 1692-1761...Irish troops in foreign services anterior to the revolution of 1688...League of Augsburg...Louis the fourteenth exchanges French for Irish troops...Operations of the Irish brigades...Battle of Marsaglia, and death of Daniel, fourth lord Clare...Peace of Ryswick...Partition treaty...Commencement of the war of the Spanish succession...Surprise of Cremona, and repulse of the imperialists, owing to the gallantry of two Irish regiments...Charles, lord Clare, at the first battle of Blenheim, when the imperialists were defeated...Second battle of Blenheim, and defeat of the French...Brilliant retreat of Clare's brigade...Battle of Ramilies...Lord Clare mortally wounded...Progress of the war in Spain...Career of O'Mahony...Peace of Utrecht...Accession of George the first...The earl of Thomond created a British peer...Lord Clare visits England, and is presented to the sovereign...Breaking out of war between France and the emperor of Germany...Lord Clare employed under his uncle, the duke of Berwick...Battle of Dettingen...Battle of Fontenoy...Its consequences...Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle...Letter of lord Clare to one of his officers in Ireland...Memorable reply of Clare to the French king...His decease, and extinction of the Thomond, or elder branch of the O'Briens.

THE Irish troops, released by the treaty of Limerick from any further exertions in their native country for the service of their sovereign, were now to give proofs of that valour abroad, which military critics admitted their possession of, although indifferently displayed, at home. Without entering into this question, which is still of a controverted character,⁽¹⁾ a reference to their conduct in foreign services, anterior to the close of the seventeenth century, exhibiting their value to the sovereigns under whose banners they fought, may not be deemed out of place here.

In the struggle for their independence against the crown of Spain towards the close of the sixteenth century, the Dutch appealed, and not in vain, to the queen of England for aid against their common enemy, Philip of Spain. The popularity of Sir John Perrot's government in Ireland had enabled him to raise an Irish force for the queen's service,

and among the troops destined to operate in support of the revolted provinces in the Spanish Netherlands, were included a body of 1500 Irish. These were commanded by Sir Edward Stanley, an English catholic gentleman, under whose leading they were induced to relinquish the service on which they had been employed, and to enter that of the Spanish monarch.⁽²⁾ Joined to the troops of that prince, composed of Spaniards, Walloons and Italians, the army of Spain was thence known as that of the "four nations," among whom the valour of the Irish was conspicuous, particularly in the defence of Amiens, in June, 1597, when that town was attacked by the troops of the French king. The peace of Vervins in June of the next year put an end to hostilities between the two crowns, but the Irish were for some time longer employed in the operations of the Spaniards to suppress the insurrection of the Dutch. The pacification of the year 1609 between the Spanish monarch and his revolted provinces, rendered the services of the Irish troops no longer necessary, and no further notice is taken of them in the first half of the seventeenth century, considered as a distinct contingent or body of troops acting together as in the army of the four nations.

They had, however, acquired such a reputation on the continent during the course of twenty years, that on the breaking out of the great thirty years' war in 1618, which taxed to the utmost the powers of the nations engaged therein to keep their armies at the proper amount, the courts of France and Spain, as well as the emperor, were glad to accept the services of Irish officers and the men whom they could enlist for the belligerents. On the assumption of sovereign power in Ireland by the confederation of Kilkenny, these courts accredited their agents to the supreme council, and made repeated and pressing solicitations for supplies of Irish soldiers. Rinuccini, the nuncio of Innocent the tenth, was instructed to act between them with the strictest impartiality, and his correspondence with his court shows the difficulty of the task he had to perform in convincing Cardinal Mazarine that he had not preferred the interest of the Spanish monarch to that of his rival of

France.⁽³⁾ The council of Kilkenny had no preference of one nation beyond the other. They were alike catholics, and wished success to the Irish confederation in their struggle to establish their civil and religious freedom on a satisfactory footing. Monsieur de Talon, and Senor della Torre, the former the agent of France, the latter of Spain, were equally permitted to recruit their armies in Ireland, and we learn from Carte* that both these gentlemen setting sail from Waterford on the same day, De Talon, having his troops in five vessels, attacked at sea and took Don Diego della Torre's ships, and carried them and the regiment of Irish which they contained into a French port.

About the same time the duke of Lorraine made similar instances with the nuncio and the confederation for a regiment of Irish. These, when released from the service of the duke, offered to serve under the duke of York then a refugee in the French dominions, and were accepted. They joined in 1652 another regiment, one of cavalry, commanded by lord Bristol, and both continued to fight under the ensigns of France, until the alliance between the court of France and the English commonwealth obliged the duke to seek refuge in the Spanish territory at Cologne. On his arrival there the Irish colonels wrote to offer their services, and stated their readiness to leave the French army and to obey his orders when and so far as their doing so would be consistent with their honour as soldiers and gentlemen.

An instance of the nice sense of this virtue entertained by one of the Irish colonels, Grace, is on record. Serving with the Spanish troops in Catalonia while king Charles was under the protection of France, Grace resolved to join his sovereign then in Flanders, and wrote to the mareschal de Hoquincourt, the commander of the French troops in Catalonia, that he would join their service on a certain day, on condition of his men being put on the same footing as the other regiments in the service. His offer was accepted, and inducements were held out to him to give up the fort he commanded. He refused to disgrace himself by such treachery, and apprised the Spaniards that as he had deter-

* Vol. i. 603.

mined to join the French, they should send troops to occupy the fort. Marching out when relieved by the Spaniards, he retired leaving them in admiration of this instance of a virtue which it is pleasing to know was not among Irishmen a rare one.

On the withdrawal of Charles from the French territory according to the engagement entered into by Mazarine with Cromwell, four Irish regiments joined the Spanish service, and were employed in all the operations during the campaigns of the years 1656 and 1657. They were strengthened by the addition of a fifth regiment commanded by lord Muskerry, who in 1647 had been sent with the corps into Spain by his father, then a leading member of the confederation of Kilkenny. The four regiments, in process of time, became so reduced in numbers from want of recruits from Ireland, that, in 1677, they were formed into one, and became part of the garrison of Cambray, in the defence of which their services were particularly distinguished.

This brief notice of the Irish troops serving in the continental armies anterior to the revolution of 1688 will enable the reader to form a correct estimate of the opinion entertained in France as to the advantage of employing the soldiers of James in conjunction with their own.

The bad faith exhibited by Louis the fourteenth in his violation of the treaty of Nimeguen, and the revocation of the edict of Nantes, produced the famous league of Augsburg formed to check the ambition of a monarch whom it was found impossible to bind by treaties. This celebrated confederacy, which cost to France in the space of eight years the loss of more than one hundred thousand men and sixty millions of livres, was composed of the emperor of Germany, the kings of Spain and Sweden, the electors of Saxony and Bavaria, the circles of Suabia and Franconia, the elector Palatine, the elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Savoy, not to omit him who was the life and soul of the confederacy, the prince of Orange.

The league of Augsburg was signed by the foregoing powers on the 21st June, 1686. According to the duke of Berwick (memoirs, 1688) the Pope Innocent the eleventh,

the emperor, and the king of Spain counselled the prince of Orange to undertake the invasion of England, with the view of compelling James to join the league. It was not, however, their intention that he should be dethroned. Ronquillo, the Spanish ambassador at the English court, at an audience informed the king that the storm was brewing and might soon burst, but at the same time assured him in the name of the house of Austria, that if he would enter into the league he had nothing to apprehend, and that the entire force of the confederates would be turned on the French monarch. James in his reply assured the ambassador that his desire was to live at peace with the whole world, and to be guided by principles of equity and justice, and that he could not break with a prince who was his ally, and to whom he was so nearly related. Ronquillo continuing his instances, and giving the king clearly to understand the dangers to which he was exposing himself by persisting in such a line of conduct, James answered that he would prefer to lose his crown to ever committing an unjust action.

The invasion of England and the reduction of Ireland were the consequence of James's refusal to join the League.⁽⁴⁾ Before the latter of these events had been accomplished, it was found necessary to apply for assistance to the French court to enable James to resist the progress of William's arms. His majesty's opinion of the assistance he received from his ally and relative is thus stated in his memoirs:—

“That great and powerful minister (Louvois) did not concur in giving such aid as was in his power and might reasonably have been expected ; so that in effect all the succours which came from France were but in exchange for the like number of the best Irish troops sent over under the command of my lord Montcassell, the arms he (Louvois) gave were so bad that they did little service, and the clothes he sent so scanty and so coarse, that many of the Irish regiments preferred their old ragged ones before them.”

It is obvious from this passage that the French court were in as much need of troops to oppose to the powerful league before which they were eventually obliged to suc-

cumb, as James was to make head against the veteran troops of his son-in-law. This "exchange," which is the true name by which the transaction is to be characterised, produced the first appearance of the Irish brigade on the soil of France. The ships which conveyed to Ireland 6000 French troops composed of mercenaries of all nations under the command of the Count de Lauzun, returned with the regiments of Justin Macarthy lord Mountcashel, Daniel O'Brien eldest son of viscount Clare, and Arthur Dillon. Each of these regiments was composed of two battalions of 800 men to the battalion amounting, with officers, to the number of 5371 men. They left Kinsale on the 7th April, 1690, and formed the brigade of Mountcashel, or, as they were styled by their successors, the old brigade.

The Irish troops that left Ireland after the capitulation of Limerick in 1691, were, shortly after their landing, formed into twelve regiments. Gentlemen who had refused the tempting offers of William's commanders, and sacrificed home and property to a chivalrous and romantic sense of honour in following the fortunes of their fallen sovereign, were reduced, on the change made by the French authorities, from the command of their regiments to subordinate positions in the French service. After the failure of the attempt to effect a descent on the English coast, which was frustrated by the defeat of de Tourville off La Hogue, the Irish regiments were marched to the Rhine. One of their earliest exploits is recorded by de Quincy (vol. 2, 555) at the attack of Dudenhaven, when the Swedish auxiliaries in the allied army attempted in great force to pass the river Spirebach. One of the Irish battalions which had arrived from Brest occupied a castle which commanded the bridge, and for a day prevented the passage of the enemy. The next morning the allies in increased numbers renewed the attack, the French being reinforced by four Irish battalions. These, says de Quincy, arrived so seasonably, and kept up such an incessant fire, that the Swedes flung away their arms and fled in disorder. This affair took place on the 31st August, 1692.

Another instance of the daring and gallantry of these

troops, a week after the repulse of the Swedes at Duden-haven, is recorded by the same writer. On the 8th September, 10,000 of the allies attempted to surprise and cut off a French detachment of 4000 men under the command of the marquis de Harcourt. The marquis placed himself at the head of the king of England's guards (Dorrington's regiment,) and charged the enemy with such vigour that they fled leaving 300 of their number dead, with the additional loss of 500 prisoners.

While the war raged in Germany, it was prosecuted with not less vigour in Italy. In Piedmont, Catinat, who commanded the French, had of Irish troops under his command, nine battalions of Mountcashel's brigade. These were three of Clare's regiment, two of the king's and queen's dismounted dragoons, the two battalions of the regiment of Limerick, and two of the queen's infantry. To retard the advance of Eugene Larré placed 1600 Irish and 1400 French in the town of Embrun. The short siege of this place cost the allies the loss of 1300 in killed and an equal number wounded. Among these latter was Eugene himself and a number of other officers of distinction.

But it was at the celebrated battle of Marsaglia (4th Oct. 1603) that the valour of the Irish was particularly distinguished. To support and animate the troops by the example of the Irish regiments, Catinat placed in the right wing of the first line the king's and queen's Irish dragoons, numbering 1400 men under Sarsfield. Clare's infantry⁽³⁾ three battalions amounting to 2000, were placed on the left of the second line, and the regiments of the queen and Limerick, consisting of 2600, were in the centre of the same line, under Wachop. Eugene attacked with his usual vigour, and routed three of the French regiments posted in the first line. These giving way, their place was taken by Clare's three battalions, with two of the French from the second line, who charged the Germans with such fury that they, in their turn, were obliged to fall back. The battle was thus restored on the left wing, and Sarsfield's dragoons being equally successful on the right, the day seemed to be lost to the allies when Eugene led up the

allied centre, and with such effect as to have regained what had been lost on the wings. At this critical moment Wachop, who commanded the Irish regiments of the centre, the queen's and Limerick, led up his men to the charge. Three times he charged the allied centre without breaking it, when Eugene, after four hours' fighting, led off his men across the Po, leaving the victory to Catinat. It was dearly purchased, the killed among the Irish comprising O'Carroll of the king's, Maxwell, Wachop, and Fordun of the queen's, to whom may be added Daniel, fourth lord Clare, who died shortly after at Pignerol of the wounds he received in this action.

On the death of lord Clare, Lee the lieutenant colonel of the regiment so distinguished by its gallantry at Marsaglia, was appointed to the command. Charles, the fifth viscount Clare, had shared in the glory of that action, having served under O'Carroll in the queen's dismounted dragoons. After the victory of Marsaglia, this corps, with others, was removed to Catalonia, where his lordship's services against the Miquelets or guerillas of that province were particularly noticed. He is stated to have principally contributed to the raising of the siege of Castlefollet when on the point of being taken by the Spaniards. And at the siege of Valençay by the French in 1696, the garrison in a sally overthrew the besiegers and carried every thing before them, until stopped by Clare at the head of his dragoons. The stubborn defence made by the garrison of this place, consisting of seven thousand men, Germans, Spaniards, and French protestants, was, however, the first step towards a general pacification. The French, exhausted by the war, and anxious for its termination, found means to detach the duke of Savoy from the allies. The duke's territories being wasted by the contending armies, he was anxious to be relieved from their presence, and one of the conditions of his treaty with the French general was, that the allies should be forced to withdraw from Piedmont. By virtue of the treaty he took the command of the French troops, so that in one campaign he had commanded two contending armies. The defection of the duke of Savoy led to the peace of 1697, after con-

siderable repugnance on the part of the emperor and the king of Spain. The place of meeting of the congress was for some time a difficulty, but the king of France suggesting as the most convenient a country-house of king William's, near the village of Ryswick, that place was agreed to, and the peace thence denominated that of Ryswick. The ministers chosen to represent England at this congress, were the earl of Pembroke, lord Villiers, and Sir Joseph Williamson, who had been the colleague of Sir Donogh O'Brien in the representation of the county of Clare in the Irish parliament of 1692, and had been connected with the family of the O'Briens by his marriage with the widow of lord Ibrickan, the first son of the seventh earl of Thomond.

The peace of Ryswick, signed on the 20th September, 1697, was not destined to be of long continuance. The king of Spain having no issue, the succession to the crown of that kingdom occupied the attention of the powers of Europe, parties to the treaty of Ryswick. In the discussion of this question the other powers were anticipated by the French monarch and William, and the treaty of partition was secretly signed by Tallard on the part of France, and by the earl of Portland and Sir Joseph Williamson, on the part of England, in the very next year. The death of the elector of Bavaria soon after made it necessary to make some alterations in the plan of partition, and a second partition treaty was set on foot between William and Louis, and signed in London on the 25th of March, 1700. Without troubling themselves in the least to ascertain the sentiments of the king or the Spanish nation, the French and English monarchs acting in concert arrogantly assumed the right to dispose of the dominions of a neighbouring sovereign, a party, too, to the peace of Ryswick, and that hardly before its ink was dry, certainly before the occurrence of any event which could justify such an outrage.

The partition treaty on being communicated to the parliament in England was vehemently attacked. It was compared to a robbery on the highway. It was equally distasteful to the European powers. But the king of Spain dying shortly after, and leaving by will the whole of his

dominions to the grandson of the French king, William's schemes for the settlement of Europe of which he affected to be the arbitrator, fell to the ground. The house of Austria, deprived by the will of the king of Spain of the succession to the Spanish monarchy, put its armies in motion, and prince Eugene once more took the field in Piedmont. This was the commencement of the war of the Spanish succession, and again brought Eugene and the soldiers of the Irish brigade to measure swords together.

In the month of August, 1701, the imperial troops under the command of Eugene entered Italy, and defeated a body of 5,000 French, commanded by the duke of Savoy. Catinat, the able and successful general of the French, had been superseded in his command by mareschal Villeroy, through the intrigues of the French courtiers headed by madame de Maintenon. The change was greatly to the disadvantage of the French, Eugene having by degrees made himself master of the principal places in the theatre of the war, and continuing his operations throughout the whole of the winter. He was destined, however, to sustain one of the most extraordinary repulses ever recorded in history, through the unexampled gallantry of two Irish regiments in the French service.

Cremona, on the left bank of the Po, near where that river is joined by the Adda, was the centre of the French forces, and from its great strength as a fortress of the first order, was deemed impregnable. To attempt to take it by surprise was out of the question, at least in the minds of the French, yet the design suggested itself to Eugene. The garrison numbered seven thousand men. There was a bridge of boats across the Po, which the imperialists expected to use for the passage of the troops of the prince of Vaudemont, but which required first that the town should be taken. Eugene had been apprised of the existence of an aqueduct or passage by which the surplus or waste water of the town had formerly been carried off, and it occurred to him that by this means troops could be noiselessly introduced into the town.⁽⁶⁾ In the month of January, 1702, and in the dead of night, the attempt was made with entire

success, and the town was quickly filled with German troops. The whole place was in their possession, except the defences by which the Po gate was guarded, and which was then defended by Bourke's and Dillon's regiments of the Irish brigade. Before attacking this post Eugene sent Macdonnell, an officer in the Austrian service, to shew his countrymen the folly of sacrificing their lives in the attempts to maintain a position which was not tenable, and at the same time to make them large offers if they would quit the French for the Austrian service. The reply these brave and loyal men gave was, that while one of them was left alive the German eagle should not be displayed on the Po gate. They were immediately attacked by a large body of horse and foot, supported by 5000 German cuirassiers, who, after a bloody conflict of two hours, were obliged to retreat from their attempt on the gate. The Irish availing themselves of this success pursued the enemy into the streets, drove them from the town, and recovered the military chest, which had been for a time in the hands of the Germans. Mr. O'Connor thus sums up the achievement of his countrymen.*

“A garrison of seven thousand men, in a town strongly fortified, surprised in their beds, obliged to march in their shirts in the darkness of night through streets filled with cavalry, meeting death at every step, scattered in small bodies, without officers to lead them, fighting for hours without food or clothes in the depth of winter, yet gradually recovering every post, and ultimately forcing the enemy to a precipitate retreat.”

Villeroy, the commander-in-chief of the French army, was in the town, and made prisoner. Applied to by the officer in command of the imperialists to give orders for the surrender of the Po gate previous to the attack which was so gallantly repulsed, he replied, that as he was then a prisoner, he had no authority to give orders. He was immediately sent to Eugene, who, on his refusal, gave the order for the attack which was so signally defeated.

The surprise of Cremona surprised and astonished Europe. Every where nothing was heard but admiration of

* Military Memoirs of the Irish Nation, p. 253.

the valour of the Irish regiments, and the repulse of Eugene was of such *eclat*, that in the house of commons in England, it was said that the Irish abroad had done more mischief to the allies than they could possibly have done at home had they been restored to the possession of their estates.

As English writers have dispatched the repulse of Eugene in a few lines, or ignored it altogether, it may not be unacceptable to the reader to learn how it had been viewed by those on the continent. The following account is translated from Botta, the continuator of Guicciardini :—

The defeat of the Imperialists at Cremona, 1st February, 1702.

“Villeroy, awakened by the noise, at first imagined it was a disturbance caused by the soldiers clamouring for the arrears of their pay, but was soon assured by a trusty domestic that it was a far different affair from clamouring for pay by discontented soldiers, and that the enemy was already in the town. Instantly burning his papers and ciphers, and dressing himself as hastily as he could, he issued forth to see whether he could remedy the confusion. He came to the quarters of the main guard, and found them in the possession of the enemy. Turning to the esplanade, he encountered a squadron of the imperialists, by whom he was so roughly handled as nearly to have cost him his life. He would have undoubtedly perished had he not been recognised by an officer of the name of Macdonnell, an Irishman, but who was then in the Austrian service, who saved him by crying, ‘put down your sword, you are a prisoner.’ Villeroy, to be released, offered this officer money and greater rank in the service of France. The man of honour replied, ‘our principle is to fight, not to trade, our object is glory, not money ; keep your gold, and withdraw your insulting offer.’ This said, he gave him into custody, and sent him to Eugene.

“At the same time wonders were performed at the Po gate. Eugene, to aid the attempt of the young Vaudemont and open him a path to the city by the bridge over the Po, which was guarded by the two Irish regiments of Bourke

and Dillon in the pay of France, had sent a strong reinforcement under the count de Merci and the marquis Palavicino, with the intention of driving out the Irish, and possessing himself of the gate. At the commencement Merci had made some slight progress, having taken a battery ; but led on by O'Mahony and Wachop, the Irish dashed forward, and attacking Merci, gave him such a taste of their valour that the imperialist foot was instantly routed and put to flight. Nay, further, in their dismay falling among their own cavalry, they put them into disorder, and dragged them along with them in their rout.

"The Austrian general, when he discovered the spirited stand made by the French in the city, and knowing how important it was to have the passage by the bridge at his command, determined to try whether it might not be easier to allure them by gold than strike terror into them by steel. Accordingly he dispatched for this purpose the same Macdonnell, who had made Villeroy his prisoner. This brave officer by accepting the base commission of endeavouring to corrupt others, tarnished the glory he had acquired in not being corrupted himself on the former occasion. Macdonnell, in the name of his prince, offered to his fellow-countrymen better pay and pension if they would exchange the service of king Louis for that of the emperor Leopold. 'Reflect,' he added, 'that if you do not accept my offers, you must be cut to pieces, as the city is in our possession, and you cannot be succoured, and prince Eugene, as a victor, only awaits your refusal, to attack you.'

"With a virtuous indignation the high-spirited and honourable soldiers answered to this disgraceful proposal of Macdonnell's, 'If Eugene only waits for you and our reply to cut us to pieces, you may make your mind easy that he will neither attack us nor cut us to pieces, since you are now our prisoner, and shall not leave us. You are no longer the envoy of a great general, but a base suborner ; we think we shall better succeed in gaining the good opinion of your prince if we reject your infamous offers than by accepting them, disgrace ourselves by a meanness and treachery unworthy of men of honour.'" This was the turning point of

the fortunes of Austria. Thenceforward they began to decline."*

The decease of James the second at St. Germain in September, 1701, followed by that of king William in March of the next year, made no alteration in the position of the Irish brigade hitherto styled the troops of the king of England. The war was continued by the ministry of queen Anne, in conjunction with the allies, generally to the disadvantage of France, and the elector of Bavaria having joined the French, the dominions of that prince became the theatre of war. In the operations in Germany lord Clare was actively employed, and took a leading part in the first action on the 20th September 1703 by which the field of Blenheim was distinguished. This action, in which the imperial troops were commanded by count Stirum, was for a long time doubtful, the brigades of Dauphiné and Bourbon having in vain attempted to break the German infantry, until lord Clare led up the Irish to the charge. The imperialists were routed, and fled in disorder. They were pursued by the French through the night into the recesses of a forest, and a dreadful slaughter ensued, in which 3000 of the imperial troops were killed, 4500 taken prisoners, and with the loss of 32 pieces of cannon and all their baggage. This victory was chiefly attributed to the valour and activity of lord Clare and the Irish under his command.

The second battle of Blenheim, fought on the 13th of August of the following year when the imperialists were under the leading of Marlborough and Eugene, had a very different result. The conduct of lord Clare was so conspicuous the year before that he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and he now appeared with his division to share in the dangers of the hardest fought action of the war. Mareschal Tallard commanded the French and Bavarians, and took post on the right at the village of Plintheim or Blenheim, the left being commanded by the elector of Bavaria. The right of the imperialists commanded by Eugene was thus opposed to the elector, while Marlborough himself

* Botta, Storia d'Italia, vol. xiii. pp. 249-254.

took his position on the left, opposite Tallard. The respective armies did not much differ in number, the accounts stating that the confederates did not exceed fifty-five thousand, while the French and Bavarians are said to have amounted to sixty. Marsin, one of the French generals, occupied the centre of the position, and had under him lord Clare at the head of the Irish cavalry regiments of Clare, Lee, and Dorrington. At the commencement of the engagement the imperialists were allowed to pass the rivulet in front of the French without being molested, and having passed, they immediately attacked the village of Blenheim on which Tallard had judged the chief impression would be made. Hard pressed here, and his cavalry broken, he sent word to Marsin by an aide-de-camp to send some troops to engage the enemy's attention and favour his own retreat from Blenheim. The answer was that he himself was so pressed he could not spare a man. Tallard thus unrelieved was taken prisoner. But at the village of Oberklau, the head of Marsin's position, the prince of Holstein-beck advanced against the French with ten battalions, who before they could deploy were attacked and overpowered by Clare's cavalry, and the prince himself taken after being mortally wounded. Some Danish and Hanoverian cavalry attempted to rescue the prince but were repulsed, and it was only when Marlborough himself in person brought up some fresh squadrons from the reserve that the Irish were obliged to give away. The battle was now won, and the imperialists were enabled to turn their united efforts against the French right at Blenheim. Cut off from any communication with the rest of the army, and deprived of their commander, a prisoner in the hands of the imperialists, they capitulated late in the evening, to the number of 13000 men. Ten thousand French and Bavarians were left dead on the field, the greater part of thirty squadrons of horse perished in the Danube, a hundred pieces of cannon were taken, with twenty-four mortars, colours, baggage, and military chest. In this dreadful disaster the Irish troops alone were victorious. Cutting in pieces a German regiment, that of Goore, which had entered the field five hundred strong, and by the

swords of the brigade was reduced to fifty, lord Clare cut his way out of the village of Oberklau, and while twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons of French dragoons were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, he led his three regiments unvanquished and unbroken, by a masterly retreat to the Rhine.

The defeat of the French and Bavarians at Blenheim was the salvation of the emperor. Evacuating Germany, the French were obliged to make Flanders the theatre of the war, and were destined to be again defeated. In the great battle of Ramilies, fought the 23d of May, 1706, the same defective arrangements as at Blenheim were observable. In this action the brigade was hotly engaged. At their head lord Clare attacked the guards with such impetuosity that he was carried into the centre of the allies and must have been killed or taken, had he not been rescued by two Italian regiments who favoured his retreat. In the general rout, while attempting to execute the manœuvre which shed so much lustre on himself and his brigade of cavalry at Blenheim, he was mortally wounded. The retreat was however brilliantly and successfully executed, and two pair of colours taken by Morrogh O'Brien, the lieutenant-colonel of his regiment.⁽⁷⁾ These were subsequently suspended in the church of the Irish Benedictine nuns at Ypres, forming a set-off to the display at the Guildhall in London of those which had been captured by the English troops in the same action.

While the war was raging in the Netherlands, the struggle was not less actively prosecuted in Spain. Philip the fifth, to secure the throne bequeathed to him by the late king, deemed it necessary among other things to raise two regiments of Irish dragoons, the command of which had been conferred on O'Mahony, who had so greatly distinguished himself at the surprise of Cremona. The earl of Peterborough, who commanded the English troops in Spain, was assisted in his operations by a fleet which compelled the surrender of Carthagena and other places in that kingdom. Coming before Alicant they landed a body of troops and took the town by assault on the 8th of August, 1706.

O'Mahony the governor retired into the citadel and resolved to defend it to the last extremity. Admiral Leake, who commanded the English fleet, was obliged to open trenches before the citadel, and threatened O'Mahony with the last extremities the laws of war would permit for persisting in the defence of a place which was not tenable. For a month the English bombs played on the buildings of the citadel, and reduced the garrison to the number of one hundred and forty men. O'Mahony continued to hold out until supplies of water and provisions began to fail, when he was obliged to capitulate. The English commander, who respected his brave defence, rewarded it by allowing him to march out with the honours of war. What was the surprise of the besiegers when they beheld a handful of men consisting of sixty-eight Neapolitans, thirty-six French, and the same number of Irish, in all one hundred and forty, marching out with four pieces of cannon, two mortars, matches lighted, ball in mouth, drums beating, and colours flying, the full and entire honours of war! The English to whom they surrendered the place were lost in admiration of such heroism.—(*De Quincy*, vol. 5, 250).

The foregoing notices of Jeremiah O'Mahony, the gallant lieutenant-colonel of the Limerick regiment, will not be unacceptable to the reader. Those who desire to know more of the character and genius of O'Mahony, are referred to Mr. O'Connor's work, and Bellerue's history of the campaigns of Vendôme, pp. 237-8-9. For his eminent services in the war of the Spanish succession, he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-general and created count of Castile by Philip the fifth, and was further rewarded by the appointment of governor of Sicily by the same prince. On the continent he was always styled "le fameux Mahoni."

Charles, fifth viscount Clare, dying of the wounds received at Ramilies, was succeeded in the title and it may be said in the proprietorship of his regiment, by his infant son Charles, afterwards the Mareschal Thomond and hero of Fontenoy. His father and the duke of Berwick had married the daughters of Henry Bulkeley, master of the household of king James, and the young Clare's orphanage

was protected by the gratitude of the French monarch, and the guardianship of his uncle. Born in March, 1699, he had scarcely attained the age of seven years at his father's decease, yet Louis, when conferring the command of the Clare regiment on Morrogh O'Brien of Carrigogunnell its lieutenant-colonel, a soldier who had earned distinction in every battle in which the French army was engaged for twenty years before the capitulation of Limerick,⁽⁷⁾ took care that out of the emoluments appertaining to the command of the corps, a sum of six thousand livres per annum should be appropriated for the support of the son of its former commander. That from the moment of his birth the child was destined to the command of the Clare regiment, is evident from his being enrolled in its ranks as a captain when he was not yet five years old, his first commission being dated the 1st of July, 1703. Serving under the tutelage and command of his uncle when of age to undergo the toil and danger incidental to active service, he commenced his military career in Spain in 1719, and was in the next year, on the decease of Morrogh O'Brien, commissioned as colonel-in-chief of the Clare regiment.

The peace of Utrecht, proclaimed in London on the 5th of May, 1713, put an end to the war between France and England. During the peace which ensued, the young lord Clare took the opportunity of paying a visit to his friends in England. George the first had by this time succeeded to the crown vacant by the death of Anne, and had put himself entirely into the hands of the Whig party, by whom the Hanoverian succession had been promoted and brought to a successful issue. The new king was not forgetful of the claims of this party, and rewarded its chiefs by promoting some to the peerage and elevating to higher rank others who had already attained that dignity. Among the appointments made on his coronation, Henry earl of Thomond was created a peer of England by the title of viscount Tadcaster. This nobleman's father-in-law, the duke of Somerset, was made master of the horse, and his eldest daughter had married the eminent statesman Sir William Wyndham. All these circumstances were favourable

the appearance of lord Clare in London. It is stated that on one of these occasions he was presented at court to king George, and was graciously received, lord Thomond apprising his majesty how nearly he stood connected to his friend, and his anxiety that as he was the next heir to his honours, he might be permitted to enjoy his Irish estates. It is said his majesty was willing to overlook the events which had led to the expatriation of lord Clare's ancestors from their native country, but as it was not in his power to dispense with the laws then in force, his lordship's conformity with the church as by law established became an indispensable condition to the proposed arrangement. Lord Clare's religious scruples, it is said, prevented his availing himself of the kind intentions of his relative, but the earl of Thomond, as he could not give effect to his wishes in the way he had proposed, left by will to the object of his regard a sum of twenty thousand pounds, his extensive Clare estates having been by the same instrument devised to Morrogh, lord O'Brien, the son of the fourth earl of Inchiquin, in tail male, the reversion in fee to his own nephew Percy Wyndham.⁽⁸⁾

The war between France and the emperor, arising out of the disputed election of a king of Poland in 1733, gave occasion to lord Clare to resume active employment with his regiment, and he was attached to the army of the Rhine, commanded by his uncle, the mareschal duke of Berwick. In the month of February of the next year he was appointed to the command of a brigade, and was engaged in June in the siege of Philipsburg, where Berwick was killed by a cannon shot as he was inspecting the trenches. Lord Clare had a narrow escape, the ball which inflicted a death wound on the mareschal having grazed his shoulder.⁽⁹⁾ Peace having been made between the emperor and the French monarch in 1735, his lordship was appointed inspector-general of infantry, and advanced to the rank of mareschal-de-camp, or major-general, and on the death of his friend and relative the earl of Thomond at Dublin in 1741, he assumed that title in France, which the law of attainder would not permit him to do in England. He was thenceforward known on the continent as the mareschal count de Thomond.

George the second having resolved to support the queen of Hungary against the formidable confederacy by which she was assailed, assembled in the spring of the year 1743 a powerful army in the Netherlands under the command of the earl of Stair. This force, composed of sixteen thousand British troops, augmented by a somewhat greater number of Hanoverians and Hessians, were on their march to join prince Charles of Lorrain, when the French king, to prevent the junction, ordered the mareschal de Noailles to oppose them. The French on the 26th of June had occupied a position of great strength with the village of Dettingen on their right, a wood on their left, and a morass in the centre. Posted thus advantageously in the very way of the British, the latter must have fought at a very great disadvantage or have surrendered themselves prisoners of war, when the duke de Grammont eager to distinguish himself, not content with remaining in an impregnable position, rashly passed the defile and gave battle. The French cavalry charged the British with their usual ardour, and succeeded in throwing their cavalry into some disorder, but this was retrieved by the infantry who were animated by the presence and encouragement of their sovereign. The French were obliged to give way, with the loss of about 5000 men killed, wounded and prisoners. This was the last engagement in which a king of England was allowed to command an army in the field or expose his person in battle. It was also the occasion on which, when an eye-witness of the valour of the Irish troops in the French ranks, his majesty uttered the memorable expression, "Cursed be the laws which deprive me of such subjects."

The battle of Dettingen was the result of a treaty between the king of England and the queen of Hungary, by which the former bound himself to take the field against her enemies with a force of twelve thousand men. It had not been preceded by any declaration of war between France and England. The practices of the chevalier de St. George with his partisans in England and Scotland, and the encouragement he received from the French court, which engaged to supply him with the means for making a final at-

tempt to regain the crown of the British dominions, at last produced that essential preliminary. Mutual declarations of war were made by the two courts in March, 1743, the French on the 20th, the English on the last day of that month. The battle of Fontenoy, the great engagement of the war, in which the English army was defeated through the instrumentality of Irish troops, is thus described by Mr. Crowe in his history of France :—

“ BATTLE OF FONTENOY.

“ A large army commanded by mareschal Saxe, and honoured by the presence of both king and dauphin, laid siege to Tournay. The duke of Cumberland, who commanded an inferior force of English, Dutch, and Hanoverians, mustering little more than 50,000 men, whilst the French numbered 90,000, marched, nevertheless, to raise the siege. The remembrance of Dettingen, and a wish to rival Marlboro's victories, inspired him with this presumption. Mareschal Saxe advanced, leaving about 15,000 men to observe the siege, and took post at Fontenoy, his right wing resting on that village, his left on the wood of Barri, and his army drawn up in several lines across the interval. Not content with his superior force, the French mareschal covered the wood and Fontenoy with intrenchments and batteries, imitating the position and conduct of Villars at Malplaquet. The duke of Cumberland advanced to give battle on the 11th of May, the prince of Waldeck commanding the Dutch on his left. The cannonade began, and its first victim was the duke de Grammont, the cause of the loss at Dettingen. The first attack was against Fontenoy, but the batteries repulsed the assailants three times. The duke then despatched an officer to carry the wood of Barri, but there was no mastering either position. The English were thus exposed to the cross fire from the right and left of the French. The duke of Cumberland resolved on the daring attempt to push on betwixt them towards the French centre. This he did, the entire force of the English infantry forming, as much from instinct and necessity as from order, into one solid mass or column. Unfortunately nei.

ther the cavalry nor the Dutch could keep up with this attack, the interval between Fontenoy and the wood of Barri being so narrow that they must have fallen upon either of these two formidable positions. The columns of English therefore advanced alone, dragging their artillery ; whole files were carried away as they passed between the French batteries ; but these once passed, nothing could resist them. A pause of politeness took place as the guards of the rival nations approached each other. Salutations were made and returned. ' Fire first, gentlemen of the French guards !' cried the English officers. ' Nay, fire you first, messieurs,' replied their enemies. It came at last, and fatally. The French officers fell thick. Their lines were broken. Despite of the reputation of mareschal Saxe, and although he acted the part of an able general in his preparations for the battle, he was altogether wanting in its heat. His dying state—he was carried in a litter—might excuse this, but could not remedy it. The formidable column still advanced, the French charging it without effect in companies and squadrons. Saxe began to give orders for the retreat. The king was already warned of his danger. The smallest aid of cavalry would at this moment have routed the panic-struck French, and secured the victory to the English ; but the duke was without that indispensable instrument of victory, whilst the cumbrous columns, for want of it, saw victory before them, but dared not break up their mass to snatch it. Seeing the immobility of the English, Lally, who commanded the Irish brigade, exclaimed, ' Why not bring up the cannon of the reserve to bear upon them ?' The duke de Richelieu caught up the thought, repeated and insisted on it to the king. Saxe approved. The few cannon by enfilading the column sufficed to scatter and make fearful breaches in it. The Irish brigade composed of catholic exiles, rushed upon their English enemies. The French rallied and returned to the attack, and the almost victorious column, defeated in its turn, was obliged to trace back its perilous path in disorder, leaving the battle-field dearly purchased in the possession of the French."

This was the second time the French arms were saved

from disastrous defeat by the prowess of the brigade. The British troops saw that victory which they had won by the most enduring fortitude, wrenched from them at the moment of success by their adversaries, and retired with the melancholy consolation, if such it could be called, that they yielded not to the soldiers of France, but to their own countrymen.^(v)

The consequences to France of the victory of Fontenoy were the surrender of Tournay, Ghent, Ostend, Dendermond, Oudenarde, Newport, and Aeth, and the conquest of the greater part of the Austrian Netherlands. In the next year lord Clare and the brigade shared in the victory at Rocoux, on the 11th of October, where the allied Austrians and British, under the command of prince Charles of Lorraine and the prince of Waldeck, were defeated with the loss of five thousand men and thirty pieces of cannon. This victory following so soon after the defeat of the allies at Landfeldt on the 2d of July, in which Clare and his brigade, as usual, distinguished themselves, led to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which all the treaties from that of Westphalia, at the close of the thirty years' war downwards, were confirmed. Thus was a war concluded in which England had engaged merely for the defence of the king's German dominions, and during which the allies had hardly ever engaged without sustaining defeat, while the lavish outlay of her blood and treasure filled England with discontent.

After the victory of the French at Rocoux, and the conferences which were being held at Breda with a view to a pacification, lord Clare returned to Paris. It was at this time that he addressed a letter to one of his officers who had returned to Ireland to procure recruits for the regiment, which had been usually supplied from the county of Clare. While engaged on this mission, Macdonogh, the officer in question, entered into a matrimonial engagement, on which occasion he received the following letter; and as any production of lord Clare's can hardly fail to interest the reader, it is here subjoined:—

(v) Vide post, Appendix.

“Paris, October, 1746.

“Dear Macdonogh,

“I congratulate you on your marriage, but trust it will not induce you to retire from the Irish brigade. I hope you do not forget the memorable day they had at Fontenoy, and the other glorious days in which they had a share. Your promotion goes on, and all are wishing for your return. With your assistance and O'Brien's, the ranks are near filled up. I hope to see you soon. How does my old friend and relative Captain Dermot O'Brien get on? Is he in good health, and permitted to live and pray in peace?—
Yours, “CLARE.

“To Monsieur
Mons. A. Macdonogh,
co. Clare, Ireland.”

It would seem that the triumphant success of the Irish brigade at Fontenoy was viewed with no small jealousy by the French. In proof of this it is stated that Creagh, the lieutenant-colonel of lord Clare's dragoons, who had the cross of the order of St. Louis shot through his body in that action, was nine months soliciting another at the heralds' office in Paris before he could get it.

After the brief peace of 1735, a reduction of the French army was decided on, and five men in each company were ordered to be disbanded. The reputation of the Irish brigade was so well established, and its services understood and appreciated, that lord Clare found no difficulty in persuading the French monarch instead of diminishing the strength of the Irish regiment by the proposed reduction, to form the five men of each company into two new ones, to be added to the fifteen of which each battalion was composed, and thus raise them to the strength of the French which consisted of seventeen companies each battalion.

As, according to one of the maxims of the great king of Prussia, “a married soldier is not worth a shot of powder,” the active life of lord Clare, almost wholly spent in military pursuits, did not permit him, until a late period, to enter on the married state. It was only in 1755 that his marriage with the lady Marie Genéviève Louisa Gauthier de

Chiffreville, marchionesse of Chiffreville in Normandy, took place. The result of this marriage was the birth of three children, two sons and a daughter. The second son born a few months before the decease of his father, died before he reached his fourth year. The eldest, as in his lordship's case, had the colonelcy of his regiment reserved to him at his father's decease, on condition of paying half the twelve thousand livres which the appointment was estimated to be worth, to the officer who should be placed in command of the regiment during the minority.

The marriage of lord Clare with the Norman heiress, as a matter of course, necessitated their attendance at court. Having the privilege of the *entree*, his lordship had the advantage of unrestricted personal intercourse with his sovereign. It was on one of these occasions that lord Clare gave expression to a saying which is not likely to be soon forgotten. His majesty observing to him one day, "Mareschal, some of your countrymen give me a great deal of trouble." "Sire," replied the mareschal, "your majesty's enemies make the same complaint in every part of the world."

Lord Clare, or the mareschal count de Thomond, as he was styled after the decease in Dublin of Henry the eighth earl of Thomond without issue, departed this life on the 9th September, 1761, while commander-in-chief in the province of Languedoc. His only surviving son Charles, seventh viscount Clare, and on the continent tenth earl of Thomond, dying in 1774 without issue, this branch of the O'Briens, distinguished for its fidelity to the Stuart princes, and for its high military reputation from Limerick to Fontenoy, became extinct. The line of the hero of Clontarf, Brian of the tributes, was thenceforward represented by the earls of Inchiquin, the house of Dromoland, and the less conspicuous one of Ennistymond.

The history of the viscounts of Clare, and their expatriation and settlement in France, have necessarily introduced into these pages the foregoing fragmentary notices of the achievements of the Irish brigade. The history of

that celebrated corps has yet to be written. Unrivalled in valour,—unsurpassed in loyalty to the colours of the princes under which they marched to victory,—unvanquished in the midst of defeat, it would require some modern Xenophon to write the history of their heroic achievements. The literary talents of the scholar must be joined to the military skill and experience of such a writer to do justice to the task. And the archives of the war departments of the nations of Europe must be consulted and compared, and the fields rendered memorable by their valour visited and inspected,—the politics and treaties of France, Spain, Germany, and Italy, investigated and studied, before a work claiming to present an adequate record of their fame can be presented to the reader. Our distinguished countryman Sir William Napier,* at once soldier and scholar,—able alike to wield the sword and handle the pen, has furnished the world in his immortal work with such an exemplar. A writer possessed of the qualifications which distinguish the accomplished historian of the great struggle of the first half of the nineteenth century, alone could do justice to those soldiers whose services during the entire of the eighteenth, contributed to the security and dignity of the French monarchy, and produced at its overthrow from the doomed Louis when obliged by the decree of the convention to part with the Irish brigade, the proud testimonial presented to them in the banner bearing this estimate of their services,

“1692—1792,

“SEMPER ET UBIQUE FIDELES.”

* Since these observations were written, this eminent soldier, patriot, and writer, has, to the deep regrets of his family and country, paid the debt of nature. His decease occurred on the 12th Feb. 1860, in the 74th year of his age.

CHAPTER XXV.

A.D. 1692-1778...First parliament of William abruptly terminated on the rejection of a money bill by the Irish commons...Second parliament of William...Penalties on the intermarriage of protestants and Roman catholics...Molyneux's book burnt at the instance of the English house of commons...Death of William, and accession of Anne...Commencement of the penal laws...Death of the queen, and accession of the house of Hanover...Curious proceedings at the Clare election of October, 1715...Arbitrary character of the Irish house of commons...Act of 6 Geo. I. declaratory of the right of the English parliament to bind Ireland...Swift...Death of George the first and accession of George the second...Roman catholics deprived of the elective franchise...Declaration against the tithe of agistment a discouragement to agriculture, and productive of agrarian outrages...Doctor Lucas banished...Doctor Johnson's tribute to his character...Death of George the second, and return of Lucas to Ireland...Zeal of the country party...Tottenham and his boots...Arrival of lord Chesterfield as viceroy...His high character...Recalled for being too favourable to the views of the Irish...Victory of the popular leaders in parliament...Origin of the undertakers...Agitation to shorten the duration of parliaments...Bill for limiting the duration of parliament returned from the English council, and orders issued for the election of a new parliament...Death of Sir Edward O'Brien, and accession of Sir Lucius to the baronetcy...His parliamentary talents conspicuous...Rejection of money bills which had not originated in the Irish commons...Protest of the lord-lieutenant entered on the journals...Inquiry into the state of the pension list...Conduct of the court party severely censured...Great depression and distress in Ireland...Relaxation of the penal laws...Alteration of the oath of allegiance...Jealousy evinced by the Irish commons at the alteration of their money bills by the authorities in England...Ogle moves that an altered bill certified under the great seal of England should be burnt by the common hangman...Origin of the Irish volunteers.

ALTHOUGH the war of the revolution was terminated by the treaty of Limerick, the passions and prejudices of the contending parties, the victors and the vanquished in the late struggle, were not allowed to subside. Complaints were addressed to the English parliament from the former that protections had been granted to the Irish not included in the articles of Limerick, so that protestants were deprived

of the benefit of the law against them ; that additions had been made to the articles of Limerick after the capitulation had been signed, and the place surrendered ; and they besought his majesty to redress these abuses by which the papists had been greatly encouraged, and the protestant interest weakened in Ireland. Such and the like were the complaints of the dominant party, and were paid little attention to by William, engrossed as he was by the war against France. A parliament was summoned to meet on the 5th October, 1692, to grant supplies and declare the title of their majesties to the crown. To this assembly were returned for the county of Clare, Sir Donogh O'Brien and Sir Joseph Williamson, and for the town of Ennis, John Gore and Francis Burton. The parliament was not found very compliant, for they rejected one of the money bills on its being returned from the English council, because it had not originated with themselves. The spirit thus displayed by the Irish commons caused the session to be suddenly terminated. After passing a few acts, lord Sidney, in his speech on the prorogation of parliament, accused the commons of invading the royal prerogative by their rejection of the money bill. On being thus rebuked, they asked leave to send commissioners to the king and queen to explain their conduct, to which Sidney replied, that they might go to beg their majesties' pardon for their seditious and riotous assembly. He then entered on the journals of the house his protest against their supposed right of originating money bills, and asked the opinions of the judges who declared in his favour, and decided that the conduct of the commons was contrary to the statute of Poynings. Thus was commenced that disagreement between the Irish parliament and England, which, after fruitless attempts on the part of the crown and the legislature of the sister kingdom to exert an unconstitutional authority over what they deemed nothing more than a province, was terminated before the close of the next century, through the agency of the volunteers, by the withdrawal on the part of England of that arrogant and unfounded assertion, that the king, lords, and commons of that country had, and by right ought

to have, power to make laws to bind the subjects of Ireland !

Such was the termination of the first parliament (excluding that of James) that sat in Ireland for six and twenty years. And this without the pretence of religious discord, the English and Irish parliaments being, on this subject, of one accord, and equally ready to abridge whatever amount of toleration had been conceded to the Irish catholics by the treaty of Limerick.

Of this proofs were not long wanting. The exigencies of the state required that a parliament should be again summoned, and in 1695 that assembly was once more convened. It was necessary to have the attainders of James made void, to pass an act against foreign education, to disarm papists, and to enact a poll tax. The former viceroy was replaced by lord Capel who was selected as lord deputy, from his known inclination to avoid a too faithful observance of the treaty of Limerick. This nobleman did not fail to fulfil the expectations entertained of him by the dominant party, and in carrying out the act of disarmament, the privileges conferred by the articles of Limerick received so strict a construction that none were permitted to carry arms but those who could prove that on the 3d October, 1691, they were entitled to the benefit of the articles of capitulation. For collecting the poll tax commissioners were appointed in the several counties, and as those for the county of Clare exhibit the names of the principal gentry at the close of the seventeenth century settled in that county, their names are here inserted from the statute. They are as follows :—

Sir Donogh O'Brien, bart., Sir Henry Ingoldsby, members of parliament for the county ; Francis Burton, and Francis Gore, members for Ennis ; the Hon. John O'Brien, Thomas Hickman, Simon Purdon, Edmond Perry, Henry Lee, James Macdonnell, Augustine Fitzgerald, Neptune Blood dean of Kilfenora, John Hawkins clerk, Walter Hickman, William Smith, the provost of Ennis for the time being, and James Hamilton, Esqrs.

But the most remarkable of the acts passed by this parliament was one entitled an act to prevent protestants

intermarrying with papists, by the first section of which it was enacted, that if any protestant woman possessed of landed property or personal estate of the value of £500, should, without previously obtaining a certificate in writing from the minister of the parish, the bishop or archbishop, and a justice of the peace living in the neighbourhood, or any two of them that her intended husband was a known protestant, contract marriage with such person, such estates or interest should pass over to and vest in the next protestant of kin, and that the wife should be deemed to all intents and purposes dead in law. A similar disability for marrying Roman catholics was imposed on protestant husbands by the second section ; which, reciting that the marriage of protestant persons with popish maidens has proved pernicious to the protestant interest, it commonly happening that such husbands are reconciled to popery and become papists, enacted, that if any person shall so marry without obtaining a certificate from the parson and other persons as afore mentioned that such intended wife was a known protestant, such person so marrying shall be deemed and taken, to all intents and purposes, a papist, and be incapable of being heir, executor, administrator, or guardian to any person or persons whatever, and be disabled to sit in either house of parliament, and be rendered incapable of holding any civil or military employment whatever, *unless such person shall within one year after the marriage, procure such wife to be converted to the protestant religion, and shall have received a certificate to that effect under the hand and seal of the bishop of the diocese, the archbishop of the province, or the chancellor of the kingdom, and shall procure such certificate to be enrolled in chancery.* Comment on such a mode of propagating the doctrines of the reformation is unnecessary, although it is to be feared that the notion has its advocates still, and is reciprocated by both the extremes of party with a sincerity which bodes little good for the peace and harmony of society.

The arbitrary character of the second parliament of William is further shewn in the expulsion from the house of commons of Robert Saunderson, member for the county

of Cavan. The association for the defence of the person and government of the king occasioned by the conspiracy for his assassination in 1695, was signed by all the members of parliament except Saunderson, and on the report of the sheriff of Cavan that Mr. Saunderson refused to sign the instrument of association, it was on the 27th June, 1696, moved and carried, that he be expelled the house, and a new writ ordered for the vacant seat, without further inquiry.

Before the date above-mentioned lord Capel left for England, appointing as lords justices the marquis of Winchester and Ruvigny, created earl of Galway for his services in the war of the revolution. In the interval between the prorogation in 1697, and the meeting of the parliament on the 27th September, 1698, their lordships made a progress through the south and west of the kingdom, in the course of which they made a brief sojourn on their way from Limerick to Galway, with Sir Donogh O'Brien at his residence at Sixmilebridge. On the 2d August of that year they resumed their journey through the county of Clare, having completed an inspection of the forts and garrisons in the neighbourhood, particularly that of Limerick, which from the correspondence kept up with the exiled family and their adherents, there was reason to apprehend might be the scene of a third struggle before the close of the century. The parliament of 1695 was on the 26th January 1698-9 prorogued, and eventually dissolved; not, however, before they received a proof of the jealousy with which their aims at legislative independence had inspired the English commons. This assembly had viewed with alarm the rising spirit of the Irish parliament, and were particularly incensed at the publication by Molyneux, member for the university, of a book, in which he proved conclusively that the kingdom of Ireland was independent of the parliament of England. In an address to his majesty they desired he would give directions for the discovery and punishment of the author. The work in question accordingly had the honour of being publicly burnt by the hands of the common executioner in front of the house of lords, a species of vica-

rious martyrdom, which only served still more to elevate the author in the estimation of his countrymen, and to extend the influence of his opinions. They bore fruit in due season.

The death of William on the 8th of March, 1702, and the accession of Anne, rendered the calling of a new parliament necessary. To that assembly, which met on the 21st September, 1703, were elected for the county of Clare Sir Donogh O'Brien and his son Lucius ; and for the town of Ennis, Francis Burton and Simon Purdon. The dreary struggles of party, by which the reign of Anne was characterised, need not be dwelt on here. It may suffice to note that the parliament commenced its labours by another assault on the treaty of Limerick in passing the act 2 Anne, ch. 6, the sixteenth and seventeenth sections of which enacted, that that which is regarded as the most holy of the ordinances of the Christian faith should be profaned by being made a test for qualification to office. The Whigs, although anxious for the passing of any measure which should weaken the influence of the adherents of the exiled family still hoping for a return to the throne, were little pleased at the passing of a measure which was extremely disrelished by the dissenters. The queen, too, had objections to it, as she was at the time engaged in urging on her ally, the emperor, to grant some indulgence to his protestant subjects in Germany and the low countries. The test act was, nevertheless, allowed to become law, amidst hopes that its manifest violation of the articles of Limerick, and its interference with the rights of conscience, could not allow it to remain long a disgrace to the statute-book. It was defended by its promoters as a means of resisting the attempts of the party of the Stuarts to replace that family on the throne, and to be themselves reinstated in the possession of those properties which they were declared to have forfeited by their adherence to their legitimate sovereign. There can be little doubt, if any, that the security of property as it was then settled was the true source of the various restrictive measures passed in the reign of the last of the Stuart monarchs.

Before the close of Anne's reign Sir Donogh O'Brien was chosen a member of the privy council of Ireland, and Lucius his son and colleague in the representation of Clare, received the honour of knighthood. These promotions were no doubt owing to the alliance of the latter with Catherine, the cousin of the queen, as has been already observed. Sir Thomas Keightley, the father of Catherine, sat in the first parliament of Anne for the county of Kildare, having been returned for two other places, Castlemartyr, in the county of Cork, and Hillsboro', in that of Down.

The English parliament having been dissolved shortly after the ratification, on the 5th of May, 1713, of the articles of peace between France and England, the Irish parliament had its labours terminated in the same manner. The duke of Shrewsbury having been appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, writs were issued for assembling the new parliament, which sat on the 25th November, 1713. The former members were again elected for the county of Clare, Francis Burton and Francis Gore sitting for Ennis, the latter in place of David Bindon, declared, on petition, to have been unduly elected. This, the second parliament of Anne, was brought to a premature close by the death of the queen on the 1st August, 1714.

On the accession of the house of Hanover, a new parliament was called. Whether the terms Whig and Tory had entered into the political phraseology of the people of the county of Clare, composed as it was of transplanted persons, and the motley crowd of those who purchased properties under the court of claims, or whether the struggle of protestants and catholics, which has unfortunately continued to our own days, embittered the feelings of the electors of the period in question, the election of members to the first parliament of George the first in the county of Clare was marked by incidents deserving of notice here. Sir Donogh O'Brien, the former member, declining from advanced age to undergo the labours of attendance on parliament, his second son Henry and Nicholas Westby were put in nomination to represent the freeholders of Clare, and were opposed by Francis Gore, member for Ennis in the last par-

liament, and John Ievers. The latter two were returned by the sheriff under the following curious circumstances disclosed in the petition of the unsuccessful candidates, which was presented to the house of commons soon after its meeting. The petition, which was presented by Messrs. O'Brien and Westby on their own behalf and on that of the majority of the protestant freeholders, stated that they and the sitting members Gore and Ievers had been candidates publicly announced for the representation of the county of Clare. That Arthur Gore (son of the said Francis the candidate), having been the high sheriff, and having received the writ of election on the 7th or 9th of October, 1715, did not give notice of the time or place of holding the election until the 21st of that month, when at a county court held at Asollas, he caused proclamation to be made that he would, on the 27th of that month, between the hours of ten and twelve o'clock in the morning, proceed to hold the election. That he signed warrants for the freeholders to meet at the said last-mentioned place without stating the precise hour. That the sheriff having previously caused a stage to be erected on the lands of Mount Ievers, near the house of the said Ievers one of the candidates, and close to Sixmilebridge, did, at the hour of nine in the forenoon of the said day of election, call a poll, and did poll nine or ten votes for the said Ievers and his father, and about one or two for the petitioners. That the said sheriff was then informed that a great number of freeholders were within a quarter of a mile of the place on their way to vote, and he was asked to delay declaring the poll, but refused to comply with the request; and that he then and there declared his father and John Ievers duly elected. That shortly after and before the hour of ten o'clock the petitioner Henry O'Brien and Charles Smyth on behalf of Nicholas Westby, came to the place of election with about 150 of the known protestant freeholders, and demanded a poll, which was refused. That as the said petitioner and Charles Smyth, and the freeholders whom they claimed to have polled, were riding off from the place, seven or eight of the sheriff's men wearing his livery, with charged carbines, fired a volley at

the petitioner and those by whom he was so accompanied. That after the departure of the petitioner and the said Smyth, the sheriff went to the house of one Stephen Bagwell, and there did receive the votes of several persons in favour of his father and levers, and did indent with them.

Another petition, corroborating the allegations of the petitioners, and praying that the election should be set aside, was presented from Neptune Blood, dean of Kilfenora, George Colpoys, and Robert Harrison, Esqrs., and was referred to the committee appointed to inquire into the matter of the petitioners.

Whether the petitioners failed to prove the allegations in their petition, or that the state of parties in the new parliament was unfavourable to them, is not certain, but it appears from the journals of the house of commons that the election was confirmed on the 13th of December following.

The arbitrary character of this parliament, and its disregard of the ordinary principles of law and of common justice, is evidenced in several instances, two of which are here inserted. On the 6th of June, 1716, it was ordered by the house of commons that Richard Davis, sub-sheriff of the county of Dublin, be committed to custody for arresting Stephen Lamullier a menial domestic of William Moore, a member of the house, and by such conduct being guilty of a breach of its privileges, the breach consisting in executing the king's writ! In the next year, on the 10th December, in a like temper they resolved that one Cornelius Swyny was guilty of a breach of privilege for insulting and beating the servant of Thomas Trotter, a member, and an order was made that he be taken and committed to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms.

These proceedings of the Irish commons were not unobserved by the parliament of England. As long, however, as they were limited to the protection of the servants of members, and such like unimportant exercises of authority, they were not likely to receive, as they did not seem to deserve, any serious notice. But when the Irish lords claimed to exercise the powers of a court of judicature in the last resort, the legislature of England thought it high time to

interfere. The occasion which gave rise to the statute 6 Geo. I, declaring the dependence of Ireland on England, and that the British parliament had full power and authority to make laws to bind the people of Ireland, was as follows :—

A person of the name of Annesley, in a suit with one Hester Sherlock for lands in the county of Kildare, obtained a decree from the Irish court of exchequer, which on appeal to the house of lords was reversed. On a further appeal to the English house of lords, the decree of the Irish house was reversed, and that of the court of exchequer confirmed, and an order made on the sheriff to put Annesley in possession. The sheriff, on being ordered by the barons of the exchequer to act, having the fear of the house of lords before him, refused to obey, and was severely fined in consequence. Petitioning the house of lords, his fines were annulled, and the barons of the exchequer taken into custody. This proceeding was followed by a memorial from the Irish house of lords to the king, stating their rights, and claiming his majesty's support of their privileges and lawful authority.

The memorial was read before the assembled lords of England, but it only served to confirm them in their opinions. They passed resolutions, commending the firmness of the barons of the exchequer in Ireland, and supplicating his majesty to confer some mark of his royal favour on them for the sufferings they had endured. They then brought in an act for the better securing the dependence of Ireland on the crown of England, the tenor of which is in the words following :—

“Whereas the house of lords of Ireland have of late, against law, assumed a power to examine and correct the judgments and decrees of the courts of justice therein, be it declared by and with the consent (and so forth), that the kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and ought of right to be, subordinate and dependent upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, as inseparably annexed and united thereto, and that the king's majesty by and with the consent (and so forth) had, hath, and ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland.” A more arbitrary and tyrannical de-

claration of authority, it is hardly possible to conceive, and that, too, made by statesmen who, only thirty years before, had called in the aid of a foreign power to rescue them from the oppression of their own sovereign. It is not to be wondered at that in the midst of such violations of principle in the one parliament as in the other, the "fierce indignation" of Swift should have found vent, and excited those who were his countrymen only by the accident of his birth having occurred among them, to a vigorous self-assertion. By his energy and boldness, and his fearless appeals to the instincts of self-preservation in the midst of the flood of corruption which pervaded the land, he roused the country to patriotism. In the year following that in which the Irish parliament had been declared a nullity, Swift recommended a general use of articles solely of Irish manufacture. Waters, the printer of the pamphlet in which this advice was conveyed, was arrested and brought to trial, and on the trial the Chief Justice Whitshed, in his charge to the jury solemnly declared that the writer's object was to bring in the pretender. The jury were of a different opinion, and were not disposed to find in favour of the court. They were remanded no fewer than *nine* times, and at last brought in a special verdict, upon which, as only declaring certain facts which required that the superior court should apply the law to them, no judgment could at that stage of the proceeding be given. The circumstances of the trial were of such a scandalous nature, and such an outrage on the administration of justice, that no further progress was made to convict the printer.

Another of the Dean's productions—one of the Drapier's letters—was deemed so seditious that lord Carteret, the lord lieutenant, thought it should be prosecuted, and offered a reward of £300 to discover the author. The printer was again sought to be punished, but the grand jury refused to find the bills. Thus grew up slowly but surely that spirit of independence which, after the lapse of fifty years, enabled the Irish parliament to shake off the yoke, and to obtain the repeal of the 6th of George the first, a concession extorted from the fears rather than the justice

of the British ministry, and attributable mainly, if not solely, to the imposing attitude of the Irish volunteers.

The death of George the first on the 11th of June, 1727, put an end to the parliament called in Ireland, twelve years before, at his accession. A new one was summoned to meet in Dublin on the 14th of November, and as Sir Donogh O'Brien had paid the debt of nature ten years before, surviving his eldest son Lucius, the baronetcy and the pretensions of the family devolved on his grandson Edward, who now became a candidate for the representation of Clare, and was destined to meet with opposition on the part of the sheriff such as has been already recorded in these pages. At the election in 1727 the candidates were Sir Edward O'Brien, Francis Burton, John Ievers, and George Purdon. The sheriff Thomas Studdert, or Stothard, as it was then written, returned Burton and Purdon as duly elected, and Sir Edward, on the 30th of November in that year, presented his petition against the return of George Purdon. The petition alleged that the sheriff behaved with great partiality, receiving the votes of unqualified persons for Ievers and Purdon, and refusing those of duly qualified persons tendered for the petitioner and Francis Burton, and that although he had a greater number of voters in his favour than any of the candidates and should have been declared duly elected along with Burton, yet that the sheriff returned the name of Purdon instead of his, and he prayed redress.

A petition was also presented by John Ievers against the sheriff, charging that functionary with interposing artful delays and arbitrary adjournments to the progress of the election, and with refusing to hear the petitioner's objections to the votes allowed to be taken for the other candidates.

On the reception of both these petitions, a resolution passed the house that the witnesses should be examined in the most solemn manner; a resolution seemingly implying, that on previous occasions, great irregularities must have crept into the trials of controverted elections. It appeared, Ievers having been allowed to withdraw his petition and Sir Edward O'Brien permitted to prove bribery and cor-

ruption on the part of the sitting member Purdon, that the numbers of the voters as alleged by the petitioner were as follows:—for Sir Edward O'Brien 196, for Francis Burton 187, for George Purdon 182, and for John Ievers 149. And the committee having on the hearing resolved, that it was their opinion that a protestant married to a popish wife since the 1st January, 1697 who had not, within one year after such marriage become a protestant, had not a right to vote at any election for members to serve in parliament, they accordingly declared that Sir Edward O'Brien had been duly elected, and should have been returned instead of George Purdon, and on the complaint of misconduct against the sheriff he was ordered to attend the house. The journals of the house of commons from which the foregoing notices are extracted, afford no further information as to the proceedings adopted against the sheriff. In this parliament Arthur Gore and Samuel Bindon sat for the town of Ennis, the former being shortly after replaced by David Bindon.

It deserves to be noted in reference to the above-mentioned resolution of the Clare election committee, that protestants, who had not succeeded in procuring the conformity of their wives to the established church, were not, in terms, deprived of the elective franchise by the 9th of William III. ch. 3, but only disqualified from *sitting* in parliament. The resolution of the committee was obviously a further restriction on the right of exercising the elective franchise, and indicates the strong protestant feeling of the parliament of the second George. This was strikingly proved by the passing of an act shortly after its meeting, giving an entirely protestant character to the legislature. By the act 2 Anne, ch. 6, s. 24, papists were allowed to vote at elections of members to serve in parliament on taking the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, and producing the certificate of the clerk of the peace that they had so qualified themselves. By the 1 Geo. II., ch. 9, s. 7, they were altogether disqualified from voting.

This total disfranchisement of the catholics, and the operation of the laws enacted by the parliament of Anne

to restrain the further growth of popery, particularly that by which persons in communion with the see of Rome were disqualified from acquiring or holding landed property, were not long in producing their natural consequences. Agriculture was neglected. And when in 1735 the house of commons passed their resolution, that enforcing tithes on grass lands, commonly known as the tithe of agistment, was calculated to impair the protestant interest and cause popery and infidelity to flourish, the entire burden of the support of the clergy of the establishment was thrown on the cultivators of the soil, and produced those agrarian outrages by which the middle of the eighteenth century was distinguished, and three out of the four provinces of the kingdom set in a flame. Some idea of the low state of agriculture two years after the accession of the second George, may be formed from the statement of provost Hutchinson,^(a) that in one year and six months, ending the 29th September, 1729, the cost of corn imported into Ireland amounted to the sum of £274,000. And that the evil was on the increase appears from the report of Boyle, the speaker, afterwards earl of Shannon, who stated that the cost of grain, malt, and meal imported into this kingdom in the year 1745, amounted to the enormous sum of £300,000.

To remedy the manifest and manifold evils arising from the neglect of the parliament, agitation, that instrument by which such important results have been attained at a later period, was resorted to. An individual made his appearance, of whom it was said that, beginning with the reform of a corporation, he ended with giving life to a kingdom.

Charles Lucas, M.D., whose statue, the record of the gratitude of his country, adorns the hall of the Royal Exchange in the city of Dublin, was born in the village of Corofin, in the county of Clare, on the estate of the O'Briens of Dromoland. Having served his time to an apothecary in the country, he came to Dublin to set up in the business of his profession, and was, soon after his arrival, admitted to the corporation and elected a member of the common

(a) Commercial Restraints.

council, or lower house, the upper consisting of the aldermen, a sort of imitation of the houses of parliament, in which the lord mayor represented the monarch. At the period of Lucas's election as a common councillor, the affairs of the corporation of Dublin appear to have been badly managed, and had given rise to much complaint. Lucas, of a bold and ardent nature, found scope for the exercise of these talents in making researches into the records and charters of the corporation, and, in the course of his investigations, discovered that the aldermen had greatly encroached on the rights of the commons. In 1741 he published the result of his researches, and extended his inquiries into the history and constitution of parliaments, and evoked that spirit among the people which rendered him particularly obnoxious to the castle and that portion of the house of commons which was under the influence of government. A vacancy having, in 1749, occurred in the representation of the city, Lucas was solicited to stand as a candidate for the seat. The government apprehensive of the result, preferred a complaint against some of Lucas's writings which they charged to be libellous, and the attorney general was ordered to prosecute him. Bending before the storm he retired to England, and, in his absence, Lucas was declared, by a vote of the obsequious commons, an enemy to his country. While in London he pursued the practice of his profession, and published a work on waters, which was reviewed by Doctor Johnson, whose acquaintance and intimacy he had acquired during his exile. Johnson's review of that work contains the following tribute to the worth and character of his friend :—

“The Irish ministers drove him (Lucas) from his native country by a proclamation in which they charged him with crimes which they never intended to be called to prove, and oppressed him by methods equally irresistible by guilt or innocence. Let the man thus driven into exile for having been the friend of his country, be received in every other place as a confessor of liberty, and let the tools of power be taught in turn, that they may rob, but cannot impoverish.”

On the death of George the second, Lucas returned to

Dublin, and was received with acclamations. The joy of his countrymen was vented in songs, the *refrain* of which contained the words "Lucas is welcome to Ireland." He was elected member for the city of Dublin in the first parliament of George the third, and continued in the representation to his death in the year 1771.⁽¹⁾

Hardy, in his life of Charlemont, observes of this faithful tribune of the people:—"His bodily infirmities, his gravity, his uncommon neatness of dress, his grey and venerable locks, blending with a pale but interesting countenance, in which an air of beauty was still visible, altogether excited attention, and no stranger ever entered the house of commons without asking who he was. He raised his voice in support of his country when all around him was desolation and silence."

Such was Charles Lucas. Lord Charlemont his friend and the idol of his country, always attributed to the labours and writings of Lucas that spirit which in the end succeeded in putting a limit to the duration of parliaments and raising his country to the dignity of a nation.

Yet even before Lucas's day, fettered and restricted as the Irish parliament was by the law of Poynings, there are instances on record displaying faint glimmerings of the light which burst forth so brightly at the era of the volunteers. In 1731, shortly after the arrival of the duke of Dorset as viceroy, an attempt was made by the court party to pass a vote to confer on his majesty, his heirs and successors, by a perpetual act, the supplies necessary for paying the interest of the newly-created national debt, and liquidating by degrees the principal. The attempt failed, and was succeeded by another, in which the supplies were proposed to be voted for twenty one years, instead of in perpetuity. The country party, as if afraid to push the victory too far, and as if disposed to make some concession to the courtiers, wavered. The house was, it was apparent, equally divided, when Tottenham, the member for Ross, who had ridden day and night to be in time for the debate or the division, entered the house, and, to the horror of the purists in dress among the members, booted and spurred, not having had

time to appear in a more suitable dress, gave his casting vote against the motion. The patriotic member was consoled for his violation of etiquette by the gratitude of his country, and "Tottenham and his boots" became a household word for many a day after.

The growth, although slow, of a national spirit in Ireland, required that a chief governor, more suited to the temper of the times, should be selected for the discharge of duties becoming every day more difficult. The last attempt of the Stuarts had taken place by the landing of Charles Edward in Scotland, and lord Chesterfield was chosen to fill the office of Irish viceroy. This nobleman's administration for the short time in which he was suffered to remain in the lieutenancy, was marked with prudence and discretion. While all around him were filled with alarm at the progress of the rebellion in Scotland, he preserved a tranquil attitude, and observing the total absence of any insurrectionary movement in Ireland, even treated the fears of the alarmists with ridicule. One morning his vice-treasurer coming to him in a fright, and assuring his excellency that all Connaught was up, the lord lieutenant pulled out his watch, and, looking at it, remarked, it was high time, for that it was just then nine o'clock ! So little apprehension had he of any attempt at insurrection on the part of the Irish, that he encouraged the formation of volunteer associations, and despatched four battalions to reinforce the royal army in Scotland. Displaying too great a leaning to Irish feelings and interests, he was recalled after the victory of Culloden, and in nine days from that event, left Ireland amidst the prayers and blessings of a people little accustomed to the generous sympathy and mild government which characterised the viceroyalty of Philip earl of Chesterfield.

Another instance of the progress of public spirit among the leaders of the country party deserves a record. A few years after the recal of lord Chesterfield, and in the second viceroyalty of the duke of Dorset, a sum of £53,000 remained in the treasury which the house of commons proposed to apply to the reduction of the national debt. The

lord lieutenant, in his speech to the parliament, stated that the king would graciously "*consent*" to the desired application of that sum. A bill was accordingly transmitted in the usual course to the English council, but without including the word "*consent*." The British cabinet remarked the omission, and inserting the important word, returned the bill thus altered, when it was accepted and passed by the Irish parliament. However, in 1753, two years after, the same set of circumstances occurring, the patriotic party in the Irish commons were able to throw out, by a majority of five votes, a similar bill in which a like alteration had been made by the cabinet of England, and this victory was celebrated throughout the country by public rejoicings.

This opposition to the government provoked, as might be expected, the displeasure of the viceroy and his supporters. Such of the popular party as happened to have held offices under government and were found to have voted against it, were instantly removed from their places. Discontents increased, and the public peace was so alarmingly disturbed, that the duke of Dorset made haste to withdraw from the kingdom. He was succeeded by the marquis of Hartington, afterwards fourth duke of Devonshire, whose arrival was the signal for great and important changes in favour of the country party. Stone, the primate, was removed from the privy council, Boyle his adversary, the leader of the opposition, was made earl of Shannon, and John Ponsonby, son of the earl of Bessborough, speaker of the house of commons.

The victory of the popular leaders over the government in 1753 introduced a new system of tactics into the policy of the administration. Noting the gradual advance of liberal principles in the lower house of parliament, the government saw their only hope to carry their measures lay in gaining over and attaching to them the great borough proprietors, who bargained and *undertook* to procure majorities for government on condition of the patronage of the state, to a certain extent, being conferred on themselves, so as to be able to attach and bind to them their dependents and supporters. These great proprietors were thence styled *undertakers*, and a result of the victory over govern-

ment in 1753 was, that a borough sold in the next year for three times as much as it had cost four years before. The tide of corruption set in with a steady current, and to such an extent had the purchase of votes by the government reached that in November, 1757, when the duke of Bedford succeeded as lord lieutenant, a vote was agreed to by the house of commons that the pensions and salaries placed on the civil establishment of Ireland, since the 23d of March, 1755, amounted to the annual sum of £28,103 ; that several of such pensions were granted for long and unusual terms, and several to persons not resident in the kingdom ; that granting so much of the public revenue in pensions was an improvident disposition of the revenue, an injury to the crown, and detrimental to the kingdom. An order was made that the house should attend the lord lieutenant, and request his grace to transmit these resolutions to the king. The lord lieutenant replied, that he could not, at the moment, determine whether it would be proper to transmit them or not. The house, on its return, resolved by a majority of twenty-one, that all orders be adjourned until an answer was received from the lord lieutenant. Next day, the government being alarmed, the secretary Rigby acquainted the house that he was desired by his grace to state that their resolutions of the 1st of November should be transmitted forthwith.

When it is considered that this parliament had sat for the long period of *thirty* years, and had a tenure of power limited only by the royal prerogative to dissolve it, it must be admitted that the victory of 1753 over the court, and the pensions' resolutions of four years later, were a great stretch of patriotism. But the people looking towards England, and observing the frequency of parliaments in that country, became discontented with their own condition, and began to murmur on comparing it with that of their fellow-subjects on the other side of the channel. They complained that a house of commons, elected before several of themselves were born, could have little knowledge of their wants and wishes, or desire to redress their grievances, and the necessity of abridging the duration of parliament became a

general rallying cry for the discontented. The death of George the second in October, 1760, and the calling of a new parliament by his successor, gave opportunity to the advocates for a change to press their views. The citizens of the metropolis came forward, and their example was followed by several of the counties, calling loudly for a shorter duration of parliaments. On the 22d of October, 1761, the very first day of the meeting of the new parliament, leave was asked and given to bring in heads of a bill for that purpose, but the insincerity of that assembly was fully demonstrated, when, on the 9th December following, a motion having been made to request the lord lieutenant to recommend the measure to the crown, it was negatived by a large majority, and the bill was transmitted, shorn of the desired recommendation, the expectation being that it would share the fate of similar documents, and be refused. It failed of course, and a general report being spread through the country that the house of commons was by no means anxious, but the contrary, as to the fate of the bill, that assembly met the imputation by a resolution little calculated to set the public mind at rest, and which was thus worded: "Resolved that the suggestions confidently propagated, that the heads of a bill for limiting the duration of parliaments if returned from England would have been rejected by this house, are without foundation." This impotent attempt to set themselves right with the public occurred on the 27th April, 1762. The progress of the bill in the next year was still more languid. Leave was given to bring it in on the 13th of October; it was presented only on the 14th of December, while the report was delayed to the middle of February following. The people, who continued to pour in their petitions for an object on which the nation had set its heart, were cajoled. The farce of drawing up a bill, and transmitting it for the approbation of the crown, was continued some time longer. On the 6th May, 1766, an address was proposed for the adoption of the house, when the draft of the bill for limiting the duration of parliament was under consideration, which concluded by conveying the prayers of the people to his majesty "that he would be

graciously pleased to return the bill for limiting the duration of parliament *this session*." No fewer than four unsuccessful amendments were made, having for their object to strike out the words above marked in italics, calculated as they were to defeat the popular wishes if not indeed to treat them with derision, and among the tellers against the country party stands the name of one of the future lights of his country, Flood. But the farce, too long continued, at last came to an end. The Irish privy council could not for ever stand in the gap for the undertakers, and they resolved, for once, to shift the burden and the odium of denying the people the gratification of their wishes on the shoulders of the English council, quite satisfied that the bill would meet on the other side of the channel with no better success than if it had remained with themselves. But here they were disappointed. The English cabinet, disgusted with the dissimulation of the Irish commons and council, afraid of popular commotions in Ireland, and feeling the justice of the claim preferred by its people to have its legislature modelled on that of England, sacrificed both parliament and council to their fears and their sense of the justice of that claim so often preferred yet so unjustly and unwisely refused. They returned the bill, only altering the period for which parliament might sit, from seven years as in England, to eight, and they gave orders for calling a new parliament forthwith. On the 10th February, 1768, the Irish commons disguising their real sentiments in a strain of hypocrisy passed an unanimous vote of thanks to the king for returning the bill for limiting the duration of parliaments. Far different were the feelings of the people. Joy and exultation spread through the country, and the whole kingdom seemed to be in a blaze. In Dublin, the lord lieutenant, the viscount Townshend, was drawn in triumph to the house of lords by the people, and one universal scene of jubilation testified the joy felt at the concession of the claim so ardently sought for and so long withheld.

To return to the more immediate subject of this history. On the accession of George the third, Sir Edward O'Brien was elected one of the members of parliament for the county

of Clare along with Francis Pierpoint Burton, the town of Ennis being represented by Thomas Burton and Lucius, the son of Sir Edward O'Brien. That was the last occasion on which Sir Edward was chosen to represent his native county. His long career of thirty eight years, as a member for Clare, was brought to a close by his death in 1765. He was succeeded in the representation by Charles Macdonnell, and in the title by his son, who henceforward became distinguished for practical knowledge of the business of the house of commons, and for the assiduity with which he devoted his time and attention to the interests of his country, occupying with Lucas and others a high position among the few who had successfully struggled to obtain the first step to the liberation of their country, the octennial bill, and who did not cease their exertions until they crowned that success by the concession of a free trade and an independent legislature.

Many who know how the great charter had been wrung from a weak monarch in the early history of our country, and know the value of the modern bill of rights, are often not aware of the slow growth and the recent date at which some of the most valued privileges of the constitution have been acquired. It was only on the settlement of the succession to the crown in the house of Hanover in 1700 that the commissions of the judges on whose courage and integrity the lives and properties of the subject so often depend, were made to be held, not at the pleasure of the sovereign, as theretofore, but during good behaviour. And not until the accession of George the third did that great boon receive its completion by making those commissions not terminable with the life of the monarch, but with that of the holder. In Ireland, although the struggle for limiting the duration of parliaments had been so often defeated by the artifices of the undertakers, the question, hardly less important, of the independence of the judges encountered no opposition. The journals of the house of commons report that on the 5th of March, 1766, a committee was named of Messrs. Brownlow, Mason, Lucas, French and Bagwell, with Sir Lucius O'Brien at their head, to prepare and bring in a bill to make the office of the judges, as in England, *quam diu se bene*

gesserint. The bill was presented by Sir Lucius on the 11th, and ordered to be taken into consideration next day. It was reported on the 14th, and Sir Lucius ordered to attend his excellency with the heads thereof, and to desire that it be transmitted into England for the approbation of the privy council there, according to the law of Poynings. Yet, with all this seeming unanimity on the part of the commons, this measure, so essential to the liberty of the subject, did not become law until 1782, when the imposing attitude of the Irish volunteers rendered it unsafe any longer to delay compliance with the reasonable wishes of the nation.^(v)

Within a fortnight after the appointment of the above-named committee, Sir Lucius O'Brien was ordered to report the heads of a bill to prevent the sale of offices concerning the administration of justice and the collection of the revenue. The fate of this measure, scarcely less important than its predecessor, affords a striking illustration of the corrupt state of the first parliament of George the third. The report was presented on the 20th March, 1766, and the question being put that it be received, a motion was made and carried by a majority of fifty-nine to fifty-three votes, that the report be received on a distant day, namely, on the 1st of June next ensuing. As that day happened to be Sunday, when, of course, a protestant legislature, of all others, could not be expected to sit, the mover and seconder and the members siding with them could have had no other object than the defeat of the measure. The moral sense of the parliament was at the lowest degree, and the wonder is that any were found to escape the contagion. Elected substantially for life, (the limitation of parliament bill had not yet passed), the members had no idea of being called to account by their constituents, and felt themselves at liberty to follow the line of conduct which was most likely to advance their private interests. Exceptions of course there were, and among the most remarkable was that of the individual whose parliamentary career is now under the notice of the reader.

It would be tedious, and at this distance of time uninteresting to most persons, to dwell with any degree ap-

(v) Vide post, Appendix.

proaching to minuteness on the various measures engaging the attention of the first parliament of George the third, in which Sir Lucius O'Brien's services were employed. It may be deemed sufficient briefly to enumerate some of the most important, which are here subjoined, as they appear in the journals of the house of commons of Ireland.

Besides those measures already alluded to, Sir Lucius O'Brien on the 19th of February, 1766, was ordered by the house to present heads of a bill to reduce the interest of money to £5 per cent, which was accordingly read and committed.

On the 4th of February, 1768, when the attention of parliament had been called to the distress affecting the trade of the country, a sum of £7000 was granted for its relief, and Sir Lucius was ordered by the house to prepare, and submit for its consideration, the heads of a bill for the encouragement of trade and manufactures. The bill was introduced, read and ordered to be committed.

The same course was pursued with respect to a bill for the amendment of the law, which, by order of the house, he presented on the 19th of the same month. And on the 13th, the house having ordered that leave be given to Sir Lucius O'Brien and three other members to bring forward heads of a bill for encouraging the importation of timber from his majesty's dominions in North America and the West Indies, Sir Lucius on the 29th reported from the committee that they had gone through the heads of the bill and agreed thereto without amendments, whereupon he was ordered to attend the lord lieutenant with the same, and desire that they be transmitted to England in the usual manner for the approbation of his majesty and the council.

The heads of the octennial bill having, to the joy of the nation, been returned with the royal assent, it was after passing the commons, on the motion of lord Charlemont read a first and second time, committed, read a third time, and passed in one day by the house of lords. Their lordships passed a resolution that in adopting this unusual course they were actuated by their desire to contribute to the gratification of the popular wish. The resolution, how-

ever, stated that this course should not be drawn into a precedent for the future.

In the general election which followed, Sir Lucius O'Brien was returned with Francis Pierpoint Burton for the county of Clare, and for the town of Ennis, Charles Macdonnell and Crofton Vandeleur. The new parliament sat on the 19th October, 1769. Its first session was marked by a display of independence unexpected by the court party. The law of Poynings being still in force, by virtue of which, according to the notions of the courtiers, money bills should originate with the privy council, while the country party contended they should emanate from the house of commons exclusively, a money bill returned from England which had not been ordered by the commons, was on the first reading rejected, the house in this instance following a precedent set them in the first parliament of William.

Having thus asserted their independence, a new money bill was introduced on the 6th of December and passed, and on the 26th of the same month, the lord lieutenant, in proroguing parliament, animadverted in severe terms on their conduct in rejecting the money bill transmitted from England. He concluded his speech by presenting a public protest which he required to be entered on the journals, following in this respect the precedent afforded by the ministers of king William on the 3d November, 1692, on a like occasion. This prorogation, after a brief session of two months, lasted for considerably over a year, parliament not having been summoned for the despatch of public business until the latter end of February, 1771.

The long interval of the prorogation of the legislature, that safety valve of a nation, gave rise to great discontents. On the meeting of parliament the public indignation reached such a height that a mob, armed with clubs and cutlasses, surrounded the houses of parliament, and attempted to swear several of the members. Some of these were insulted, and even beaten, particularly the bishops of Cork and Ferns, as well as the lord chief justice, lord Annaly, the popular vengeance being confined to the partisans of the court. On the 4th of March, the speaker John Ponsonby, in a letter

complaining of the address adopted by the house, and which he thought conveyed a censure on the majority of the last year but one for its conduct in throwing out the money bill, resigned his office. He was succeeded by Edmond Sexten Pery.

When parliament met the following winter, a motion was made to inquire into the state of the pension list. On the discussion of the motion on the 4th of November, it was demonstrated by Sir Lucius O'Brien and other members of the country party, that for the last two years the money paid in pensions alone had exceeded all the other expenses of the civil establishment by the sum of seventy eight thousand four hundred and seventy one pounds, and that the whole expenses of government exceeded its income by £255,295. Yet, notwithstanding this exposure of the wasteful and corrupt expenditure of public money, an attempt was made to increase the commissioners of the revenue, already seven in number, by adding to them five more. On the 19th of November a motion was made by the country party that the house of commons with the speaker at their head, should attend the lord lieutenant with a resolution, that *seven* commissioners of revenue had always been found sufficient to conduct the business of the kingdom, and that it would be inexpedient to increase that number to twelve, and burden the nation, already impoverished, with the sum of £50,000 per annum proposed as the salaries of the additional commissioners. After a warm debate the patriotic party succeeded in carrying the motion by a great majority.

The jealousy of the country party was, early in the next year, again put in motion by a manœuvre of their antagonists the courtiers. A money bill had been introduced and read a first and second time. On its committal it was found to be for two years, and *to the end of the then next session of parliament*. Sir Lucius O'Brien, Flood and Barry, sounded the alarm. They called the attention of the house to the wording of the bill, and contended that if it pleased the government to prorogue parliament for an unlimited time, there was nothing to prevent their levying taxes as long as they pleased should this bill be permitted to pass.

Hussey Burgh declared that if any member ever dared to bring in a bill with such a clause tacked to it, he himself would move his expulsion.

The attitude of the Irish parliament, awaking, though slowly, to a sense of its responsibility to the country,—the position of England with respect to its foreign relations,—and the danger apprehended from having a helot population which could not be extirpated increasing in number in a country to which they owed nothing but their birth, imposed on the British ministry the necessity of a closer attention to the affairs of Ireland. Until the year 1767, the government of this country had been for the most part administered by lords justices, parliament generally sitting but once in two years, and the presence of the viceroy limited to the six months during which the session usually lasted. Lord Townshend, who arrived in that year, was the first lord lieutenant since the revolution, who uninterruptedly resided at the seat of government. The angry aspect of affairs, the violence of party, and perhaps his own inclination, rendered the recal of that nobleman advisable, and he was replaced on the 30th of November, 1772, by earl Harcourt, after a four years' uneasy tenure of the vice-regal authority.

The interval of ten years between the arrival of lord Harcourt and the declaration of the legislative independence of Ireland in 1782, was marked by the greatest depression. Riotous mobs, clamouring for food and complaining of want of employment, pervaded the city of Dublin. One of these, on the 23d of August, 1773, was so violent that the military had to be called out, who suppressed the riot after shooting seven persons dead, and wounding twelve others, when the rioters dispersed. To prevent the flame from spreading, and with a view of enlisting all classes of his majesty's subjects on the side of order, it was deemed advisable to make some change in the laws affecting the Roman catholic population. With that view was passed the first act of relaxation of the penal laws since their enactment in the reign of Anne. Until the year 1774 no Roman catholic could take the oath of allegiance without disclaiming the

spiritual supremacy of the head of his church as protestants are still required to do. On the 20th of June, 1774, this anomalous and dangerous state of things was remedied by the passing of an act to enable his majesty's subjects of whatever persuasion to testify their loyalty to the sovereign. The oath which Roman catholics were by this act enabled to take before the judges or a justice of the peace in the country, is set out in terms in the statute, the substance of which is as follows:—To bear true allegiance to the sovereign, and defend him against all attempts and conspiracies against his authority; to disclose all treasons which the party may be informed of against his majesty, his heirs and successors, and to support the succession of the crown in his majesty's family, renouncing any allegiance or obedience to the person assuming the title of Charles the third, or any other person claiming a right to the crown: that the swearer rejects the impious doctrine that it was lawful to murder persons on pretence of their being heretics, and the doctrine (equally impious) that no faith was to be kept with heretics:—Renouncing the opinion that princes excommunicated by the pope might be murdered by their subjects;—declaring that neither the pope nor any other prince had, or ought to have, any *temporal* or *civil* jurisdiction within this realm; and that the declaration thus made and subscribed, was made without any equivocation, mental reservation, or dispensation already had from the pope or any authority of the see of Rome.

The preamble to this very important statute recited that, from the uniform peaceable behaviour of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects for a long series of years, it appeared reasonable and expedient to relax the laws in force against them. The names of the parties taking the oath were to be enrolled and deposited among the records of the kingdom for a perpetual memorial.

In accordance with this act, in the next year sixty of the most eminent of the Roman catholic merchants and gentry of the city of Dublin, headed by lord Trimleston, took the oath of allegiance in the court of king's bench in

presence of the lord chief justice, lord Annaly, and their example was followed generally throughout the kingdom.

The great expense attendant on the collection of the slender revenue of Ireland and the attempt made by the court party in the lieutenancy of lord Townshend to increase the number of the commissioners, and of course the public burdens, induced Sir Lucius O'Brien, at the head of the country party, to make an effort to put a stop to an evil which notwithstanding the distress of the country had a tendency to increase. With that view, on the 15th of December, 1776, he moved for an address to the crown to give the vice-treasurers a sum of £10,500 per annum clear of all expenses of executing their office in lieu of fees which then should be carried to the credit of the nation. Although the motion was opposed by Lowther, Grattan, Barry and some others, it was carried by a majority of 85 votes to 45.

In five days after the success of Sir Lucius O'Brien's motion, an incident occurred in the house of commons strikingly illustrative of the jealousy of that assembly and of the antagonism which was rapidly rising up between it and the government of England. On the 20th of December five money bills were returned in the usual way from the English privy council. The customary motion for the appointment of a committee to compare the bills with the transmisses, and to report whether any and what alterations had been made, having been carried, it appeared that a provision had been inserted in one of them for despatching 4000 men from Ireland to America, and in violation of a promise made by the Irish government that the kingdom should not be left without defence. A motion that the bill should be rejected was carried unanimously. George Ogle, member for the county of Wexford, then rose and moved that it be burnt by the common hangman before the doors of the parliament house, and that the sheriffs should see that the order were executed. The court party replied that the bill came under the great seal of England, and that such an indignity could not be offered to it. Ogle gave no further answer to the remark than that the seal would help to burn

the bill, and that he, for one, never could have any respect for the seal since it had been affixed to an affront to that house. After some further animated discussion, the motion was, by leave, withdrawn.

This incident it was that gave rise to the formation of that celebrated defensive force, the Irish volunteers. Lord Harcourt had promised the country party that twelve thousand men should be maintained in Ireland for the defence of the kingdom, and the pressure of the war with the revolted colonies in America rendering it necessary to diminish that number, an Irish militia bill was brought in by Ogle, which on transmission to England had been returned altered, and, as has been observed, unanimously rejected. Burning with indignation at the disregard shewn by the British ministry to the protection of Ireland, threatened as the country was and alarmed from day to day with fears of invasion, Ogle was the first to embody his tenants and friends for defence, and the county of Wexford soon beheld a respectable corps formed of civic soldiers. The example was followed in Wicklow, and by degrees throughout the entire kingdom.

CHAPTER XXVI.

A. D. 1778-1800... Distressed condition of Ireland... Demand for free trade... Exertions of Sir Lucius O'Brien to accomplish that object... Further relaxation of the penal laws... Repeal of the gavelling act of Anne... Letter of Sir Lucius O'Brien on the condition of the landed interest, and the effect of embargoes... Popular movement for free trade... Distress and disturbance in Dublin... Proceedings of the Irish parliament... Debate on the address... Amendment unanimously carried in favour of free trade... The volunteers... Resignation of members of the government who had voted for free trade... Rejection of the money bill... Lord North concedes free trade... His propositions... Fears of invasion... Spirited answer of the Armagh volunteers to lord Charlemont... Grattan's declaration for a free parliament... Irish goods seized by the authorities in Lisbon... Debate thereon in the Irish parliament... Spirited speech of Sir Lucius O'Brien... Character of Sir Lucius as a senator... Proceedings for the repeal of the law of Poynings... The volunteers... Ministry of lord North succeeded by that of the marquis of Rockingham... The duke of Portland lord lieutenant... Freedom of the Irish parliament... Difference between Grattan and Flood as to the simple repeal of the 6th of George the first... Flood's view eventually acted on, and its soundness acknowledged by an act of the British parliament... Letter of the duke of Richmond on the connection between Great Britain and Ireland... Commercial relations between Great Britain and Ireland... Secretary Orde moves for leave to bring in a bill... Opposed by the country party... Speech of Sir Lucius O'Brien in its favour... Carried on the first reading, but subsequently abandoned... Regency question... Divergence in views between the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland... Legislative union.

THE crying grievance of Ireland at this time was the restrictions on its trade. The selfish and suicidal policy pursued towards this country for upwards of a century by English administrations had reduced it to the brink of despair. Debarred in 1665 from exporting to England their cattle, "dead or alive, great or small, fat or lean," its people were, in 1699, prohibited from sending into England either wool or woollen manufactures, for the production of which the country was so eminently suited. By the statutes of Anne a prohibitory duty of 30 per cent. had been imposed

on chequered or printed linens imported into England from *foreign* parts, and although the linen trade of Ireland was averred to have been called into existence as a substitute for that of woollens, by a forced construction Ireland was held to be a *foreign* country and subject to the prohibitory duty. The consequence of these restraints on its trade was that the value of agricultural produce declined to half, rents were difficult if not impossible to be collected, employment ceased, and business was at a stand. The depression of the woollen trade was so extreme that in May, 1778, only eight looms were at work in the liberty in Dublin, where, twenty years before when the restraints on the trade were the same, no fewer than four hundred looms were constantly employed. In 1778 and the following year^(a) twenty thousand persons engaged in manufactures were reduced to beggary in Dublin alone, and money was so scarce that the government was obliged to pay $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for advances which people were glad to make a few years before at 6. A militia bill could not be carried into execution for want of money, the nation being unable to pay for its own defence. Since the year 1740 to the 4th of January, 1779, there had been twenty four embargoes laid on the export of Irish provisions, the last of which continued in force for three years. Such was the condition of Ireland before the cry for free trade and an independent parliament, backed by her volunteers, became so loud and so pressing that lord North was at length brought to his senses, a consummation in which the principal share, as will be seen, fell to the lot of Sir Lucius O'Brien, member for the county of Clare.

The earl of Buckinghamshire who had succeeded lord Harcourt in the Irish government, had been about a year in office when he thought it necessary to call the attention of the premier to the state of Ireland. Writing from Dublin on the 20th of March, 1778, to lord North, he solicits that nobleman's favour that whatever privileges it might be deemed advisable to grant to the colonies should be also extended to Ireland. He states that from several conversations he had had with some of the ablest men in the king-

(a) Hutchinson's Commercial Restraints.

dom, he is thoroughly convinced that an enlargement of its trade is become absolutely necessary as much for its own support as to enable it to answer the many drains it is annually subject to, particularly those which it has to make to Great Britain. And (he continues) he has no doubt that the advantages which must result from such enlargement of their trade would conciliate the utmost efforts of his majesty's subjects in this kingdom in support of the government and to the general service of the empire.

His lordship adds, "I must say in justice to Ireland that the steadiness of all persons of any rank to co-operate in every measure which can at this crisis conduce to the maintenance of the dignity of Great Britain, and their zeal and attachment to his majesty and his government, very fully entitle them to all the assistance that can be given to them by his majesty's ministers and to every mark of favour that can be granted them by the British parliament."

The leaders of the country party in Ireland had been anxiously considering the best course to pursue to bring the nation through its difficulties some time previous to the arrival of the earl of Buckinghamshire. Among the state papers of William Knox secretary in the American department and afterwards under secretary of state, the following extract of a letter from Sir Lucius O'Brien, bearing date Dromoland, 4th July, 1777, deserves notice:—

"My dear friend, for such I must ever esteem the man who demonstrates his strenuous attachment to the interests of Ireland independent of those instances of personal civility which I daily receive from you, will you now allow me to make a request to you? It is for your general opinion on what ought to be solicited and what may be obtained for Ireland on your side the water, and what you would recommend us to do here. I know you have turned your thoughts often to those points, and the solicitude with which I wish for information from you will prove how high a value I put upon it."

Early in the next year, 1778, it was evident that some step was about being taken by the English government for the redress or mitigation of Irish grievances, and some of

the leading members of the Irish country party acting on that impression determined to proceed to London to watch the course of events. Sir Richard Heron, secretary for Ireland, writing on the 10th of April from Dublin Castle to Knox, informs him that Sir Lucius O'Brien mentioned his intention of going to England, and that as he (Sir Lucius) had a great deal of information on commercial subjects, he (Knox) might find him very useful.

Knox, acknowledging the receipt of the secretary's letter, writes from Whitehall on the 21st April, 1778, that he had seen Sir Lucius, and was to bring some of the merchants to meet him and the speaker. Also that Sir Lucius told him he proposed to stay in London to watch the progress of the bills, five in number, which were about to be introduced into the British parliament. In this letter Knox states that Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, and Glasgow would join in opposition, and that London was the only place he expected to remain quiet.

Four days after the date of this last letter to Heron, the latter writes from Dublin Castle (25th April, 1778), that Sir Lucius wrote to him to have Wetherall deputy examiner of customs, and Robert Stephenson inspector of the linen board, sent over to London to be examined as witnesses before the board of trade.

The next letter from Knox to the chief secretary will enable the reader to understand some of the difficulties that lay in the way of the premier in his endeavours to relax the laws that fettered the trade of Ireland. Writing on the 4th of May, 1778, the former says that lord North was in great anxiety as deputies from Bristol were to come to oppose the progress of the bills, and that he (Knox) sent immediately for Sir Lucius O'Brien who was fortunately in the way and came to the conference. By his assistance (the writer goes on to say) objections were answered and difficulties removed, and Sir Lucius proposed that if the house of commons adopted his propositions, he would set out at once to Ireland, in order to propose them to the house of commons there, and give his assistance in carrying them through.

A few days after, in a further letter of the 9th of May, Knox thus writes to Sir Richard Heron :—"From what passed in committee last night on the import bill, Sir Lucius O'Brien and myself think your house of commons ought without delay to bring in a bill on the propositions mentioned in my last, and Sir L. sends by this express, clauses to the speaker for the substance of the bill.

"The Irish government have been much blamed by all sides for their treatment of the Roman catholics. If you could do anything in their behalf at this time, you would feel the advantage of it in the progress of the bills."

To the foregoing letter, but more particularly referring to the hint about the relief of the catholics which it contained, the secretary, writing on the 24th May from Dublin Castle, says :—"Mr. Gardiner will to-morrow move for leave to bring in heads of a bill for relief of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects of Ireland. He is not yet determined what to propose ; there is a general idea of putting the Roman catholics of Ireland upon the same footing with those of England. Government will support the motion for leave to bring in the bill. There will be a strong opposition against any alteration whatever, and a violent one against repealing the gaveling clause which the Roman catholics abhor, and their opposers, even moderate men, consider the *palladium* of Ireland. It will therefore be very difficult to get rid of this clause, but having done that, you will be supposed to have done every thing, and may in another session blot the word 'papist' out of the statutes."

The relief to the catholics, promised in the above letter, was carried into effect by the passing of the act 17, 18 Geo. III., ch. 49, by which persons taking the oath set out in the 13, 14 Geo. III., ch. 35, were enabled to take leases for 999 years certain, or determinable on any number of lives not exceeding *five*, provided a *bona fide* rent was paid for the same. It was enacted also that their lands should be devisable, descendible, and transferable, as fully and effectually as if they were in the seizin of any others his majesty's subjects, and this, anything in the acts 2 Anne, ch. 6, and 8 Anne, ch. 3, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Thus was the gavelling act of Anne annulled. The boon was a great one. But to the Irish parliament alone was the credit of the concession due. The grant of free trade and the abandonment of commercial restrictions could be had only from that of Great Britain, and for this that assembly was not yet ripe. To extort her just rights from the monopolists of England Ireland it seemed must petition with arms in her hands, and the statesmen of England could not be brought to do justice to her demands until on the brink of seeing the American drama played on Irish soil.

A few letters more on the trade negotiations appear to be deserving of extract. Knox, the under secretary in England, thus writes to the Irish chief secretary, Sir Richard Heron :—

“ May 26th, 1778.

“ In the whole progress of this business, and in the conduct of all future matters of the kind, the want of a board of trade or other office in Ireland to transact with, has been, and must be, severely felt. Indeed the speaker and Sir Lucius O'Brien have most kindly supplied the defect in the present instance ; but you must not always expect the two gentlemen who most possess the confidence of the house of commons on commercial subjects, will take the same trouble on all future occasions.”

In the course of the session of 1777-78, an act, 17, 18 Geo. III., ch. 42, was passed by the British parliament, authorising the export of Irish manufactured goods to the British plantations in America, the West Indies, and the coast of Africa, on paying the same duties, and no other, as had been chargeable on English goods. To this the following letter from Heron to Knox refers :—

“ Dublin Castle, 24th June, 1778.

“ Sir Lucius O'Brien, Mr. Wetherall, and Mr. Foster chairman of the committee of Ways and Means, have with the assistance of the attorney-general and the commissioners of the revenue, settled the duties which are to be laid on such articles of the manufacture and produce of this king-

dom as are, by the act you have passed this session, permitted to be exported from hence to the plantations in America, the West Indies, and Africa, so as to raise the duties here on these articles to as high an amount as articles of the same quality exported from Great Britain are chargeable with. This operation has been a difficult one, but I believe from the abilities and care of the gentlemen employed in it that it will be found properly executed, so as to entitle Ireland to the full benefit of your export act."

On the return of Sir Lucius O'Brien from London, he wrote the following letter to Mr. Knox, which as it exhibits the depressed condition of the landed interest at the time, will not, it is presumed, be deemed uninteresting to the reader:—

"Dromoland, 20th Sept. 1778.

"Dear Sir,—

"Observing in a late paper that the government here have issued a proclamation for taking off entirely the embargo on butter, I cannot omit returning my thanks for a measure to which I was a witness how much your zeal for Ireland contributed. It were exceedingly to be wished that something could be done also with respect to the beef trade of this kingdom. So far as may be necessary for the fleets of England, it is altogether reasonable they should first be served; and yet, considering the circumstances of the two countries, even that pre-emption might be always insured by the contractors paying two or three shillings per hundred more than they do at present, without that terrible convulsion which a three years' embargo has made in our trade and constitution. But above half the beef of Ireland is of an inferior sort, which the contractors for the navy will not take; and while the convoys go only from Cork, Waterford, and Dublin, even that overloaded trade of small beef is monopolised in those towns by a few merchants, while Limerick, Galway, Sligo, etc., are under an absolute prohibition. I feel the effects of this very severely at this instant, not being able to get a guinea rent among my tenants. What the sense of the Limerick merchants is, you will judge from the enclosed, which contains a pretty

fair representation of the facts, though the letter was not written, I believe, to be shewn about :

“ The Roman catholics seem everywhere highly grateful for the benefits they have received, and yet without any imprudent expression of their joy ; the principal ones of them everywhere come to the assizes to take the oaths to his majesty ; and if it be thought necessary the whole body of the people might be brought to do the same by the next session. At my assizes the titular bishop MacMahon, and all his clergy were sworn, and at the same time he published the enclosed exhortation which I send you as an evidence of those people's opinions.

“ I am, etc. etc.”

The year 1778 had closed without bringing to any satisfactory conclusion those negotiations in which we have seen Sir Lucius O'Brien and the Speaker engaged. Distress was at its height in Ireland, solely owing to the cruel and impolitic restrictions which had been imposed on its trade to gratify the cupidity and selfishness of the merchants and manufacturers of England. Provost Hutchinson states ^(b) that while between twenty and thirty thousand persons engaged in manufactures were starving in Dublin, and begging for food through its streets, and wool selling for half its value, the imports in woollen goods from England in the years 1777-8, amounted to the enormous sum of £715,740 ! People felt that this was a state of things the remedy for which, to a certain extent, lay in their own hands, and as the evil was at the highest in the metropolis, there it was resolved to commence operations with a view to its redress, and to set an example to be followed by the country. Accordingly, on the 27th April, 1779, the high sheriffs of Dublin issued a notice for holding a public meeting to take into consideration the most effectual means of promoting the trade and manufactures of Ireland, at which it was resolved, that from the first of May ensuing they would not directly or indirectly use any goods from Great Britain which could be manufactured in Ireland.

(b) Commercial Restraints, p. 209.

The example of Dublin was followed immediately by the provinces, the upper classes of society taking the lead in guiding the popular movement. The grand juries of Mayo, Monaghan, Roscommon, and Waterford, issued addresses recommending the adoption of the Dublin resolution. In the county of Clare a general meeting of the gentry and principal inhabitants was convened on the 27th of June, at which it was resolved that they would not use any manufactured articles but those of the kingdom of Ireland, until the British legislature gave that extension of trade which, as a sister kingdom, they were entitled to; and that any one who should sell foreign manufactures as Irish, should be considered an enemy to the kingdom. They declared, in conclusion, that they were ready to support his majesty's crown and dignity against foreign enemies with their lives and fortunes. These resolutions were signed by one hundred and eight persons of the first rank in the county.

The distress of the people during the summer of 1779 was at its height. Universal discontent prevailed. On the 23rd of August a considerable body of armed men went to the houses of several importers of English goods in the city of Dublin, and carried away large quantities of Manchester goods. Another mob of rioters on the 26th, paraded the streets, and inflicted considerable injury on whomsoever they considered fit objects of their vengeance. Instructions were sent from every county and town throughout the kingdom to their representatives to vote for only a short money bill of six months, instead of as usual, for two years, in order to make the necessary impression on the British parliament and government. Although the parliament of Ireland had commenced its deliberations on the 12th of October, the enraged and famished multitude of the operatives of Dublin, without waiting to see what steps would be taken by the legislature for their relief, on the 15th of the next month took the matter into their own hands, and directed their fury against the house of Scott the attorney-general (afterwards lord Clonmell), in the expectation of finding him within. Disappointed in their hope, they were,

after doing some injury to the place, induced to depart at the instance of some of the popular leaders. They then proceeded to the parliament house, detaching a portion of their body to the Four Courts in search of the attorney-general, who took the precaution of keeping out of the way. Again disappointed they returned to lie in wait for the members of parliament as they were proceeding to take their seats, and swore every one of them they could find, to be true to their country and vote for a short money bill. The lawyers' corps of volunteers, who stood high in the favour of the people, were applied to by the lord mayor to use their influence with them to disperse quietly, and they having decided to go in their uniforms but without arms among the people, succeeded in prevailing on them to retire and repose confidence in the parliament. A strong guard, however, was obliged to be placed over the houses of the attorney-general, Mr. Monck Mason, and Sir Henry Cavendish, to protect them from the fury of the populace.

Next day attention was called in the house of commons to these outrageous proceedings. The Speaker informed the house that his carriage had been stopped on his way thither, the door opened, and that seven or eight men came forward from the crowd and thrust a book into the carriage, to swear him to vote for a short money bill, but that on the sergeant-at-arms interposing and telling them it was the Speaker they were addressing, they desisted and suffered him to proceed.

The attorney-general then drew a picture of the state of his house,—the danger he was in,—the warnings he had received that he should be strangled, or otherwise fall a victim to the fury of the multitude, and several members having addressed the house to maintain its own dignity, Sir Lucius O'Brien moved that the resolution adopted by the house against tumultuary risings in the year 1759, be read and again agreed to on the present occasion, and that the lord lieutenant be addressed to offer a reward for the discovery and apprehension of those concerned in the attack on the attorney-general's house.

After several members had spoken, the attorney-general

designating Yelverton, who had opposed Sir Lucius's motion, as a "seneschal of sedition," and Yelverton replying that the right honorable gentleman had been, for a series of years, the "uniform drudge of administration," Sir Lucius consented to alter his motion to an address to the lord lieutenant to offer a reward for the apprehension of those who had, on the 15th of November, obstructed members on their way to the parliament, and who had also injured the property of a right honorable member of that house, a resolution which was agreed to without dissent.

Sir Lucius then moved that the lord mayor and the sheriffs of the city of Dublin be ordered to attend the house next day. The motion having been carried, the lord mayor and sheriffs attended pursuant to the order of the house, and were addressed by the speaker on the outrages committed by the citizens. They were told that although their humanity deserved commendation, it might not, on a future occasion, be prudent to shew so much lenity, as it might be fatal to the innocent to do so. They were then dismissed.

The popular agitation which gave rise to this debate had been encouraged by the conduct of the house itself on the debate on the address at the opening of parliament. That assembly met on the 12th of October, and on the usual motion for an address, Grattan moved the following amendment :—

"That it is with the utmost reluctance we are constrained to approach your majesty on this occasion, but the constant drain to supply absentees, and the unfortunate prohibition of our trade has caused such calamity among your people that the national support of our country has decayed, and our manufacturers are dying of want. The only means left to support the expiring trade of this miserable portion of your majesty's dominions is, to open a free export trade, and let your Irish subjects enjoy their natural birthright."

This amendment was received with approbation by most of the members. Ogle said he heartily concurred in it, and added, that if the house had not inserted something of the kind in the address, the ministry might again shelter them-

selves under the old excuse, that truly they did not know what the Irish wanted, as their parliament was silent on the head, and so go on with the old system of duplicity.

Several members having delivered their opinions, the prime serjeant (Hussey Burgh) insisted on the necessity of immediately laying the distresses of the kingdom in an unequivocal manner at the foot of the throne. If this, said the right hon. gentleman, was opposition, it was an opposition he gloried in. As he could not make the nice distinction some of his majesty's servants made in the manner of conveying what was the universal sense of the house, and in order to reconcile all parties, he would take the liberty of moving another amendment in lieu of the one proposed, namely, "that it was not by temporary expedients this kingdom can be relieved, but by a free trade alone."

This amendment had the great merit of simplicity. Taking issue on a single point, it steered clear of the question of absenteeism, and confined the house to giving an opinion on that which occupied and engrossed the attention of the nation, the question of free trade. The debate having thus taken a new turn, several of the ministerial party declared that in order to secure unanimity they would not oppose the prime serjeant's amendment. Thus was the question of a free trade carried in the Irish parliament.

Barrington (vol. 1, 140) gives the secret history of this celebrated amendment. It appears that Grattan and Daly had held private communication with the speaker Pery, who recommended that a strong and comprehensive amendment to the address should be adopted ;—that Grattan drew up one amendment and Daly another ;—that Daly's was adopted and moved by Grattan ;—and that similar communications having taken place between Flood and Hussey Burgh, they determined on proposing an amendment confined to the single point of free trade, and omitting any reference to absentees with which Grattan's amendment was incumbered. The amendment seemed to take the house by surprise, for it was carried *unanimously*.

The next day the several corps of the volunteers of Dublin having been summoned by the duke of Leinster to attend,

appeared in full array and lined the streets, while the house of commons with the speaker at their head, carried up the address to the castle. On the field-pieces of the lawyers' corps was displayed a label with the motto, "*Salus populi suprema lex.*" That of the merchants had the significant device, "A free trade or speedy revolution." Other corps gave expression to their feelings in like manner. The thanks of the house of lords were, on the motion of the duke of Leinster, voted to the volunteers for their spirited exertions, so necessary at this time for the defence of the country. His grace then moved that this resolution of thanks be transmitted to the several county sheriffs throughout the kingdom for circulation, to which their lordships agreed by an unanimous vote.

The success of the country party in carrying the amendment for free trade was followed by the resignation of such of the members as held office under the government. Among these were, the provost the right hon. J. H. Hutchinson ; the right hon. Henry Flood, vice treasurer ; right hon. John Foster, customer of Dublin ; the right hon. William Burton, teller of the exchequer ; right hon. Hussey Burgh, prime sergeant ; and Luke Gardiner, surveyor of customs. These gentlemen had been constant supporters of government. Their secession from the courtiers gave Grattan occasion for saying that the people were now getting landed security for their liberties, an assertion which was borne out by the fact that of all the knights of shires in parliament, only two voted against the free trade address.

On the 3d November, in a committee of supply, sir Richard Heron informed the house that the arrears of the revenue amounted to the large sum of £500,000, and he proposed for their consideration various schemes of taxation to meet the deficiency. Bushe, his mind dwelling on the question of free trade, in the course of his observations, said, that England should enable the people to pay the duties she desired to raise in this kingdom or the time would shortly arrive when they should be obliged to speak more to the purpose.

Daly, Ogle, Parnel, and Grattan, having spoken to the

same effect, the prime sergeant (Burgh) said that since he had no opportunity of giving counsel elsewhere, he would deliver his sentiments there. Postpone, he said, all money matters until the result of your late application to the other side is known ; when a fortnight might bring about that, it would be imprudent to make any determination before that time. The watchword of the house should be to grant taxes only when the minister rises to proclaim a free trade. The house being all but unanimous against the grant of new taxes, the debate was, on the motion of sir Richard Heron, adjourned to the next day.

On the 24th, several members having addressed the house, Mr. Forbes affirmed that he had attended all the last session of the British parliament, during the first week of which, letters were written by the runners of the ministry there to all the trading towns which had petitioned against the Irish trade assuring the petitioners that it was determined that Ireland should receive no indulgence. Forewarned of the treachery of the English ministry, they should hold the security they possessed, and not trust to the wisdom or honesty of men who had already ruined the empire.

But one sentiment seemed to pervade the house. This was embodied in a motion by Grattan that it was inexpedient to grant new taxes. It was carried by a majority of 170 to 47 votes.

This was the last effort made by the Irish government to procure a majority for its measures. Sir Richard Heron was impelled to make the attempt from the complaints of the British ministry that the lord lieutenant and his secretary, affecting popularity more than the discharge of their duty to their sovereign, had given up every question to the popular party without a trial. They were accordingly commanded in positive language, to take the first opportunity of trying what force they had to depend on. The trial of strength was made, with the mortifying consequence that the earl of Buckinghamshire, on a great and important question, was left in, as it was described in England, the most contemptible minority ever witnessed in Ireland since the existence of parliaments.

The defeat of the government in Ireland,—the grave if not alarming condition of affairs in this country, encouraged the opposition on the other side of the channel to try its strength with ministers. Accordingly, on the 1st of December, votes of censure were moved in both houses, in the lords by the earl of Shelburne, and in the commons by the earl of Upper Ossory. Lord Shelburne on moving that the answer of his majesty to an address of the house of the 11th of May requesting that the state of Ireland be taken into his majesty's consideration, and which was then replied to in the affirmative, be read, censured the government for allowing the whole of the summer to pass without taking any steps to relieve the distresses of Ireland. The consequence, he said, was, that the people of the country finding themselves disregarded had formed associations, and had adopted resolutions against the importation of English goods, to the great detriment of English trade. The Irish, from their military strength, spoke the language of independence, and like the Americans, were making rapid strides towards the accomplishment of that object. The military force now on foot in Ireland, was established without the sanction of the crown, and almost, it might be said, without the knowledge of England.

Similar observations, condemnatory of the conduct of ministers, having been made in the commons, the votes of censure were negatived. Lord North warded off the blow by giving notice that on an early day he would ask leave to introduce certain measures for the relief of Ireland.

Accordingly, on the 9th of December, the premier made his promised motion. In the course of his observations he took occasion to say that all that Ireland required was to be put on the same footing as England with respect to her trade. That on the compact made in a former reign between Great Britain and Ireland, the latter country had agreed to give up its woollen trade upon England's relinquishing that of linen in her favour. That although the English had come into this compact, they had manufactured as much linen as the Irish, and of course had participated in all the profits accruing from that branch of business. As

the compact had been unquestionably violated by England, it was but reasonable that the sister country should have her share of the profits arising from the trade in woollen manufactured goods. He then submitted for the consideration of the house the three following propositions :—

First, to repeal the 10th and 11th of William the third, by which the export of Irish woollen articles was prohibited.

Second, to repeal all duties on the export from Ireland of articles of glass manufacture.

Third, that Ireland should be permitted to trade with the American colonies, the West India islands, and the settlements on the coast of Africa, on the same terms as England.

These propositions, enforced with earnestness and a sense not only of what was justly due to Ireland but of the danger to England from any longer deferring a settlement of the questions which they involved, were combatted by the manufacturing interests with considerable pertinacity. They were, notwithstanding, carried, and the royal assent was, on the 23d of December, 1779, a memorable day for Ireland, given to the act for the repeal of the 10th and 11th of William, by which the export of woollen manufactures from Ireland had so long been prohibited. Public rejoicings in Dublin testified the joy of the people at this victory of justice, and the year 1780 was ushered in, amidst addresses of thanks from all parts of the kingdom to his majesty, for the grant of liberty to use their own resources from which they had been so long and so unjustly debarred.

This great and important victory was owing to a combination of circumstances. The minister was obliged to yield to the united effects of the declaration of the Irish parliament for freedom of trade, the vote of a short money bill, the agreement not to import English goods, and still further by the formidable and unprecedented spectacle of nearly sixty thousand citizen soldiers associated for the defence of their country and entirely independent of the authority of the crown. It has been already noticed how the idea of a voluntary armament had originated in the county of Wexford, but it was in the province of Ulster

that it received its full development. The courts of France and Spain having thrown off the mask of an ill-concealed neutrality in the quarrel between the revolted American colonies and the mother country, fears of invasion spread through Ireland. The citizens of Belfast alarmed for the safety of their lives and properties, had applied for a protective force to the chief secretary sir Richard Heron, who, in reply, informed them that the government was unable to comply with their request. The principal function of government, the defence of the people, being thus abdicated, they were obliged to shift for themselves, and in a few weeks, the Irish executive beheld with wonder, a force of over 15,000 men start into existence in the northern province without the knowledge or sanction of the government. The government was perplexed and paralysed. An army acting without authority from the crown was a subject of alarm, but the alarm of invasion, hourly apprehended, was still greater. Obligated to make the best of what in their hearts they considered an evil, the government supplied the volunteers with arms, and the combined fleets of France and Spain under D'Orvilliers, while they insultingly threatened the coasts of England, were, through fear of the volunteers, deterred from making the apprehended descent on Ireland. The zeal and ardour of these improvised soldiers was strikingly exemplified in the following manner. When it was apprehended that a landing of the French troops was about to take place at Cork, lord Charlemont hastened to Armagh to assemble his regiment, and having asked them what answer he should give the lord lieutenant as to their willingness to assist the government, he received for reply that they were offended with his lordship for not having at once informed his excellency that the regiment would immediately join the king's troops, and that he (lord Charlemont) had only to send them his orders to march, when they should be obeyed. Asking them to draw up some resolution which he might present to the government, they cried out, "no resolutions, no resolutions! Inform his excellency that the Armagh volunteers will be at Cork as soon as any of his majesty's troops."

The fear of invasion passed away, but the martial spirit by which it was quelled remained. The whole country was in arms. Having obtained freedom of commerce, the nation set its heart on adding thereto that greater one, a free and independent parliament. The chief secretary, aware that in the temper of the national mind such a demand could not be long deferred, proceeded in company with the speaker in March to London. The object of the journey it was rumoured was to ascertain how far the government was disposed to comply with the desire of the people and parliament of Ireland for a repeal or modification of the law of Poynings. The fate of Grattan's motion on the 19th of April following shews that this mission was unattended with success.

On that day Grattan, moving his declaration of right, in the course of his speech thus addressed the house of commons :—"You asked for a free trade, and received it with joy. It was the rapture of a beggar obtaining more alms than he had expected. Eighteen counties ask a modification of the law of Poynings and a declaration of right from those who lost America. Will the volunteer army of Ireland be satisfied with a government of connivance?" He concluded by moving "that the king's majesty and the lords and commons of Ireland are the only power competent to bind or enact laws in this kingdom." The motion was lost, there being for it 97 ayes to 136 noes. The first step to the bloodless revolution of 1782, however, was made, and the concession of legislative independence became but a question of time.

Within a fortnight after the defeat of Grattan's motion another parliamentary struggle took place in which the court party were, as before, successful. Bushe introduced on the 2d of May a limited mutiny bill, similar to that which it had been usual to bring in in the English house of commons. In the course of debate Sir Richard Heron declared that he felt himself bound to oppose it. On being asked his reasons by Ogle, the member for Wexford, the secretary replied that the English act extended to and was of force in this country. Ogle rejoined that the honourable baronet's

reply seemed to intimate that an English act was to bind Ireland, but he supposed, as a matter of course, that such were the instructions received from the English minister. The motion for going into committee was carried against the secretary by 140 votes to 18.

This triumph was of short duration. On a future day the bill came back with the perpetual clause contained in it. In committee O'Hara having moved that it should be in force until the end of the next session of parliament and no longer, there appeared *for* the motion 62, with 114 *against*. This passing of a perpetual mutiny act gave a considerable stimulus to the popular discontent already sufficiently inflamed by the failure of Grattan's motion for a declaration of rights.

The disappointment of the people at the failure of Grattan's motion soon found vent, and in high places. On the 27th of May, at a post assembly it was unanimously resolved by the lord mayor and board of aldermen of the city of Dublin, that they would not give force or countenance within their jurisdiction to any law or statute but such as had been enacted by the king, lords, and commons of Ireland. And in the middle of August the merchant's corps of volunteers held a meeting at the Royal Exchange in which they entered into resolutions condemnatory of the perpetual mutiny act. Their example was followed by the other corps in the city, and resolutions were adopted condemning the conduct of parliament, and declaring that they would not protect the property of the majority who voted for that act. The house of commons adopted resolutions to punish the persons concerned in those meetings, and were, shortly after, prorogued.

Notwithstanding the repeal of the statute by which the export of woollen manufactures from Ireland had been prohibited, the English merchants had influence enough to render the concession, for a time, a nullity. England being at war with France, Spain and the Dutch, in addition to that waged between her and the colonies, there was hardly a country but Portugal with which the Irish merchants could trade. Some shipments of woollens had been made in Dub-

lin for the port of Lisbon, and the Portuguese authorities were solicited to discourage ventures of the kind. Yielding to these applications, which to have had any effect it was felt must have emanated from the English government, the Irish merchants had the mortification of having their goods seized and lodged in the custom-house at Lisbon. A representation of the grievance had been ineffectually made to the English government, and in consequence of the evasive answers given, it was determined to petition the house of commons and to procure the advocacy of him to whom the country was mainly indebted for the opening of trade, Sir Lucius O'Brien. Accordingly on the 29th of October the recorder of Dublin presented to the house of commons a petition from the guild of merchants, stating that the kingdom of Portugal had, contrary to expectation, refused to receive certain articles of manufacture exported from this country, quantities of which were then actually detained in the custom-house at Lisbon, and praying the house to interfere for redress.

It appeared that the chief secretary Eden had exerted himself with the castle party to oppose the reception of the petition, but Sir Lucius O'Brien, rising in his place, expressed his wish to have the matter of the petition at once entered on. The secretary objected to the house entering on a topic which he said the king's minister at Lisbon had ineffectually urged already on the Portuguese authorities, and he suggested the proper time for the discussion sought by Sir Lucius would be in the committee of ways and means, by an alteration of the wine duties. Sir Lucius could not agree that any alteration of the wine duties could be adequate to the injury the kingdom would suffer by losing the trade to Portugal. If the right honourable gentleman the chief secretary was serious he could have no objection in the meantime to the passing of a six months' money bill. He (Sir Lucius O'Brien) could not think of suiting the conveniencies of any country to the injury of Ireland. It was more than eighteen months since every servant of the crown was aware what the house of commons thought and felt on the subject. He was confident that the rights of Ireland

were to say the least misunderstood or mistaken at the other side of the water, for if the minister meant fair he should throw the weight of his influence into the scale for this country. Delay would be injurious and disgraceful, and he would give his vote for the formation of a committee of inquiry. The petition having been ordered to lie on the table for the perusal of members, Sir Lucius O'Brien on the 1st of November took up the subject. He invoked the assistance of the house to the important matter involved in the consideration of the petition, which was no less than to ascertain upon what foundation the rights of Ireland were established. He confessed the questions at issue were so complicated and various that he scarce knew where to begin, but he hoped they would receive the careful and unanimous consideration of members. The minister had uttered a threat that if this affair were prematurely brought forward, he would move for an unlimited adjournment to gain information. Such a course would be ruinous to the country, for in his (Sir Lucius's) opinion a committee on the petition would be the means of stating with precision what the difficulties were under which the country laboured, and what were its rights. He would contribute all in his power to remove the ignorance which prevented the subject being better understood. He then gave the history of the English and Portuguese treaties from the reign of Edward the second in 1305 to the time of Cromwell, but rested mainly on Methuen's treaty of 1703, which gave a monopoly of the Portuguese trade to the English, and in the construction of which the Portuguese pretended to exclude the merchants of Ireland from their ports, as not being supposed to come under the designation of English. Reading several letters from Irish merchants in Lisbon in support of his statements, Sir Lucius said the real question before the house was, whether in reality they were to have any trade to any part of the world, for a free trade could be considered no more than a shadow if foreign countries were allowed to allege they knew of no treaty whereby the manufactures of Ireland could be admitted to their markets. He could not but observe on the unwillingness of administration to bring

this matter forward, although it was notorious that an absolute decree had been made in Lisbon to re-ship our goods. The question then which lay before the house was, whether the English minister had sufficient time to remonstrate and bring this affair to an issue. Gentlemen might urge that it was no harm to interpose delay, but when the decrease in the sale of wool was considered and our whole foreign trade, this was the very time to pronounce upon it. The Portuguese wanted us to give up the alien duties, as they looked upon England to be in no situation at present for further contention. The Irish should establish a navy of their own to protect their trade and call upon his majesty as king of IRELAND to assert the rights of this kingdom by hostility with Portugal if necessary, and he (Sir Lucius O'Brien) doubted not that this nation had vigour and resources enough to maintain all her rights, and astonish all her enemies.

Barrington has given in his work^(c) the impression made on the house by this speech. He says :—

“The boldness of this motion,—its promptitude,—its vigour,—its consequences,—made an instantaneous and visible impression on the whole house ;—it was at once a declaration of war,—a declaration of rights,—and a declaration of superiority ;—it opened a new field of discussion, and gave a new character to the Irish parliament, and a new existence to the Irish people. It was the keenest spur to the cause of national independence. The king of Ireland required by an Irish parliament and his Irish subjects to enter into hostilities on behalf of Ireland against a foreign nation with which England had no quarrel, exhibited a new scene to an enlightened people, and excited thoughts and inquiries, which led to the important discussion that soon followed, and at length attained the emancipation of Ireland.”

The reader will require, it is presumed, no apology for transcribing from the pages of Sir Jonah Barrington his observations on Sir Lucius O'Brien's character and position as a senator, suggested as they have been by the above speech.

“Although deficient in oratorical skill, the matter of Sir

(c) Vol. I. p. 216.

Lucius O'Brien's speeches was so good, his reasoning so sound, and his conduct and bearing so spirited and independent, that he had acquired a great degree of public reputation. He was the only person in the house, who, from his practical knowledge of financial statistics, was enabled to encounter the commissioner of the revenue Beresford, and to refute him when addressing complicated statements of imports and exports to gentlemen who had little taste for vulgar arithmetic. And although between him and Beresford the engagement sometimes resulted in a drawn battle, in constitutional questions Sir Lucius was always the victor. Strong and decisive, he carried with him that weight which justly appertained to his information, his family, and his character, and his rival very wisely never attempted to follow him out of his own fortifications."

Sir Lucius's motion though supported by Grattan and others of the country party, was defeated. It was, however, successful on the 29th October, 1783, a short time after.⁽¹⁾

The earl of Buckinghamshire and his secretary Sir Richard Heron, in proportion as they felt the necessity of adopting a conciliatory policy towards Ireland, and of making those concessions to the demand for a free trade which justice required, had been for some time losing ground in the estimation of the British government. They were considered to have been too passive in dealing with the volunteers, and were accordingly recalled at the end of December, 1780. On the 23d of that month, the earl of Carlisle arrived in Dublin accompanied by William Eden as chief secretary, to assume the government of a country threatened with invasion and with no adequate means at hand which the crown could command to repel it. The government of lord North, committed to a disastrous struggle with the colonies, and at the same time engaged in hostilities with France, Spain, and Holland, without an ally among the other powers of Europe, must unquestionably have lost Ireland, had it not been for the loyalty and devotion of those unpurchased men, who, in the abandonment of its functions by the government, took up arms for the defence of their altars and firesides. Uneasy as the government of England

was at the sight of an Irish army which it had not the authority to command, ministers were only too glad to accept the tender of their services made by the volunteers through the earls of Charlemont, Shannon, Ely, and Tyrone. Ogle, the patriot member for Wexford county, offered the government to march one thousand men to any part of the kingdom where their services might be required, leaving at the same time a sufficient force at home for defence, in case of attack. The volunteers throughout the kingdom followed these examples, and received the thanks of both houses of parliament, the commons being unanimous in conferring the well merited compliment, while in the lords, the single dissentient, the earl of Bellamont, only testified by his dissent his high opinion of the volunteers. His lordship said, that while he would glory in leading them to the breach, and while he bore his most willing testimony to their loyalty, zeal, gallantry, and conduct, and valued them as purest bullion, he yet could not recognise them as *sterling* until they had received the stamp of majesty.

Barrington states, that according to the latest returns of the volunteer army, they amounted to 124,000 officers and men. Of these 100,000 were in a condition to take the field. In the face of such a force no enemy could dare to land on the shores of Ireland. The alarm of invasion subsided, and the volunteers, ready as they were to shed their blood in support of the crown and person of their king, now felt that they had a duty to discharge to their country, that of freeing its legislature from the control of English or Irish privy councils and officials. Notwithstanding the satisfaction diffused through the country by the concession of free trade, it was felt that that measure could be of little advantage if not secured by the nation possessing a free and independent legislature. It was represented that the repeal of the acts by which the commerce of Ireland had been oppressed, was the result not of choice, but of necessity, and that when the necessity no longer existed, the parliament of England might recal the benefits it had been obliged to concede, or even fetter the trade with greater restrictions than the former. To secure the advantages the

country at present possessed, a free constitution was essentially necessary. To the volunteers the people looked for the realization of this important object, and they were not disappointed.

These citizen soldiers had been, during the summers of 1780 and the following year, drilled, reviewed, and brigaded, and four camps were about to be formed, when the fall of the administration of lord North placed the reins of power in the hands of the marquis of Rockingham. The British ministry, whose members when in opposition had constantly opposed the American war, had scarcely a doubt that the Irish volunteers would follow the example of their transatlantic brethren and strike a blow for the independence of their country, if their claim for a free parliament were any longer refused. The duke of Portland was accordingly despatched to Ireland on a mission of peace and concession. It was high time to take this step, for the volunteers had called a meeting of delegates from the several corps of the province of Ulster to be held at Dunganon on the 15th February, 1782. Resolutions prepared by the earl of Charlemont assisted by Grattan and Flood, were adopted by the representatives of one hundred and forty three corps, in which they declared their disapprobation of any body of men having power to make laws to bind the country other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland,—of the powers exercised by the Irish and English privy councils under the law of Poynings,—of a mutiny act unlimited in duration,—and of judges removable at the pleasure of the crown. They recorded, with only *two* dissentients, their opinion that it was time that the penal laws enacted against their Roman catholic fellow-subjects should be relaxed, and the address contained this memorable declaration, “we know our duty to our sovereign and are loyal ; we know our duty to ourselves and are resolved to be free.” These resolutions were generally adopted throughout the kingdom. Under the guidance of Sir Lucius O'Brien and his colleague, the county of Clare met on the 6th of April, and adopted the resolutions stated in the Appendix.^(w)

(w) Vide post,

The duke of Portland landed on the 14th of April. On the next day the provost the right honorable John Hely Hutchinson, member for the city of Cork, announced to a crowded house his excellency's arrival, and read the following message : " That his grace had it in command from his majesty to inform the house, that being concerned to find that discontents and jealousies were prevailing among his loyal subjects of this country on matters of great weight and importance, his majesty recommends to the house to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to his kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland."

In one of those incomparable addresses which will endure as long as the language lasts, Grattan declared the terms on which he was prepared to support the government of the duke of Portland. They were :

A repeal of the 6th George the first declaring the right of England to make laws to bind the people of Ireland, including the restoration of the appellate jurisdiction to the house of lords in Ireland.

Abolition of the unconstitutional power of the privy councils.

Repeal of the mutiny act.

He would say nothing about the independence of the judges as he understood the draft of a bill to remedy that grievance was on its way to this country. These concessions would have the effect of removing every cause of complaint from Ireland.

On a subsequent day, when an address of thanks to the king for the recognition of the legislative independence of Ireland and a vote for granting to his majesty the sum of one hundred thousand pounds for the raising of a force of 20,000 seamen, were under consideration, the debate turned on the question whether the simple repeal of the 6th George amounted to a renunciation of all right in England to legislate for Ireland. On this question the two great lights of the house were opposed. The clause of the address which gave rise to the discussion requires to be mentioned. It was in the following terms :

"That, gratified in these particulars, we do assure his majesty that no constitutional question between the two nations will any longer exist which can interrupt their harmony ; and that as Great Britain has approved of our firmness, so she may rely on our affection."

The recorder of Dublin, Bradstreet, took exception to this clause which stated that all constitutional questions were at an end. He contended there was nothing in the speech from the throne to call for such a paragraph.

In combatting this objection, Grattan insisted that the simple repeal of the declaratory act, 6 Geo. I. which mentioned the *right* to bind, disavowed that right, especially as no previous act was in existence laying a positive claim to such a right. He had not, he said, the least idea that in repealing the 6th of George Great Britain should be called on or bound to make a declaration that she had usurped a power. To make such a demand would be a dishonourable condition.

Flood took a contrary view. He argued that as the act was a declaratory act, the simple repeal of it only repealed the declaration, while it left the claim still subsisting. That the very title of the act, "a law for the *better* securing the dependence of Ireland," inferred the existence of a previous claim which was asserted by some English lawyers, and that this right had been exercised in various acts of the English parliament still unrepealed. Although it was true that at the present moment there was nothing which appeared likely to disturb the general harmony, who could engage that the present administration might not at some future period change its mind? He begged gentlemen to consider the language held in the English commons. They asserted a right to *external* legislation, and the seconder of the motion on the Irish question did not give up that right. Even the secretary asserted it, although he had given up that of *internal*. "If this house," observed Flood, "were to rest satisfied with a simple repeal, it might be inferred that you impliedly assented to the assertion that they had a right to bind you." Such were the reasons which induced this statesman to contend for an express renunciation by

the British parliament of all right to legislate for Ireland, and that nothing less would afford security to the nation.

The debate was becoming animated, several of the members having addressed the house, when Sir Lucius O'Brien rose to throw oil on the troubled waters. He contended that the address did not comprehend the meaning annexed to it. The king called on Ireland to state her discontents. "We stated them," (he pursued,) "and it will be our own fault if they be not all redressed. The king, lords, and commons alone of Ireland, have the power to bind us. The power usurped by the English is given up. The king has declared his readiness to co-operate with our wishes. Can we, then, entertain a doubt, when his majesty leads the way and has promised his consent? Though the king has the power of putting a negative on your acts no cause of discontent can in future exist between the legislatures of both nations, for this proof of the wisdom of England is adding the strength of three millions of people to the British standard." Sir Lucius said he would co-operate in the whole of the address at that time, but would, at another opportunity, give his objections to the mode of the vote of credit, although he would agree to the principle.

Notwithstanding the force of the objections made by Flood, the address was voted containing the obnoxious passage quoted above with only six dissentients. Convinced of the soundness of his views, he was not deterred by the smallness of the support he received, but brought the question again forward, moving on the 19th July, 1782, for leave to bring in a bill to affirm the sole exclusive right of the parliament of Ireland to make laws for the country in all matters external and internal. This motion had no better success than before. Although urged with his accustomed eloquence and force of reasoning, the mover was obliged to submit to have the motion negatived without putting the house to the trouble of a division; while Grattan, as if conscious of the force of his rival's reasons, and wishing to prevent the effect of them on people out of doors, proposed a resolution, which was unanimously carried, to the effect that Flood's motion was rejected because the ex-

clusive right of legislation external and internal, in the Irish parliament, had been already unequivocally acknowledged by Great Britain.

This resolution did not satisfy the people that their rights were sufficiently secured by the simple repeal of the declaratory act of the 6th Geo. I. In less than a fortnight after the defeat of Flood's motion, the volunteers of Belfast having met to consider whether they ought to rest satisfied with the decision at which parliament had arrived, declared, by a majority of two voices, that the nation ought not to be satisfied with what had been done, and that something more was required to set the public mind at rest. The lawyers' corps of volunteers, from their peculiar avocations better qualified to discuss such a subject, were of the same opinion. This sentiment gradually ripened into a conviction, and when the brief administration of lord Rockingham terminated on the decease of that nobleman in July, the earl of Shelburne, his successor, was apprized before the end of the year by the new lord lieutenant, earl Temple, that some further step must be taken to quiet the agitation on the question then prevalent, and likely to increase. The triumph of Flood was completed by the passing, early in the next year, of the English act, the 23 Geo. III., chap. 28, which, reciting in the preamble that doubts having arisen whether the provisions of an act of the previous year (that repealing the 6 Geo. I., ch. 5) were sufficient to secure to the people of Ireland the rights claimed by them to be bound only by laws enacted by his majesty and the parliament of that kingdom in *all cases whatever*, and to have all actions and suits of law, or in equity which may be instituted in that kingdom decided in his majesty's courts therein *finally* and without appeal from thence, proceeds to enact that for removing all doubts respecting the same, the said right so claimed shall be, and is hereby declared to be, established and ascertained for ever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable.

The second section enacted that no writ of error or appeal from the courts of Ireland should for the future be received by any court in Great Britain.

Thus was ended this struggle for the legislative independence of Ireland. To the volunteers the victory was pre-eminently due, and thanks were, by both houses, voted to them as on the occasion of the concession of free trade. But no sooner had they acquired an independent parliament than they found it necessary to have it reformed. The agitation for reform became the question of the day in 1782 and the following year, and the volunteers set themselves to the task with their usual alacrity. They entered into correspondence with the friends of reform in England, and sought advice from the leaders of opinion in that country as to the best course to be pursued to forward the question. A letter from the duke of Richmond, of the 5th of August, 1783, to the committee of correspondence of the delegates of forty-five volunteer corps who had assembled at Lisburn on the previous 1st of July, and had addressed a letter to his grace requesting his opinion on the reform of their parliament, contains views which may strike the reader as being of importance as much, if not more, in reference to the present and the future, as to the past, with regard to the connexion between the two islands. In this letter the writer says :

“ Before I conclude I beg leave to express a wish that the mutually essential connexion between Great Britain and Ireland may soon be settled on some liberal and fair footing. That which did subsist was on such narrow and absurd principles that no friend to either kingdom can regret the loss. Founded on constraint and dependence incompatible with the condition of freemen, Ireland had an indisputable right to dissolve it whenever she chose to do so. But surely if we do not mean a total separation, it would be right to agree on some new terms by which we are to continue connected. I have always thought it for the interest of the two islands to be incorporated and form one and the same kingdom, with the same legislature, meeting sometimes in Ireland as well as in England. But if there are difficulties to such an union not to be got over at present, some sort of federal union at least, between the kingdoms seems necessary, to ascertain the many circumstances that concern

their joint interests, and an union of this sort may now be formed with much greater propriety than before, as it will be sanctioned by the free consent of independent nations."

The commercial relations between Great Britain and Ireland, the legislatures of which were now established on a footing of mutual independence, required to be ascertained and established. On the 16th of October 1784, Mr. Corry moved for leave to introduce a bill to throw open the trade to the East Indies to the merchants of Ireland, and was replied to by Yelverton, the attorney general, that it was in contemplation to frame a system of commercial laws, which ought not, therefore, be frittered away by partial attempts, but considered as a whole. The motion was, accordingly, withdrawn. In accordance with the intimation given by the attorney general, a committee of the privy council in England took into its consideration the state of the trade between Great Britain and Ireland, and made a report, in which they state that three plans presented themselves for settling the question.

1. That the ports of each kingdom should be open to goods the growth and manufacture of each other, free from all duties except excise and other internal imposts.

2. That each kingdom should make such regulations and impose such duties on the productions of the other as the respective legislatures should think proper. (This the committee observed was the course most likely to be followed, unless some agreement were made, and must be a source of perpetual dissension.)

3. That the two kingdoms should agree on certain moderate duties to be imposed on goods the growth and manufacture of each other, such as would secure a due preference in the home market for its own articles, and yet leave to the sister kingdom advantages though not equal to its own, yet superior to those granted to any foreign country.

Founded on the principles embodied in the foregoing plans, eleven resolutions for the final adjustment of the commerce between Great Britain and Ireland were submitted by the Irish secretary Orde, to a committee of the Irish commons on the 7th Feb. 1785, and agreed to. And

on the 16th of that month it was unanimously resolved by both houses, that the said resolutions be laid before his majesty with an address of thanks for the measures taken by his command, towards the arrangement of the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.

Of these resolutions, framed in England and thus assented to by the Irish parliament, the first ten were founded on a basis of reciprocal advantage to both countries. The eleventh contained the germs of future discord between the two parliaments. It provided that for the better protection of trade whatever amount over and above the sum of £656,000 the gross revenue of Ireland should produce, should be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire in such manner as the parliament of Ireland should direct.

In the interval between February and May these resolutions, on a further consideration of their provisions, underwent a very important change. On the 12th of May, Mr. Pitt, in an elaborate address to the English commons, brought forward his final propositions for adjusting the share Ireland was to have in the general commerce of the empire. The ninth of his propositions contained a declaration, that it was essential to the commercial interests of the kingdom that goods, the produce of countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, should not be imported into Ireland except through Great Britain, and that ships proceeding to those countries should not be restricted from touching at Irish ports, and taking on board any of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of that kingdom. Notwithstanding this limitation of the power of the Irish parliament to trade with the whole world agreeably to the spirit and the letter of the act of renunciation which was hardly two years old, the commercial interests of England were able to defeat the minister (whose propositions did not appear to afford sufficient security for the maintenance of the advantages already in their possession,) by having a motion carried that counsel should be heard on behalf of the English merchants against the proposed resolutions. The consequence was that further important changes were

made, and the original eleven resolutions submitted by Orde to the Irish house of commons in February, enlarged to twenty. These it became the unpleasant duty of the Irish secretary to do his utmost to pass through the Irish parliament, a perilous adventure as the result proved.

On the 11th of August, while the Irish parliament was still sitting in expectation of the result of the ministerial measures proposed in the sister kingdom, the secretary who had just arrived in Ireland, appeared in his place in the house of commons and was about to address the house, when Flood rose, and, having observed that in the bill lately introduced into the English house of commons for ascertaining the share Ireland was to have in the general commerce of the empire it was stated as a fundamental principle, that Ireland should relinquish her newly acquired right of legislating for herself, and should bind herself to enact such laws as England thought proper to pass respecting navigation and commerce, he proposed the following resolution:—

“That this house will retain the free and full exercise, at all times and on all occasions, of its undoubted right to legislate for Ireland, commercially and externally, as well as internally.”

This was taking up the gauntlet so arrogantly thrown down by the monopolists of England. The secretary, claiming the indulgence, if not the right, to be heard on the propositions adopted on the other side of the channel, and perhaps hoping in the interval to gain some additional support to a cause which he must have inwardly felt was hopeless, succeeded in carrying a motion of adjournment to the next day. On the meeting of the house, he proceeded to unfold the propositions, twenty in number, to which the resolutions of February had been altered and enlarged, and concluded his unpleasant task by asking for leave to introduce his bill. The motion was seconded by the attorney general, Fitzgibbon.

Summoned to resist this the first attack on her new-born liberties, the champions of the parliamentary independence of Ireland, Flood and Grattan, opposed the motion. Grattan insisted that the bill was inadmissible, conflicting

as it was with all their previous legislation. The provisions of the bill would have the effect of breaking up the settlement of trade as established in 1779, and they were utterly inconsistent with the rights acquired by the country in the declaration of the independence of its parliament only three years before. Contrary to the rights acquired by that charter of their independence, they were now by the proposed bill to be debarred from trading with India or China or any other country beyond the Cape of Good Hope or the straits of Magellan. The adoption of the bill would be in effect to barter the rights of the nation.

Flood, in the course of his powerful arguments against the bill, urged that the plantation trade of Ireland had been already settled by the provisions of the acts passed in 1779, and that that with foreign countries was established by the act of 1782, by which their legislative independence, and their right to trade with all foreign nations whatsoever, had been recognised and settled. It remained therefore only to arrange the trade with Great Britain itself. But to refer to the clause concerning the navy, what was the surplus of the revenue of Ireland to be given for? For the protection of a navy now in a time of profound peace, when it was not wanted! And yet with all this concern to provide for naval expenditure, there was no stipulation for our obtaining its protection in time of war, when it might become necessary. For these reasons he would oppose the motion.

Other members having addressed the house, it was evident that the sense of the commons was against the bill. To refuse assent to its introduction was, however, so unusual a proceeding and so contrary to parliamentary courtesy, that Sir Lucius O'Brien felt called on to interpose. With that weight of character which belonged to the father of free trade, and with the recollection of the house, that to his exertions in 1779, both in England and in his place in parliament, it was owing that the restrictions on the commerce of Ireland had been removed, Sir Lucius addressed the house in favour of the motion for leave to introduce the ministerial bill. The practical character of his address on

this occasion so amply justifies the observations already cited from the pages of Sir Jonah Barrington, that his speech, extracted from the report of the debate by Woodfall, deserves to be laid in full before the reader. It is here subjoined:—

“Though it was my intention not to have troubled the house in this stage of the business, yet something that has been alluded to by other gentlemen, and more expressly stated by my friend who spoke lately (Mr. Corry), oblige me to depart from that intention. It has been asserted that every man who gives his assent to the introduction of this bill for effectuating the intercourse and placing the commerce between Great Britain and Ireland on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries, gives his support to the doctrines of the fourth proposition of the English parliament, which are stated to militate against the constitution of Ireland.

“Now as I mean to allow the right honourable gentleman to bring in his bill, and afterwards to assist this house in making that bill as perfect as may be, and as I have on former occasions expressed my readiness to second the motion of an honourable friend on the other side that this house will retain undiminished the free and full exercise of the sole and exclusive authority at all times to legislate for Ireland, commercially and externally, as well as internally; and as I am still ready to give him the same support, I feel myself bound to shew that these sentiments are not inconsistent.

“I trust, Sir, I have been found as little disposed as any man to barter a free constitution for trade, first, because I hold the great rights of the people to be unalienable by parliament, and that such an attempt would be, *ipso facto*, void; and, secondly, because free trade (however cherished) can only thrive in the soil of a free constitution. And I am ready to say that when first I saw the English propositions as they were sent down to our representatives, I thought the fourth proposition exceedingly exceptionable. The propositions, however, had been formed amid contrariant sentiments, in the heat of debate and with amendments first

suggested on the moment of their adoption (circumstances not always the most happy to produce precision in our expressions); and therefore I was willing to give the parliament of our sister kingdom the same liberty I could not deny to any individual, the liberty of expressing the sense they wished to have affixed to their own expressions. That meaning seemed to me to have been sufficiently defined in the address of both houses, after deliberation and without a negative, and to which the third branch of the legislature had added the sanction of its approbation. This address had asserted the legislative rights of Ireland, and that the British parliament would ever hold those as sacred as their own. The bill brought in in consequence of this address had expressed the same sentiments, if possible still stronger; and I confess, with these declarations, and with the powers which I felt were inherent in the Irish parliament, as an individual I was satisfied. The people, however, had considered the propositions only, and had very generally addressed this house to protect the rights of the constitution; I thought their last petitions were entitled not only to respect but to an answer, and that my honourable friend's resolution was that proper parliamentary answer. When that was given, I thought the house might, in the most perfect manner, give this effect by an instruction to the committee who were to prepare the bill to insert a clause which should declare it to be a fundamental and essential condition of the settlement, and upon which the duration thereof must depend, that the laws for regulating trade and manufacture, so far as relates to the securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of the two kingdoms, and so far as they conferred the same benefits and imposed equal restraints, should be the same in both kingdoms. And *therefore* enacting that all such laws (so far as they related to such exclusive privileges, and confined such benefits and imposed such restraints), which now existed in Great Britain, should also be in force and full effect in Ireland.

And this the house must do, either by inserting all such clauses of the British laws, paragraph by paragraph, in the Irish bill, or by general terms, including the whole as in

Mr. Yelverton's bill. I wish also that a similar restriction should be given with respect to the duties on colonial produce. And I am confident this with the clause at present in the bill asserting the sole right of the parliament of Ireland to make laws to bind this country, will be satisfactory to every dispassionate man in Ireland, and I think must be satisfactory to Great Britain also, for it admits their principle of perfect and continued equality. It carries that principle into effect, as far as we think by the constitution we have any power to go, and if ever new regulations may be required, there can be no doubt of the assent of Ireland to what is necessary for the empire, and must confer equal benefits on both kingdoms.

“When this shall have been done, I shall not fear even to meet the respectable member for the city of Dublin upon the commercial part of the business, and I pledge myself to demonstrate that Ireland by this bill will receive very great and permanent commercial advantages, and that we must shortly become a manufacturing, trading, and opulent nation. The manufacturers of Britain are universally of this opinion. I know one house here in the cotton manufacture that has already got two partners from England with sixty thousand pounds, upon a supposition that this system will take place. In the evidence before the British parliament, one gentleman of Manchester, who states that he pays £27,000 a-year in duties, declares his intention of forming a connexion in Ireland to a very considerable amount. I have in my pocket a letter from that very Mr. Smith, who so very illiberally, and so very unjustly, has scattered about his abuse on all his brethren who came here before him, and have his letter to the linen board, offering to come himself here and solicit encouragement. I know there are gentlemen of Manchester this moment in the house for the same purpose and watching this event. On these grounds I can have no hesitation to vote for the introduction of the bill.”

This speech so full of practical good sense, and spoken by one in whom the house was accustomed to repose its confidence on all matters concerning the trade and commerce of

the kingdom, restored the doubtful balance. On the division which took place there were for the introduction of the bill, ayes 127, noes 108 ; majority 19.

On the 15th the secretary informed the house that he had prepared the bill and when printed would present it, but that he did not intend that any further proceedings should be taken with respect to it in that session. It could go before the country, and if on a maturer consideration of its provisions they thought it for their advantage, they might in the next session bring it forward themselves.

It was evident to the secretary that opposed as his bill had been on the very threshold, it had no chance of passing the future stages. It was never again brought forward in the short-lived existence of the Irish parliament.

It appears as if it had been determined beforehand by the decree of fate that the legislatures of the two islands should conflict. Important as was the question to what share of the commerce of the empire, and under what arrangements, the people of Ireland should be admitted, the question of the regency was of still greater consequence, involving, as it did, the solution of constitutional problems of the most difficult kind, and, as the event within the space of a few years shewed, the very existence of one of the parliaments itself.

The second cause or occasion of conflict between the British and Irish legislatures, arose from the malady by which the sovereign, in the beginning of the year 1789, was afflicted. Mr. Pitt, at the time prime minister, in establishing a regency in the person of his royal highness the Prince of Wales the heir apparent to the crown, took care that the trust should be scrupulously fenced by all the restrictions on the exercise of the royal authority which appeared to him and his colleagues to be necessary, and which the position of the prince at the time appeared to demand. The Irish parliament, on the other hand, instead of prudently following the example set them by the more cautious assembly of Great Britain, in an exuberant spirit of loyal confidence, by an address from both houses conferred the exercise of the royal authority on the prince in as ample a

manner as it had been enjoyed and exercised by his royal parent.

In England the case of a regency had been contemplated and provided for by former statutes, and nothing more was necessary than to apply the act of parliament, subject to the adoption of such restrictions as would make it obvious that the appointment of a regent did not amount to a dethronement of the legitimate, although for a time the incapacitated, sovereign. Mr. Pitt, after considerable opposition in both houses of the British parliament, succeeded in enforcing his views, and the regency with limited powers was tendered to the Prince of Wales. Within less than a month, that is to say, on the 7th of February, at the opening of the Irish parliament, the lord lieutenant, in his speech from the throne, stated, that, in consequence of the king's malady, he had not received his majesty's commands as to the measures to be recommended to their consideration. Whatever information he (the lord lieutenant) should receive from time to time, he would take care to lay before them, to assist them in their deliberations on this melancholy subject.

When the commons returned to their house, the chancellor of the exchequer suggested the necessity of proceeding with some money bills, and was about to move to that effect when Grattan interposed. He insisted that the respect due to the crown and to the great personage to whom they looked up as the regent, required that they should not allow any inferior object to occupy their deliberations until the third estate of the realm was complete. After a long debate the business of supply was put off to the 12th, and Sir Lucius O'Brien, who had occupied the chair in the interim, having left it, the house resumed.

On the 12th the question of the regency still pending, as soon as the speaker took the chair, Fitzherbert, the chief secretary, informed the house that by command of his excellency the lord lieutenant, he had to lay before them the address agreed to by both houses of the British parliament to his royal highness the Prince of Wales, together with the answer

which the prince read from his place in the house of lords. The secretary then presented the paper, and on the speaker putting the question that the title of it be read :

Sir Henry Cavendish expressed an opinion that a paper could not be presented without an order from the house on a motion made for the purpose.

Sir John Blaquiere was for postponing the reception of the paper, in order that room might be given to bring up the address.

The speaker called on the house for its advice. He did not recollect any instance of a question being put on a paper communicated to the house by a lord lieutenant.

Sir Henry Cavendish thought the rule was, that nothing should be put on the table without the leave of the house.

Sir Lucius O'Brien, in obedience to a general call of the members, observed that the lord lieutenant in his speech to both houses had promised to lay before them what further documents he should receive, and that the house had voted him an address of thanks. It could not therefore with consistency refuse to receive the paper now under consideration. He (Sir Lucius) had now been thirty years in parliament, and could state that any communication from a lord lieutenant had been always received as a matter of right, and he hoped that the house in the present instance would not depart from the antient form of communication. It might convey a mark of disrespect to the lord lieutenant.

Sir Henry Cavendish denied the assertion made by the right honourable baronet of its being a matter of right. He (Sir H. C.) did not make the objection out of the smallest disrespect to the lord lieutenant, but he would set his face against it as a matter of right ; he would not give up the privileges of the house.

Notwithstanding the opposition given by the last speaker and a few others, the house, yielding to the authority and convinced by the reasons adduced by Sir Lucius O'Brien, ordered that the addresses of both houses of the British parliament should be read by the clerk and lie on the table.

Mr. Conolly then moved that an address be presented

to the prince of Wales, requesting his royal highness to assume the government of the kingdom during the indisposition of his majesty, and no longer, and to exercise his authority according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom.

The attorney general Fitzgibbon, in opposing the motion, asserted that the crown of Ireland was so inseparably annexed to that of Great Britain, that the king gave the royal assent to acts of the Irish parliament not as king of Ireland but as head of the empire. He combatted the idea that the house, in the present instance, should take such a step as the appointment of a regent for Ireland, as any such appointment must pass the great seal of England before it could receive validity ; and in case the Irish parliament should happen to appoint a different person from that chosen by the parliament of England, their resolution would go for nothing, as the British regent would refuse to affix the great seal to such an appointment.

Grattan denied these principles, and repudiated the notion that the king gave his assent to the acts of the Irish parliament as king of Great Britain, and not as king of Ireland. He also denied that the regent of England would have the power to supersede one appointed by the Irish parliament. Such principles contravened the free agency of the Irish parliament, and cut up the constitution by the roots.

After an animated debate, the question being loudly called for, was put and carried in the affirmative, without a division.

A similar address was carried in the lords by a majority of nineteen, seventeen peers entering a protest on the journals. On the 19th of February both houses waited on the lord lieutenant to transmit their addresses to England. His excellency declared, that considering his oath of office, and the responsibility of his position, he was unable to comply with their request. The two houses thus disappointed, returned and named commissioners to proceed to London and present their addresses to his royal highness the prince of Wales. Those appointed by the lords were the duke of

Leinster and the earl of Charlemont. The address from the commons was entrusted to Messrs. Conolly, O'Neill, and Ponsonby, privy councillors, and Mr. Stewart. Thus ended this memorable act in the political drama of the rise and extinction of an independent Irish parliament. The almost immediate recovery of the sovereign prevented the occurrence of any practical inconvenience from this divergence in the action of the two parliaments ; but in the opinion of most English statesmen, and of some too in Ireland, the permanent continuance of two legislatures claiming to exercise independent functions became thenceforward an impossibility. How long the existence of an Irish parliament freed from the control of the privy council might have continued, had not the questions of foreign trade and the regency occurred, is a question as difficult as it is now useless, to attempt to solve. The cruel policy of depriving Ireland of the power of developing its own resources, adopted in the last year of the seventeenth century by the parliament of William, was never quietly acquiesced in. But it was not until the underhand influence of the British government to nullify its own tardy concession by practising with the Portuguese authorities to prevent the extension of Irish trade to that country, that the spirit of Ireland was fully roused. And it was when the petition of the merchants of Dublin had been presented to the house of commons, and gave Sir Lucius O'Brien the opportunity of making his spirit-stirring speech that it became a conviction that the power of legislating on matters merely internal in the parliament of Ireland, would afford no sufficient security for the enjoyment of those rights which had been extorted from, rather than conceded by, the parliament of Great Britain. To this spirit of commercial jealousy on the part of England was mainly to be attributed Flood's demand of something more than the simple repeal of the declaratory statute of George. When the people of Ireland found out that intrigues had been set on foot at a foreign court by the agents of the British government to prevent the extension of their trade, they could have no confidence that the concessions, wrung

from a reluctant ministry through the attitude of the volunteers, might not, at the first favourable opportunity, be recalled.

The further notices of the active and useful public life of Sir Lucius O'Brien to be found in the parliamentary history of his country, are few. On the 20th of January, 1791, he moved resolutions for the more satisfactory trials of election petitions, which were adopted by the house of commons, and on the 26th of the same month he called attention to the mischievous and demoralising practice of insuring lottery tickets. His latest recorded address to the house was on the 7th March in that year, on the subject of the India trade. Pursuing an independent parliamentary career, which extended over the administrations of thirteen viceroys, from the duke of Bedford to the earl of Westmoreland, a period of six and thirty years, he has left to his country and his posterity, the character of a high-minded patriot and statesman, as zealous for the interests of his country, as he was thoroughly acquainted with its wants, and ready to assert its rights. The appreciation of his high and independent character, his public spirit, and his illustrious lineage, by the house of commons, was frequently testified by the deference paid to his opinions whenever questions of importance or difficulty happened to engage their attention.

The journals of the house of commons record the issue of a writ for the town of Ennis, and the return, on the 22nd January, 1795, of Sir Edward O'Brien in the room of Sir Lucius, his father, deceased. The example set by the father, in his devotion to the interests of his country, was not lost on the son. Sir Edward O'Brien's name is to be found in the red list of those distinguished men, who, when it was determined to put an end to the parliament of Ireland, refused to pull down that edifice which it had cost the patriots of 1782 so much of labour and perseverance to rear. Sir Edward did not rest content with giving a silent vote on the question of the legislative union of the two kingdoms. He declared his determination to oppose the measure at

every stage, and gave effect to that determination by leaving a bed of sickness to record his final vote against it. With the extinction of the legislative independence of Ireland, and the merging of its parliament in that of the united kingdom, this work may be appropriately closed. It is now submitted to the indulgent reader in the hope that, however imperfectly executed, it may be accepted as a contribution to the history of a country which, whatsoever may be its destiny, can never fail to be regarded as among the most important members of the British empire.

NOTES

THE END.

every where, and gave effect to that determination by leaving a bed of coals to reward the hand that wrought it. With the extension of the legislative and judicial of Ireland, and the opening of the question of the united kingdom, this was not the only measure which it is now evident had an important bearing on the issue that, however indirectly connected, it may be regarded as a contribution to the history of a country which, whatever may be its future, can never fail to be regarded as among the most important members of the British empire.

THE END

NOTES

ON THE

HISTORICAL MEMOIR OF THE O'BRIENS.

NOTES

OF THE

HISTORICAL MEMOIR OF THE OTTOMAN

NOTES TO CHAPTER I.

1. The celebrated annalist Tighernach Ua Braein (*pron.* Tiernach) who died A.D. 1088 (acc. Four Masters,) questions the veracity of all the most ancient documents relating to Ireland, and makes the true historical epoch begin from Cimbaeth, and the founding of the palace of Eamhain Macha (or Emania, near Armagh,) about the eighteenth year of Ptolemy Lagus before Christ 305. He says, *omnia monumenta Scotorum usque Cimbaeth incerta erant*. The critical accuracy of this annalist has been inferred from his quotations from the ancient Greek and Latin writers, and the judgment evinced in balancing their authorities against each other.

2. The boundary which separated those two divisions was called *Eiscir Riada*, and extended from High-street in Dublin, to Ath Cliath Meadraighe, now Clarinbridge in the county of Galway. This Eiscir, which is a continuous line of gravel hills, is described in ancient manuscripts as extending from Dublin to Clonard, thence to Clonmacnoise and Clonburren, and thence to Meadraighe, a peninsula extending into the bay of Galway, a few miles to the south of the town. "*Circuit of Muircerthach MacNeill.*" Ir. Arch. Soc. pp. 44, 45 in note.

3. There were various septs of them in the south of Ireland, as the Eoganacht Ani, or O'Ciarmeics at Ani, now Knockany, in the county of Limerick, the Eoganacht Locha Lein, or O'Donoghues at Lochlein, now the lake of Killarney in the county of Kerry; the Eoganacht Chaisil, or Macarthys of Cashel; the Eoganacht Ruisairgid, near the river Nore in Ossory; Eoganacht Rathlenn, or O'Mahonys in the barony of Kinalmeaky, in the county of Cork; the Eoganachts of Glendamhnach, or O'Keeffe's country in the county of Cork; the Eoganachts of the isles of Arran in the bay of Galway; the Eoganachts of Magh Geirginn or Mar, in Scotland.

See *Duan Eireneach*, ver. 267, and note in the Irish version of Nennius, printed for the Arch. Soc.; also note ^(s) year 1013, Ann. 4 Mag.

4. The title of Dal Cais was given to the inhabitants of Thomond, including the great families of O'Brien, Macnamara, Macmahon, O'Curry, &c. See *Duan Eireanach*, ver. 275, *ubi supra*.

5. A celebrated district in ancient Irish history extending from the Slieve Bloom Mountains in the Queen's county to the river Suir, and bounded on the east by the Barrow and portions of Carlow and Queen's county, and on the west by the county of Tipperary. It is well defined as comprising the diocese of its name, which is co-extensive with the barony of Upper Ossory in the Queen's county and the county of Kilkenny, except the parishes of Powerstown and Grange Silvæ on the river Barrow, which belong to the diocese of Leighlin. Ossory was an important member of the southern division of Ireland, Leathmogha, but its princes were dependent on the kings of Munster or Leinster, more frequently on the former. After the Anglo-Norman invasion it became a portion of the latter province.

6. As mention has been incidentally made of Cormac, it seems not inappropriate to notice the account given by the Four Masters of him. It is as follows:—"It was Cormac who composed Teagusc-na-Righ, to preserve manners, morals, and government in the kingdom. He was a famous author in laws, synchronisms, and history, for it was he that established law, rule, and direction for each science and for each covenant according to propriety; and it is by his laws that all were governed who adhered to them to the present time.

"It was Cormac also, the son of Art, that collected the chroniclers of Ireland to Teamhair (Tara), and ordered them to write the chronicles of Ireland in one book, which was named the Psalter of Teamhair. In that book were entered the coeval exploits and synchronisms of the kings of Ireland with the kings and emperors of the world, and of the kings of the provinces with the monarchs of Ireland. In it was written also what the monarchs of Ireland were entitled to receive from the provincial kings, and the rents and dues of the provincial kings from their subjects, from the noble to the subaltern. In it also were described the boundaries and meares of Ireland from shore to shore, from the province to the cantred, from the cantred to the townland, and from the townland to the *traigidh* of land." 4 Mag. ann. 266; Dr. O'Donovan's edition. Of this celebrated book no copy is known to be in existence at this day.

7. See Four Masters A.D. 331. Thus was formed the territory or kingdom of Oirghialla, Oriel or Uriel, comprising the modern counties of Monaghan, Armagh, and Louth, for until the Anglo-Norman invasion, and for a long time after, this last-named county was a part of Ulster, the limits of which were the Boyne on the east, and the river Drowes running out of Lough Melvin on the west. The princes of Ulster after the burning of the royal residence of Emania, which from the time of Cimbaeth had lasted six centuries, thenceforward fixed their dwelling at Aileach or Oileoch near the present city of Derry.

8. Lughaid Meann, king of Leathmogha, the father of Conall Eachluat, and fourth in descent from Cormac Cas, had, a few years previous to the period under consideration, wrested the country to the north and west of the Shannon from the princes of Connaught and added it to the northern part of Munster. Thomond thus enlarged, extended from Athlughaid (the ford of Lughaid) near Bunahow, on the borders of the county of Galway in the north, to Knockany in the county of Limerick in the south, and from Leim Cuchullin (Loophead) at the mouth of the Shannon, to the foot of the Slieve Bloom Mountains on the east. These limits were not contracted until after the Anglo-Norman invasion, a period of at least eight centuries. *Ann. Inisf. and Vall. Coll. de reb. Hib. vol. 1, page 442.*

9. *Ann. 4 Mag. anno 378—ann. Clonm.—Book of Ballymote fol. 145, a.b—Keating Irel. reigns of Crimhthan and Niall—and O'Flaherty Ogyg. part 3, ch. 81.*

10. See chronological table of the monarchs of the Hy-Niall race, at the conclusion of the preface to this work.

11. For further notices of Dathi see the tribes and customs of Hy-Fiachrach, printed for the Archæol. Soc. pp. 17-27.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II.

1. There were at least four labourers in the vineyard before the advent of St. Patrick in Ireland. These were St. Kieran of Saighir in Ossory; St. Ailbhe of Emly; St. Declan of Ardmore in the county of Waterford; and St. Ivar or Iberius in Wexford. See Mageogh. Ireland, 9 chap. ad finem. It is curious that Ardmore is called at this day "the old parish;" no doubt in reference to the early planting of the gospel therein.

2. The extent and divisions of Munster have varied from time to time. Originally it was comprised within a line drawn from the Shannon through Birr to Roscrea, and thence to the Suir, and by both these rivers to their mouths. This would include the baronies of Clonlisk and Ballybritt in the King's county, which do not now belong to the province.

Of this large region there were five subdivisions at different periods. 1. Desmond (south Munster), west and south of the Blackwater. 2. Iarmond (west Munster, see *Four Masters*, anno. 614), the northern part of the present county of Kerry. 3. Thomond (north Munster), already described in note (8) to chap. 1. 4. Ormond (east Munster), pointed out by the baronies of that name in Tipperary; and 5. Middle Munster, comprehending the portions of the county of Cork, north of the Blackwater, and of the county of Limerick, south of Knockany and the Morning Star river.

3. The territory of the Hy-mblod is indicated in the deanery of Omulod, which comprises the parishes of Clonlea, Kilfinaghty, Kilseily, Killuran, Killokenedy, Kilnoe, Feacle, and O'Gonnelloe, in the east of the county of Clare and diocese of Killaloe. The territory of Hy-ccaisin is shewn by the parishes forming the deanery of O'Gashin, viz.: Quin, Tulla, Clooney, Dowry, Kilraghtis, Templemaley, Inchicronan and Kilmurry ne-gaul. After the year 1318, when the partisans of Brian roe O'Brien were defeated by Torlogh, son of Teige Caeluisce, aided by the Macnamaras, and driven across the Shannon, the latter obtained possession of the territory, and the whole district between the Fergus and the Shannon was divided into east and west Clancuilen.

4. See *Four Masters*, anno 1562.

5. To the year 1002, when Maelseachlain the second was deposed by Brian Boromha, there were from the accession of Laeghaire forty-five kings of Ireland, all descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages, with the single exception of Olioll Molt, son of Dathi, who succeeded Laeghaire. Of these there were nineteen of the southern and twenty-six of the northern Hy-nialls. See table of Hy-niall kings in preface.

6. The kings of Munster were called kings of Cashel from residing at that city, just as the kings of Ireland were styled kings of Tara, a mode of description which continued in use for upwards of six centuries, even after Tara had been cursed by Rodanus Prior of Lorrha, and in consequence deserted as a residence. This cursing occurred in 554, and since that time

the kings of Ireland dwelt at their provincial residences, though still occasionally styled kings of Tara. Thus the monarchs of the northern Hy-niall race dwelt at Aileach in Inishowen, near Derry, and were indifferently styled kings of Aileach (or Oileach), or of Tara; those of the southern Hy-niall dwelt at Dunnasgiath, on the shore of Lough Ennell, near Mullingar, or at Durrow in the northern part of the present King's County; the kings of Connaught at Rathcroghan, and sometimes at Dunlo, now Ballinasloe, in the county of Roscommon; those of the race of Brian Boromha at Kin-cora, near Killaloe; and the kings of Leinster down to the tenth century at Naas, and subsequently at Ferns. See *Four Masters*, A.D. 554 and note (p).

7. Ballaghmoon, the road of Mughan, is in the south of the county of Kildare. See *Four Masters* at the year 903, and *Mageoghegan's Ireland*, ch. 13, for an account of the battle and the cause which led to it.

8. Hy-Figeinte was the name of a tribe and territory situated in the present county of Limerick. It was bounded on the north by the Shannon, on the south by Slieve Luachra, on the east by the river Maigne and the Morning Star river, and on the west by Kerry. Of this territory the O'Donovans were princes until the Anglo-Norman invasion. See *Four Masters*, year 1560, note (c), by Dr. O'Donovan.

9. It would appear from Dr. O'Brien's account that the murder of Mahon was not the only crime of that nature chargeable against the prince of Desmond, who is said to have been the murderer of Feargrath, son of Ailghenan, last king of Cashel of the Eugenic race, on whose demise Mahon became king of Leathmogha. That a prince of the Dalgais should have carried off the prize sought by one murder may be easily imagined to have led to another, and gives colour to the statement of Molloy's motives in the extract above given. See *Law of Tanistry illustrated*, Val. Coll. de reb. Hibern. vol. 1.

10. The hereditary dominions of the southern Hy-nialls comprehended the northern parts of the present King's County; and Thomond comprised the baronies of Clonlisk and Ballybritt in the south, in fact the territory extending from the Shannon to the foot of the Slieve Bloom mountains. Brian's and Maelseachlain's dominions were therefore contiguous, a circumstance which must have led to hostilities; and this seems to have been the monarchs' "royal expedition." (See as to royal hostings and chieftains inaugural expeditions, *Four Mast.* years 1265, 1559, 1562). As to extent

of Thomond see Sir Ch. O'Carroll's letter in the Lambeth library to the lord deputy in 1595, complaining "that the earl of Ormond had subtracted several territories from Thomond, which he added to his county Pallentine of Tipperary, though there be no coullor for it, particularly Muskryhyry, which he improperly and usurpedly called the Heither Ormond, though it was ever theretofore reputed, known, and taken as of Thomond, until of late subtracted by the greatness, countenance, and export power of the said erle."

11. Magh-adhair is situated in the townland of Toonagh, parish of Clooney, barony of Upper Bunratty, and county of Clare, about three miles and a half west of Tulla. See the circuit of Muircertagh mac Neill printed for the Archæol. Soc., page 47.

12. The mother of Maelseachlain was married to Anlaff, by whom she had Gluniarn (Ironknee). Maelseachlain himself was twice married; first to Maelmaire, a daughter of Anlaff by a first marriage; and secondly, at a much later period, to Gormlaith (called by Worsaae, Kormlod), who had been wife to Anlaff and mother of Sitric. This was after the death of Brian, who by the same Gormlaith was father of Donogh, who was thus half brother of Sitric. For these connexions see further note 2 to chap. 3, *post*.

13. In the last year of the reign of Donald, the predecessor of Maelseachlain, A.D. 979, the latter obtained a decisive victory over the Danes of Dublin and the Hebrides at Tara, after which Anlaff crossed the sea to Iona, and died there on his pilgrimage. The next year, aided by Eochaidh, king of Ulidia, Maelseachlain marched to Dublin, laid siege to the fortress, and compelled the Danes to liberate the Irish captives, 2,000 in number, and permit the Hy-niall to have free passage from the Shannon to the sea. See Four Mast. year 980.

14. See note ⁽¹⁰⁾ ante.

15. Brian was at this time and some time previously king of Leath-mogha, and as such had a right to command the forces of the southern half of Ireland. See note 2 ch. 1, ante. His invasion of Breifney so early as 993 seems the first indication of his aspiring to the supreme monarchy.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

1. Uladh was the original name of the entire province of Ulster until its dismemberment; 1st, by the three Collas in the fourth century, who erected the territory between Loughneagh and the Boyne into the principality of Oirghialla or Oriel; 2ndly, by the sons of Niall of the nine hostages in the middle of the fifth century, who seized on the northern and western portions, forming the principalities of Tirconnell and Tirowen. The remaining portion forming the present counties of Down and Antrim, thenceforward retained the name, Ulidia, by which the circumscribed territory of the Rudrician race was designated, while Ultonia is applied to the whole province by Irish writers.

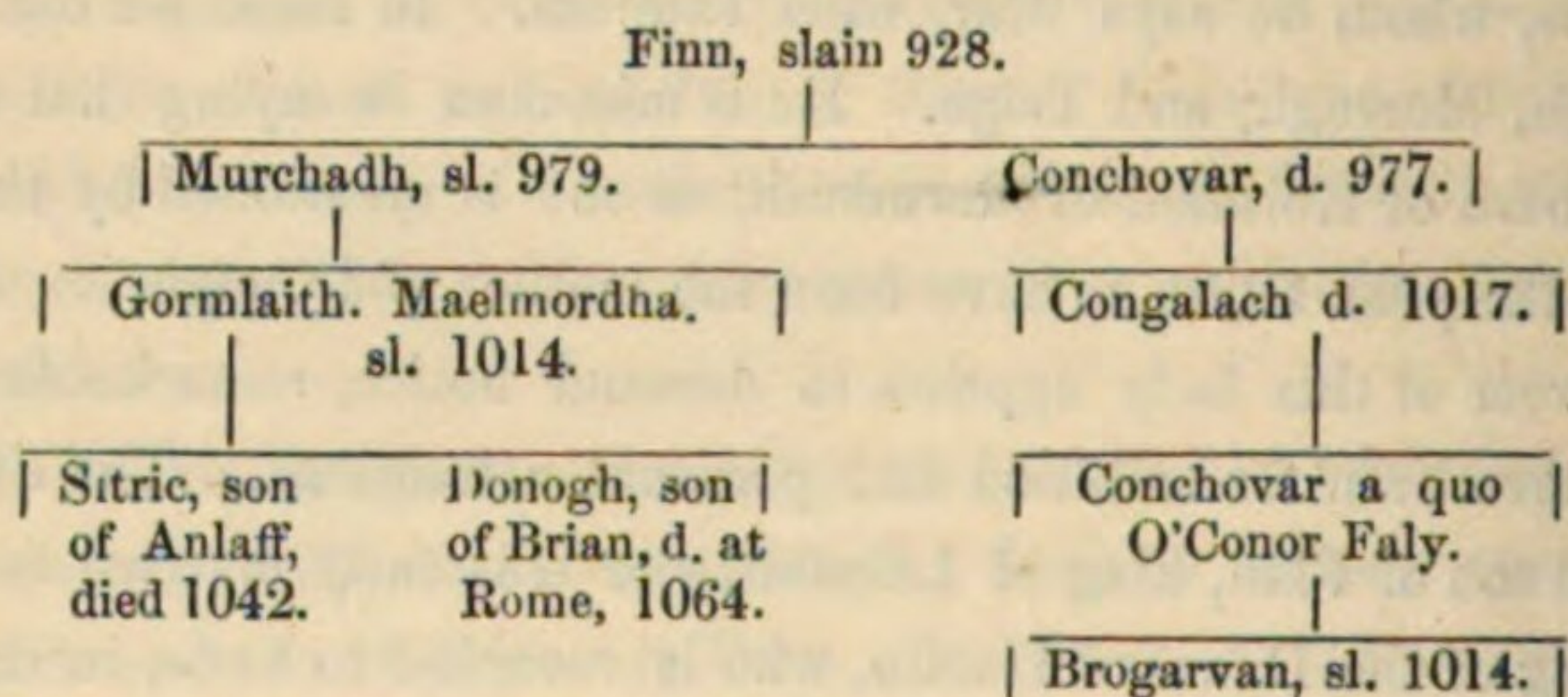
2. Torfæus mentions that Brian had three sons, Dungadus, Morgadus, and Tannus, whom he says Ware calls Taddeus. In these we can recognise Donogh, Morrogh, and Teige. He is mistaken in saying that none of these was born of Kormlod or Gormlaith, as she is mentioned by the Four Masters at the year 1030, to have been the mother of Donogh.

The career of this lady appears to demand notice, remarkable as she seems to have been for ambition and personal attractions. The daughter of Murchad son of Finn, king of Leinster, she was early married to Anlaff or Olof, king of the Danes of Dublin, who is recorded to have, in the year 960, in conjunction with her father, plundered the rich monastery of Kells. Her husband Anlaff having, in 980, retired to Iona on a pilgrimage, where he died, she became the wife of Brian, after whose death she married Maelseachlain, by whom she had a son Conchobhar or Conor. It is not improbable, considering what has been stated by Torfæus, that she had been successively repudiated by each of her husbands, and that such was the force of her charms that, sixteen years before her decease in 1030, she still retained sufficient personal attractions to induce the powerful Earl of the Orkneys, as well as the Viking Brodar, to risk their lives for the honour of her hand. The notice of her decease is thus given in the Four Masters at the year 1030, (Dr. O'Donovan's translation).

“Gormlaith daughter of Murchadh son of Finn, mother of the king of the foreigners, i.e. of Sitric, of Donogh son of Brian, king of Munster, and of Conchobar, son of Maelseachlin king of Teamhair, died. It was this

Gormlaith that took the three leaps of which was said ; Gormlaith took three leaps which a woman shall never take again. A leap at Athcliath, a leap at Teamhair, a leap at Cashel of the goblets over all."

According to Johnstone (*Antiquitates Celto-Scandicæ* p. 119,) Sigurd's mother was the daughter of Kiarval or Carroll an Irish prince. The inter-marriages of the Danes and Irish were of such common occurrence that it is not a matter of surprise that people of both nations should be found arrayed against each other in the several engagements recorded by the Irish annalists as well before as at the battle of Clontarf. In that memorable engagement the two sons of Gormlaith by different fathers, Sitric and Donogh, were arrayed at opposite sides. The relationship subsisting between the Danes and their Leinster allies will better appear by the following genealogical table, which, with a slight addition, is the same as in Dr. O'Donovan's note to the Four Masters at the year 1030 :—



The Gormlaith above-mentioned is not to be confounded with another princess of the same name, the daughter of Flann Sionna king of Ireland (No. 37 in the list of the Hy-Niall sovereigns.) The lady last named was also the consort of three royal husbands whom she survived, namely, Cormac MacCuillenan the king-bishop of Cashel ; Carroll, king of Leinster ; and Niall Glundubb, monarch of Ireland. See her talents and misfortunes described in Dr. O'Donovan's notes to the Four Masters at the years 904, 917, 941. She died in 946.

3. This Conchovar was the ancestor from whom the O'Conors of Offaly (Hy-Failge) were descended. See the genealogical table in Dr. O'Donovan's note ⁽ⁱ⁾ at the year 1030 of the Four Masters.

4. See customs of Hymany printed for the Archæol. Soc., page 63.

The rough third of Connaught comprised the counties of Leitrim, Longford, and Cavan. See *Four Masters*, 1219, note (x)

5. Maine Leambna, sixth in descent from Olioll Olum through Eoghan More, settled in Scotland. Of this race Donald, son of Evan, high steward (mormaer) of Mar, was the head at the period of the battle of Clontarf, and was most probably induced by a sense of common oppression to aid Brian in getting rid of the galling tyranny of the Danes. See *Four Masters*, year 1013, note (s), and O'Flaherty's *Ogyg.*, part iii., ch. 81.

6. Corcovaskin was a territory in the southwest of the county of Clare, extending from the mouth of the Fergus to that of the Shannon, and from the latter river to the farthest boundary of the barony of Ibrickan, where it met the territory (now the barony) of Corcomroe. It was generally divided into east and west, the former co-extensive with the barony of Clonderalaw, the latter with that of Moyarta. See *Four Masters*, 1399, note (m), where these descriptions are inadvertently reversed. Latterly Ibrickan was not considered a part of Corcovaskin, but that it was so at an early period, see *Four Masters*, year 799, describing the earthquake which destroyed above a thousand persons on its coast, and divided the isle of Fitha (now Mutton Island) into three parts.

The Donald above-mentioned is the ancestor of the O'Donnells of Moyarta, who were long lords of the territory until they were reduced by the Macmahons, an offset of the Dal-gais.

7. Dr. O'Donovan's translation.

8. Notwithstanding the statement in the Dublin copy of the annals of Inisfallen, that O'Carroll of Oirghialla and Maguire of Fermanagh assisted Brian at the battle of Clontarf, it is more than probable that the northern princes looked on the affair as a private quarrel of Brian's, in which they were not called on to interfere. Had any of the northern chieftains been engaged, it would not have escaped the notice of the accurate annalists of Ulster, who, although they mention others, are quite silent as to any leaders having been engaged from the north. The Maguires, in point of fact, had not attained to any eminence so early; the *Four Masters* stating, at the year 1302, that Donn Carragh, whose obit they record in that year, was the first lord of the Sil-Uidhir or Maguires in Fermanagh.

9. The Norse account of the battle of Clontarf from the Niala Saga (Johnstone's *Antiq. Celto-Scandicæ*) translated for this work, is here subjoined. It is as follows:—

“When Earl Sigurd was about to proceed from the Orkneys, Flosius proposed to accompany him, but the offer was declined by Sigurd, as the former was bound to perform a journey on foot to Rome. Flosius, however, offering fifteen of his comrades to join the expedition, they were accepted. On Palm Sunday the army having arrived in Dublin, Sigurd found Brodar with all his forces there before him. Brodar having consulted an oracle as to the result of the impending combat, was told that if the battle should take place on a Friday the victory should fall to Brian, but that the monarch himself should lose his life, and that if the engagement were to occur earlier it was fated that all Brian’s adversaries should perish. Brodar accordingly determined not to engage before that day. On the Thursday immediately preceding, a certain warrior in full armour held a long conference with Kormlod and her party. As soon as king Brian with his troops had reached Dublin, the whole army was drawn out in order of battle on the Friday. Brodar commanded one wing of the Danish army, king Sitric the other, while Sigurd took post in the centre.

“It ought to be mentioned in reference to King Brian, that he was reluctant to engage on Friday, and accordingly was surrounded by a strong guard of shielded soldiers for his protection, the main army being disposed in battle array. The wing of the army opposed to Brodar was commanded by Ulfus Hroeda, the other by Upsacus and his sons, to whom was opposed Sitric, the van being under the command of Kerthialfadus, before whom the royal standard was displayed. The battle immediately commenced with great vigour on both sides. Brodar bursting through the ranks of his adversaries overthrew all opposition without receiving a wound. Although Ulfus in his attack struck him three times with such force as on each occasion to prevent his rising, at length getting on his feet, Brodar escaped into a neighbouring wood.

“While these leaders were engaged on one of the wings, Sigurd was vigorously encountered in the centre by Kerthialfadus, who, having overthrown the foremost ranks of the enemy, had penetrated to Sigurd’s own battalion and killed the standard-bearer. The ensign being shifted from one to another, these were each in their turn slain. The standard was then transferred to Thorstein, the son of Hals of Sida, who, when about to lift it, was warned by Amundus Albus, that it was fated to be the destruction of all who should carry it. At last Sigurd, turning to one of his followers, said, Do you, Rafn Rufus, carry the standard. To which the latter replied,

Do you yourself carry your plague. At these words Sigurd, remarking that it was most just that the sack should go after the old man, tore the standard from its staff and hid it in his own clothes. Immediately Amundus Albus was slain, and Sigurd himself transfixes with a pike.

“While these things were done in the centre, Upsacus was actively engaged in the other of the wings, where, after receiving many wounds and losing both his sons, he succeeded in driving Sitric and his division in confusion before him. While those who were about Thorstein fled precipitately, he halted and was fastening on his greaves, when he was asked by Kerthialfadus why he did not run like the rest. The reply was, ‘because I do not expect this evening to reach home, since my residence is in Iceland.’ He then obtained quarter.

“Rafn Rufus (who had refused to carry the fatal ensign), being driven by his pursuers into a river, imagining that he beheld in the bottom of the stream dæmons endeavouring to drag him to tortures, cried out, ‘Holy Apostle Peter, your hound has already twice run to Rome, and if you now rescue him he will run thither a third time,’ whereupon being freed from the dæmons he crossed the river in safety. (So successful, adds the Lutheran Torfæus with a note of admiration, when referring to this passage, were the monks in inspiring the court of Pluto with a dread of Rome and the Pontiff.)

“In the meantime Brodar having discovered that Brian’s guard pursued the flying enemy, leaving only a few to protect the monarch, he emerged from the wood and assailed the king. With the same blow of his sword he cut off the head of the aged monarch and the hand of an attendant which had been extended for his protection. It is said that the blood of the king falling on the amputated limb of the attendant, had the effect of healing the wound and restoring the limb. Then Brodar cried out, ‘let it be told from man to man that Brian has fallen by the hand of Brodar.’ The news was at once spread and reached the pursuers. Ulfus Hreda and Kerthialfadus returning from the pursuit, surround Brodar and his party and seize them. Receiving a thrust in the belly from one of his enemies, his entrails were torn out, and the process of evisceration carried on by driving him round a tree till he expired, his followers being all slain to a man. The monarch’s corpse is then taken charge of by his troops, the head still adhering to the body.

“The fifteen sent by Flosius along with Sigurd were all slain, and along with them Haldorus, the son of Gudmund, and Erlingus from Stromeysa.

“Seven days after the engagement, Rafn Rufus having reached the Hebrides, related the events of the battle of Brian, the fall of the king, the death of Earl Sigurd, of Brodar and all the pirates. Flosius asking him what account he brought of his (Flosius’s) comrades, Rafn replied, they all fell in the battle, but your brother-in-law, Thorstein having received quarter from Kerthialfadus is now his prisoner. Rafn then intimating to Flosius that he had a pilgrimage to perform to Rome, received permission to go whither he pleased, and was supplied with a vessel and all things necessary for his journey. After which Flosius set sail for the country of the Britons, where he remained for some time.”

Such is the Norse account of the battle of Clontarf. An explanation of some particulars of the narrative is here adduced from Torfæus. This writer says in his history of the Orkneys (chap. 10) that Ulfus Hrœda was the brother of Brian, and a celebrated leader. That Kerthialfadus was a ward of Brian’s, being the son of Kilfius, who had been unsuccessfully engaged in a war against Brian, and obliged to take refuge in a monastery. That Brian having undertaken a pilgrimage to Rome (of which circumstance, however, the Irish annalists make no mention, although it is not improbable, since they record that in the year 975 he violated the sanctuary of St. Senanus in Scatterry, which might have rendered such an act of devotion necessary,) he became reconciled to Kilfius, and undertook the nurture and care of his son Kerthialfadus, treating him with greater affection than his own offspring, an attention which was repaid by the ward when he had grown to man’s estate.

The same writer in his account of the fatal ensign above alluded to, says, that Sigurd, when challenged to battle by one of the Scottish princes, consulted his mother Audna, an Irish princess, on the probable issue of the contest. That she replied that it was the fates, not dangers, that determined the duration of life, which it would be more noble to terminate in the acquisition of glory than to prolong in disgrace, and that she had kept him too long in his cradle if his life were to be perpetual. Having skill in magic she delivered to him a flag with these expressions: “I have expended on this flag all my skill; he before whom it is borne will always be victorious, but it will be fatal to the bearer.” It was a beautifully wrought representation of a raven with expanded wings.

The expression, “sequatur senem culeus,” attributed to Sigurd, when taking to himself the fatal ensign, is very obscure. The culeus was a sack

in which parricides were put and thrown into the sea. Its application to Sigurd does not appear from any portion of that chief's previous history.

10. Worsae citing the Danish Sagas, calls Brian's palace Kincaraborg, from which expression it would appear to have been fortified. See the Danes in England, Scotland, and Ireland, page 310.

11. The scene of this incident is shown to this day. *Servat adhuc locus nomen.* It is the townland of Gortnaclea, *alias* the field of wattles or stakes, and is situate in the barony of Upper Ossory, Queen's county. The author, in the discharge of his duty as an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, when forming the union of Abbeylaxey, had occasion to visit the locality officially. The reader will find Gortnaclea marked on sheet 23 of the Ordnance map of the Queen's county.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV.

1. This country, although to the east of the Shannon, was a part of Thomond, and its princes therefore tributary to the kings of Thomond. See note 10. ch. II. ante.

2. The O'Ruarc were kings of Connaught until reduced by the superior power of the O'Conors, when they became princes or lords of Breifny. This territory became divided between the O'Ruarc and O'Reillys, the descendants of Aedh Finn (Hugh the fair), who was sixth in descent from Brian, king of Connaught, eldest brother of Niall of the Nine Hostages, monarch of Ireland, A.D. 379-405. The western Breifny, coextensive with the present county of Leitrim and the baronies of Tullyhunco and Tullyhaw in Cavan, belonged to O'Ruarc; the eastern (now Cavan) belonged to O'Reilly. See O'Flaherty's West Connaught, printed for the Arch. Soc., p. 346, note.^(a) Also Four Masters, year 1219, notes (x) (y).

3. The annals of Clonmacnoise at the year 1041 contain the following entry:—

“The kings or chief monarchs of Ireland were reputed and reckoned to be absolute monarchs of Ireland in this manner: if he were of Leith Con, or Con's half in deale, and one province in Leathmogha or Moy's half in deale at his command, he was coumpted to be of sufficient power to be king of Tara, or Ireland; but if the party were of Leathmogha, if he could not command all Leathmogha and Taragh with the lordship thereunto be-

longing, and the province of Ulster or Connaught (if not both), he would not be thought sufficient to be king of all."

Behold in this one paragraph the source of all the civil wars of the native Irish, and the key to those numerous expeditions undertaken in the lifetime of the reigning monarch and in times of profound peace, with a view to the succession. See an instance of the expedition undertaken to secure a throne not then vacant, the circuit of Muircertagh mac Neill, prince of Aileach in 939, printed for the Archæol. Soc. 1841. With such a rule of succession for the monarchs, and the law of tanistry for the inferior princes, no amount of individual courage or patriotism could have maintained the independence of Ireland or consolidated its monarchy.

4. A plain midway between the present towns of Thurles and Kilkenny, in the barony of Cranagh, and county of Kilkenny.

5. The patron of Clonmacnoise.

6. Dr. O'Donovan's translation. This early union of the church and state, and the intervention of the lay element in the synod, is deserving of notice.

7. He was the son of Gormlaith (daughter of Murchard, king of Leinster), who was thrice married; first to Anlaff; second to Brian Boromha; and third to Maelseachlain, king of Meath, and sometime monarch of Ireland. Of this lady mention is already made in note 2 to chap. 3, *ante*, which see.

8. Tradraighe is separated from Corcovaskin by the estuary of the Fergus. It is the name of a deanery in the county of Clare, comprising the parishes of Tomfinlough, Kilnasulagh, Kilmaleery, Kilcorney, Clonloghan, Dromline, Feenagh, Bunratty and Killowen.

9. A barony in the north-west of the county of Clare, of which the O'Conors were chieftains until the close of the sixteenth century. It comprised at an earlier period the present barony of Burren, as is evident from the abbey, which is still called the abbey of Corcomroe, the whole district being coextensive with the small diocese of Kilfenora. The O'Loughlins were the princes of east Corcomroe or Burren, as the O'Conors were of west Corcomroe. The former held possession of their territory until the time of Cromwell; the latter were dispossessed by Elizabeth's order, and their lands conferred on Sir Donald, ancestor of the O'Briens of Ennistymond. See Four Masters, year 1585.

10. The sceptre of Brian is preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. It

was presented by the marchioness of Thomond on the decease of her husband, the last of the descendants of the eldest son of Morrogh the Tanist. The donation bears date 24th June, 1857.

11. The annals of Ulster corroborate those of the Four Masters, as well as the annalists of Inisfallen, in stating that Conor was king of Tirowen. Tulloghoge was the residence of the princes of Tirowen and the Cinel Binnigh occupied the valley in the south of the county of Derry.

12. Now the barony of Morgallion in the county of Meath.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V.

1. Flann Feorna, lord of Corcomruadh, whose death is recorded in the annals of the Four Masters at the year 737, is the ancestor of the O'Conors of Kerry. They with the O'Loghlens are of the Rudrician race. See note (x), Four Masters, year 1067.

2. It is probable from Morrogh's remaining in Ireland, and particularly from his having accompanied the king of Leinster and Torlogh the year before into Connaught, that on his father's retirement, and the elevation of Torlogh to the crown of Munster, he was constituted tanist of Thomond.

Teffia comprised a large portion of Westmeath, with the southern part of the county of Longford.

3. Maelisa, servant of Jesus. The word "mael," "maol," or "moel," implies a chief, or a tonsured monk. Prefixed to a name of a person or saint, it implies the servant of, as in the text. Maelmuire, servant of Mary; Maelcolm, servant of Columkille; Maelseachlain, servant of Seachnall or Secundinus; Maelbrighde, servant of Bridget, are a few among numerous instances. When prefixed to a quality, it has the signification of chief, as Maeldubh, black chief, Maelgarbh, rough chief, and so on.

Giolla is another term having two significations, youth and servant. Prefixed to the name of a saint or person, it has the latter meaning; to a term signifying a quality, it means a youth. Thus Giolla-Phadraig, Patrick's servant, Giollamochuda (whence MacGillicuddy), Mochuda's servant, &c. But Gilla-dubh is black youth, Gillaruadh, red, redhaired youth, and so forth. See notes (c) (f) to Four Masters at year 1172.

4. Screaball, scrupulus, a small piece of silver, weighing twenty-four grains, estimated at three silver pennies. See "Petrie's Round Towers," pp. 214, 215. The mention of this small piece of money is a proof that coins were in use in Ireland at this time.

5. The annalists state that "Rury came into his house," the constant expression to denote submission to or acknowledgment of supremacy of the party so visited.

6. This early mention of the plundering of the Cruach (Croagh Patrick over Clew Bay) demonstrates the existence of a monastic establishment thereon. There are still to be seen on it some ruins, in which divine service is said to be performed once a year by the Roman catholic clergyman of the parish.

7. It should be recollected that at this time Louth formed a part of Ulster, and that Leinster did not extend beyond the northern part of Kildare.

8. Muintereoluis was the tribe name of the Magranalls or Reynolds's, and was coextensive with the southern half of the county of Leitrim.

9. Every king after his inauguration was expected to perform the "creacht righi," or regal depredation. See Four Masters, year 1265. And for a chieftain's expedition, see one by O'Carroll against his neighbour Mac-Ibrien Ara in 1559; also one by Conor, third earl of Thomond, into the territory of O'Conor Kerry, 1562. The existence of such practices at so late a period may shew the reader the necessity there was for a thorough reform in the government of Ireland, the security of life and property being inconsistent with chieftains' expeditions.

10. Aileach or Oileach, the royal palace of the kings of the northern Hy-nialls, was situated in Inishowen, about six miles north-west from the city of Derry. See circuit of Muircertach, printed for the Archæol. Soc., p. 26, note (3).

11. Dr. O'Donovan thinks that this is the fort now called Dunachip, situated near Croom, in the county of Limerick.

12. This was the tribe-name of the O'Conors and of their territory. It is derived from Muireadhach Mulleathan, king of Connaught, A.D. 696, twelfth in descent from Eochy Muimheoin, king of Connaught, who was elected monarch of Ireland A.D. 358, and who was father of Niall of the Nine Hostages.

13. See note (3), ch. 4, ante.

14. Eas-Aedh-ruadh, a cataract on the river Erne in Tirconnell (Donegal); so called from Aedh-ruadh, son of Badharn, king of Ireland, A.M. 4518, who was drowned in the Erne and buried over the cataract.

15. The sack of the northern palace is thus described by the Four Masters at the year 1101. Dr. O'Donovan's translation:—"A great army was led by Muircertach O'Brien, king of Munster, with the men of Munster, Leinster, Ossory, Meath, and Connaught, across Assaroe into Inisheoghain, and he plundered Inisheoghain, and burned many churches and forts about Fathanmura and about Ardsratha, and he demolished Grianan Oiligh, in revenge of Ceanchora, which had been razed and demolished by Donald Ua Lochlain some time before, and Muircertach commanded his army to carry with them from Aileach to Luimneach (Limerick) a stone (of the ruined palace) for every sack of provisions which they had."

16. See the miscellany of the Irish Archæol. Soc., vol. 1. page 131.

16.^a The following passage from the Chronicle of Man (translated from Johnstone), page 9, shews the opinion entertained by the Danish chieftains of the moderation and equity by which Mortoghmore O'Brien was governed in his relations with neighbouring powers:—

"The nobility of the isles (Man and the Scottish islands), hearing of Lagman's death (eldest son of Godred Crovan), sent commissioners to Murcheard O'Brien, king of Ireland, requesting him to send them some worthy person of the royal family who might act as regent till the son of Godred was of age to govern. The king, willingly assenting, nominated Donald Mac Tade to the office, and ordered him to rule a country which was not his own, with all possible bounty and moderation. He, however, finding himself possessed of the reins of government, disregarded the injunctions of his superior. He behaved most tyrannically, and his despotism was aggravated by the perpetration of many atrocious crimes. At length the Hæbridian chieftains, entering into a general association, collected their followers and expelled him from the island."

The death of this Donald, son of Tade or Teige, is recorded at the year 1115 by the Four Masters, in which it is stated that he was killed by the Connaughtmen in their raid through Thomond.

It may not be improper in this note to lay before the reader from the same chronicle (page 11) the Danish view of the descent on Ireland of Magnus Olaveson mentioned in the text a little further on. It is as follows, (Author's translation):—

“Magnus Olaveson sent Muirheard, king of Ireland, his shoes, with orders to carry them through the midst of his palace on Christmas day, and to do so in the presence of his Norwegian messengers, that he might feel to what a degree he was at the mercy of king Magnus. On hearing this the Irish were greatly offended and exasperated at the insult. The sovereign, however, more prudent than his subjects, said, ‘I will not only carry the shoes, but even eat them rather than that Magnus should destroy any province of Ireland.’ He therefore did what was enjoined him, he paid every attention to the envoys, sent many presents to Magnus, and proposed a treaty. The messengers, returning to their sovereign, expatiated on the delightful situation of Ireland, its fertility in grain, and the salubrity of the climate. On hearing this Magnus thought of nothing but how he might subjugate Ireland. He ordered his fleet to be assembled, and sailed in person with sixteen gallies to reconnoitre the coast. But leaving his ships, and going carelessly on shore, he was suddenly surrounded by the Irish, and cut off with almost all his followers.” It should be stated that Torfæus, the learned historiographer of Denmark, discredits the story of the shoes.

18. It would seem from the following extract that in addition to the influence exercised by the Eugenician princes on Cormac, the aid of the church was also required, probably to release him from monastic obligations:—

“Conchobarus O’Brien videns quæ facta sunt repletus est zelo, et miseratus regni desolationem descendit ad cellulam pauperis; cui Cormacus, accedente mandato episcopi et Malachiae consilio, vix tandem acquievit; pulsus prædonibus cum exultatione suorum regno restituitur suo.”

The Malachy above referred to is the celebrated Malachy O’Morgair, who five years later was elected to the primacy, and from whose life by St. Bernard, ch. 3, the foregoing extract is taken. See also Ann. Inisf. and Four Masters at year 1127.

19. In the following year 1135, Cormac invaded Thomond, and was opposed by Cumara (dog, i.e. hero, of the sea), prince of Ui-Caisin, ancestor of Macnamara, who was killed in the heat of the conflict. He was pursued by Conor O’Brien with the main body of his army, and defeated at the causeway of Clonkeen Modimog, near Cashel, in a battle, in which fell the following princes of the Eugenicians; Cian O’Mahony, lord of east Ivahach, Mahon or Mathew O’Donoghue and Roderick O’Donoghue,

princes of west Ivahach, Fineen O'Keeffe, lord of Glenamnach, O'Faolan, prince of the Desies, together with Aedh or Hugh O'Conor, lord of Corcomroe, and O'Loughlin, king of Burren, who took the side of the Desmonians. See Ann. Inisf. and Four Masters at the year 1135.

20. The church called to this day Cormac's chapel, and sometimes Cormac's hall. It was erected in 1134, four years before his assassination. See the Four Masters at the year.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI.

1. The Ruaidh-Bheithigh, the red birch tree, Dr. O'Donovan thinks was the inauguration tree of the Hy-Fiachrach Aidhne, and that it gave name to the hamlet of Roevehagh in the parish of Killeely, barony of Dunkellin, and county of Galway. See note (g), Four Masters, year 1143.

2. Dr. O'Donovan states, note (f) to Four Masters, at the year 1151, that this is most probably the place called Moinmore in the parish of Emly, barony of Clanwilliam, and county of Tipperary, and refers to sheet 65 of the Ordnance map of that county.

3. According to Keating, who cites the annals of Clonenagh, this synod was held at Kells, not at Drogheda. There may have been an adjournment from one place to the other, which would reconcile both the authorities.

4. Dr. O'Donovan, in his translation of this passage states the number to be three hundred, but the Irish word is "milibh," thousands, which is more probable. The decrees of the synod would require promulgation, and as there were neither printing presses nor post offices in those days, it would be the more necessary for all the clergy of every rank to give their attendance. A similar numerous body attended forty years before at Uisneach.

The Four Masters make no mention of the distribution of the *pallia* and the erection of four provinces, Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, which continue to our own time, and the arrangement of the suffragan bishops, settled at this synod.

5. In 1157, five years after her elopement, Dervorghal is named among the benefactors of this convent, to which she gave threescore ounces of gold, a chalice of gold, and an altar cloth for each of nine altars which were in the church.

6. By the fall of Mortogh Macloughlin at the battle of Lethi-Cam, in 1166, Roderick became monarch of Ireland without opposition: Contemporaneously with the accession of Roderick, Ternan O'Ruarc invaded Hy-Kinsella, the hereditary dominion of Dermot MacMorrogh, burnt his castle of Ferns, and drove him across the sea, whence he returned in the next year with a party of Welsh auxiliaries, under the command of the son of Rees ap Griffith, prince of that country.

Among the first acts of Roderick O'Connor after his accession, was the convening of the synod of Athboy in 1167. It may enable the reader to form an idea of the military array which attended the Irish princes on these occasions, as well as their want of confidence in each other, to state the numbers of cavalry which were brought together at the synod. Roderick was attended by six thousand Connaught horse; Ternan O'Ruarc by four thousand; O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, had two thousand; O'Carroll and O'Heoghy led into the plain four thousand of the men of Oirghialla and Ulidia; Donogh MacFaelain commanded two thousand; and the leader of the Danes of Dublin and Fingal one thousand. The Four Masters mention it as a proof of the respect entertained towards Roderick, that this large body of nineteen thousand horse assembled and separated "without battle or controversy." See Four Masters, anno 1167.

7. MSS. Library, H. 1. 17.

8. For an account of this engagement, and the deaths of these chieftains, see Hib. Expug. lib. 1, ch. 21.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII.

1. Urlacam, daughter of Dermot, was the wife of Donaldmore O'Brien.

2. See the eighth clause of the decree of this synod in the annals of Thady Dowling, p. 12, printed for the Ir. Archæol. Soc.

3. See the charter in Lel. Hist. of Irel., vol. 1, ch. 3, (note); also the charter to the Ostmen of Waterford in next page of that work.

4. See note ⁽¹⁾ to Four Masters, anno 1172, that the hill of Tlachtga was near Athboy in the county of Meath.

5. Vol. 1, ch. 4.

6. Four Masters, anno 1172.

7. Four Masters, 1178, note ^(m), citing Dr. O'Brien's account of the wars of the Dalgais and Eoganachts, vol. 1, Val. Collect. de reb. Hibernicis.

8. The castles of Tibroghney, Lismore, Ardfinnan, Kilfeacle, Knockgraffon, and Kilkenny, about this time erected, shew the extent of the Pale from Waterford, at the conclusion of the twelfth century.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII.

1. The Four Masters (anno 1201) state that after the victory gained over Cathal Carrach and his death, Cathal Crovderg and William Burke marched with their forces through west Connaught, and arrived at Cong, where they spent the Easter. They further state that Burke and the sons of Rory O'Flaherty conspired to deal treacherously with Crovderg. This may be the reason why, on William Burke's people afterwards going to demand their pay from Crovderg (by whom it seems they were subsidised), the Connaughtmen rushed on them and killed seven hundred of them. See Four Masters *in loco*.

2. See annals of Innisfallen, anno 1211. Leland quoting Rymer, states that Donogh (whom he erroneously calls Donald), petitioned Henry the third, soon after his accession, and obtained a grant of the kingdom of Thomond, paying yearly a rent of one hundred pounds, and a fine of one thousand marks. Hist. of Irel., book 2, ch. 1.

3. The earthen fort, the remains of which are to be still observed at Killaloe, and from which, according to some authorities, the ancestor of the O'Briens obtained his appellation.

4. See note 6, Chap. III ante, for the extent of Corcovaskin; and, as to the union of the sees, see Usher's Primordia, p. 873.

5. As the Four Masters state the completion of this structure at the year 1247, it is probable that Donogh Cairbreach, who died in 1242, only commenced the work, leaving it to be finished by his son and successor, Conor na Siudaine. See Four Masters, ann. 1258, 1540, 1570, 1577, 1599, 1600, 1601.

6. So called from his having been killed in the year 1267, by the

tribes of Corcomroe, at the wood of Siudan, in Burren, in the north of the county of Clare.

7. This battle was fought at a place called Callan, a few miles eastward of Kenmare, in the county of Kerry. See Cox's *Hibern. Anglic.*, p. 69. See also *Four Masters*, anno 1261, note (u).

The John mentioned in the text being the first of the Desmond Geraldines of that christian name, appears to be the person stated by Mr. Knowles to have been related to the Mackenzies of Craighall, in the south-west of Scotland. Mr. Knowles states that he had seen a deed among the Coulthart papers, without date, wherein it is stated that Davidis Mackenzie borrowed from his blood relation John, lord of Ducies (Decies) and Desmonde, 200 marks, to assist in fortifying Craig Castle against the piratical freebooters of those times. See *Genealog. and Herald. account of the Coultharts*, by Geo. P. Knowles, Esq., p. 20.

8. A line drawn from Kells (in the present county of Meath) to Drumcliff (a few miles north of Sligo) will pass through the counties of Cavan and Leitrim, which, with Longford, formed the *rough third* of Connaught, the hostages of which, on the occasion in the text, were, with those of his own territory, delivered up to Hugh O'Connor, as part of the arrangement entered into at Caeluisce.

9. Hy-bloid, or Hy-mbloid, (Omullod) contained the following parishes in the east of the county of Clare:—Clonlea, Feakle, Kilnoe, Kilfinaghty, Killuran, Kilseily, Killokenedy, forming the present deanery of Omullod, in the diocese of Killaloe. The territory was inhabited by a sept of the Dal-gais, of whom the following were the most distinguished families:—The O'Kennedys, O'Shanahans or Shannons, O'Duracks, and O'Kearneys. The position of this latter family is shown in the name of the river flowing through Sixmilebridge, the Awen-Ui-Ccearnaigh, the proper name of which, however, is the Raite, *a quo* Bunratty.

10. See the *Four Masters* at the years 1573 and 1599, where Kilnaboy is said to be in the upper part of Dal-gais. Before the reign of Queen Elizabeth the Dal-gais had no footing in either east or west Corcomroe, which were, and still are, coextensive with the diocese of Kilfenora. The Cinel-Fearmaic mentioned in the text, occupied the barony of Inchiquin, and were the most northern of the Dalgassian tribes. The Hy-Cormaic were coextensive with the present parish of Kilmaley, if not, indeed, with the barony of Islands.

11. Conor-na-Siudaine was interred in the abbey of Corcomroe, which was built by his grandfather Donaldmore in the year 1194, shortly before his decease. His tomb is still to be seen there. See Four Masters, anno 1514, note. (a)

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX.

1. Clar-atha-da-charadh, the board or plank at the ford of the two weirs. Clare castle is built on an island formed by two branches of the river Fergus, on which there might have been two weirs. Dr. O'Donovan, in his note (9) Four Masters, anno 1270, on this passage, conjectures that the above was the original name of the town of Clare, near Ennis. This conjecture is strengthened from the fact, that the bridge in the north-west suburbs of Ennis, over the Inch river, a tributary of the Fergus, is called "Clareen," the little plank, while the town of Clare, two miles at the other side of Ennis, is called "Clarmor," or the great board or plank, in various parts of the annals, particularly at the year 1600, where it is said incidentally by the Four Masters, that it is from this town the county is named, thus contradicting the notion of its being derived from the de Clares.

2. The O'Deas and O'Quins occupied Cinel-Fearmaic, forming now the barony of Inchiquin. From the former of these families the parish of Dysert, in the above barony, has got the distinguishing appellation of O'Dea.. The affection thus early noticed between this family and the O'Briens seems to have subsisted down to the 17th century. See the inscription on the tomb of Conor O'Dea, bishop of Limerick, erected 14th July, 1621, by Donogh, fourth Earl of Thomond, in the cathedral of that city.

3. Coonagh, now a barony in the east of the present county of Limerick, in which the descendants of Morrogh of the Short Shield, grandson of Brian Boromha, had settled, and who were known as the sept of MacIbrien Oguanach.

4. The Baisnigh, the two Corcovaskins, corresponding with the present baronies of Clonderalaw and Moyarta.

5. At the period in question Hymany extended from Clontuskert, near Lanesborough, in the county of Roscommon, to the boundary of Thomond, and from Athlone westwards, to Athenry, in the county of Galway. Maine Mor, from whom it is named, was the fourth in descent from Colla-da-

Crioch, one of the three brothers by whom the province of Ulster was dismembered, and the royal palace of Eamhain Macha, or Emania, destroyed in the fourth century. See *Tribes and Customs of Hy-many*, printed for the Ir. Archæol. Soc., p 4.

6. Magrath, the historiographer of Thomond, states, that this ditch extended from the river Latoon, at the west of Assolas, to the tideway at Six-milebridge, a distance of more than six miles in a straight line.

7. Quin (Cuinche) was a place of importance in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, being on the direct road from Ennis, Clonroad, and Clare, to Limerick, and is distant about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the first of these towns. It is famous for an abbey built in 1472, by Sioda Cam Macnamara, the beautiful remains of which are in good preservation at this day.

8. Ann. Four Masters, 1277. Dowling's Annals same year. *Lel. Irel.*, vol. 1, 241.

9. This was the castle in which, in 1553, Donogh, the second Earl of Thomond, took shelter from his brothers Donald and Torlogh, when he was attacked by them for abandoning the law of Tanistry, and securing the title and privileges of the O'Briens to his own descendants. See *Four Masters*, 1553.

10. This was most probably an enlargement of the abbey built on the same island (called variously Inischluainramhoda or Inisanlaei), by Donogh Cairbreach O'Brien, the great grandfather of Torlogh, the completion of which is recorded by the *Four Masters* at the year 1247.

11. Ann. Inisfal., Dublin copy, at the year 1280.

12. The sept of the Macnamaras is known in the ancient history of Ireland as the Hy-Caisin and Clan-Cuilen, the former appellation being derived from Caisin, the second son of Cas, eighth in descent from Olioll Olum, King of Munster, A.D. 234; the name of the Clan-Cuilen being deduced from Cuilen, who was seventh in descent from Caisin. Cumara (dog, i.e. hero, of the sea), from whom the surname Macconmara, or Macnamara, is derived, was eighth in a direct line from Cuilen, and twenty-fourth from Olioll Olum. See *Geneal. Table in the Battle of Maghrath*, published for the Ir. Arch. Soc., p. 341.

13. The effect of the wars of the English factions on the commerce of the period, may be estimated from the fact, that Andrew Gerard, a Florentine merchant, who farmed the customs of Galway in 1310, obtained an abatement in that year, the customs having declined in consequence of the

war between Richard de Burgo and Richard de Clare in Thomond. Har-
dim. Galway, p. 52.

14. Ann. Inisfal., Dublin copy *in anno*.

15. Clyn in his annals, p. 13, calls this place "Loddyn," i.e. Rath-
Loddyn, but in the Caithreim Torelaigh it is expressly called Rath-lahine.
There are still the ruins of an old castle at this place. It is in the parish
of Tomfinloe or Fenloe, in the barony of Lower Bunratty, and county of Clare.
See also Val. Coll. de reb. Hib., vol. 2, at year 1316.

16. In the history of the house of O'Brien in the 2d vol. of Vall. Coll.
de reb. Hib., and also in Lodge's Peerage by Archdall, Mortogh O'Brien's
death is recorded to have occurred at the year 1333, contrary to the Four
Masters, who place it in the above year.

17. Bane (fair), to distinguish him from his grandfather Brian Roe,
(the red).

18. It is characteristic of the disordered state of society, and the disre-
gard of the claims of seniority which prevailed in those days, that both
Mortogh and Dermot O'Brien themselves did not scruple to usurp the
rights of a nephew. Dr. O'Brien in his history of this house in Vallancy's
Collectanea states that Donogh, son of Torlogh, left issue a son named
Brian, who was not powerful enough to vindicate his right to the sove-
reignty of Thomond, either for himself or his children, after the long reigns
of his uncles. He was ancestor of the family known as the Sil-mbrian na-
Gceall and Glen-cuin. The pedigree of this branch is stated to be as fol-
lows, and shews that in 1786 there were descendants of Brian Boroimhe
senior to the ennobled branches of this illustrious family:—

Donogh O'Brien, son of Mortogh (both living in 1786), son of Conor,
son of Donogh, s. of Brian, s. of Conor, s. of Brian, s. of Conor, s. of Brian,
s. of Mortogh, s. of Torlogh, s. of Brian, son of Donogh, king of Thomond,
eldest son of Teige Caeluisce.

19. Clyn's Annals, anno 1317. Four Masters, anno 1318. The de
Burghs and Butlers, being both of old at feud with the Fitzgeralds, had in
this respect a common bond of union; but besides, Edmond Butler had
just been created earl of Carrick of Roscrea, and we may be sure did not
want a cause of quarrel with O'Carroll his neighbour, while Brian Bane
had an ancestral enmity towards de Burgo. In this engagement in Ely
the Four Masters mention that Adam Mares and several other Englishmen
were slain.

20. In 1584 the castle of Magowna belonged to Mahon or Mathew O'Dea, and that of Dysert to another member of this family, Donald Mael (the bald) O'Dea. See the description of the county of Clare in the MSS. Library of Trin. Coll. Dublin, E. 2. 14.

21. Dr. O'Brien in his history of the house published in Val. Coll. de reb. Hib., states that in a manuscript pedigree of the year 1714, John O'Brien was the direct representative of Donald Connachtach, who had a grandson living in his own time. The genealogy stands thus:—Kendal O'Brien, grandson of John O'Brien, s. of Teige, s. of Morrogh, s. of Mahon, s. of Teige, s. of Donogh, s. of Donald Duff, s. of Donogh an-Gleanna, s. of Morrogh Riabhach, s. of Donald Glas, s. of Torlogh, s. of Brian, s. of Mahon, s. of Brian, s. of Donald Connachtach.

22. Previous to the banquet from which Brian roe was hastily dragged to be torn between horses, by Thomas de Clare, he and Brian had, in token of greater confidence, partaken of the same holy sacrament, the consecrated host being divided in two parts for the purpose. See the celebrated remonstrance to the pope John the 22d from O'Neil in Fordun's Scottish Chron. Lib. 12, ch. 26.

23. The extent of the Pale in 1515, the 6th of Henry the eighth, was as follows:—"The English Pale doth stretch and extend from the town of Dundalk to the town of Dervor, to the town of Ardye always on the left syde, leaving the marche on the right syde, and so to the towne of Sydan, to the town of Dengle, to Kylcoke, to the town of Clanne, to the towne of Nasse, to the bryge of Kilcullen, to the town of Ballymore, and so backwards to the town of Ramore, and to the town of Rathcoule, to the towne of Tallaght, and to the towne of Dalky, leving allways the marche on the right hande from the said Downtalke, following the said course to the said towne of Dalkye." State papers, part iii., vol. 2, pages 9, 22.

24. Athassel Abbey on the west side of the river Suir, in the barony of Clanwilliam, and county of Tipperary, was founded by William Fitzadelm de Burgo, and his remains were interred there in 1248, having been brought over from England where he died. See Four Masters at that year, and for the operations of Brian bane see Grace's Annals at the year 1329.

25. In the annals of Innisfallen, Mortogh O'Brien's death is mentioned as having occurred at the year 1333, when his brother Dermot succeeded him, who held the chieftainship to his death in 1355. They take no notice of Brian's intervening accession to the rule of the Dal-gais. It is not im-

probable that the prestige of his character, and his successful operations against the English, may have recommended him to the choice of the men of Thomond. The chronology of the period is admitted to be defective: Grace has the observation at the end of the year 1333, "Desunt multa," and passes on to the year 1337.

26. The helpless condition of the Pale, or English part of Ireland, in the fourteenth century, may be estimated from an entry in a close roll of the first of Rich. the 2nd, anno 1377, reciting "that Morrogh O'Brien (na Raithnidhe), having assembled a large force of Irish enemies and rebels to the state in Munster, lately came into Leinster in aid of the Irish there, purposing to make war upon the king's liege subjects and destroy those parts, and the Lord Justice and council, together with the peers of the realm in parliament assembled at Tristle Dermot (Castle Dermot), perceiving the damages and misfortunes the said Morrogh would occasion, if he were permitted to continue there without resistance, ordained among themselves in the said parliament, that he should have one hundred marks if he would withdraw himself and his forces out of Leinster, and do no farther mischief there; which sum (nine marks excepted) the clergy and commons of the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Kilkenny, and Weysford, agreed to pay: and *because he did not intend to depart unless he received the whole sum*, it was agreed by the lord justice and council, that the said nine marks should be paid out of the treasury, for which a *liberate* issued bearing date at Castle-dermot 24th March, 1377."

The pedigree of this branch of the O'Briens is as follows:—Donald the third son of Brian roe O'Brien, married Margaret daughter of Torlogh Dubh MacMahon, by whom he had Brian bane. Brian married the daughter of Henry Burke, and by her had Morrogh na-Raithnidhe (died 1383), who married Mor daughter of O'Kennedy, and had Torlogh (died 1399), who married Onora daughter of Barry Oge, and had Teige and Morrogh, the former of whom died in 1474, the latter having been slain by his brother in 1427. Teige was the father of Donald-more, who was the father of Mortogh Caoch, who was the father of Torlogh and Morrogh, the latter of whom was killed by William O'Carroll on a chieftain's first expedition in 1559. Torlogh (called Mac I'Brien Ara) married Mor an-uabhair, (of the pride, proud) O'Carroll, daughter of Donogh lord of Ely, by whom he had five sons:—1. Donogh killed in 1582 by his brother Torlogh Carroch; 2. Mortogh bishop of Killaloe (the revenues of which he enjoyed from 1570

to about a year before his death in 1613). This Mortogh had two sons Torlogh and John, who both died without issue ; 3. Torlogh Carroch, whose issue Donogh and Donald distinguished themselves after the battle of Kinsale in 1602 in the service of queen Elizabeth ; (see *Four Masters in anno*). 4. Teige na-buille ; (of the madness, mad). 5. Morrogh an tuath (of the battle-axe). The last-named three were those by whom the third gavel of the territory of Ara was made according to the Mulconrys, the two former distributions or gavels of the same territory being made, the first by Dermot Fionn, brother of Torlogh king of Thomond, about the year 1154, and the second by the immediate descendants of Brian roe after their defeat at the battle of Dysert in 1318, and their expulsion eastward of the Shannon.

27. This family was originally of Lagenian descent, and settled in the territory now called the barony of Ibrickane, in the county of Clare. According to Dr. O'Donovan, the late Chevalier Thomas O'Gorman was the first member of the family who changed the name from Macgorman to O'Gorman. See *Four Masters*, anno 1412, note (p)

NOTES TO CHAPTER X.

1. From his having been fostered in Maenmaighe, the rich plain which surrounds the town of Loughrea, in the county of Galway. See its boundaries in the *Tribes and Territories of Hymany*, printed for the Archæol. Soc. of Ireland, page 70, note (z)

2. The character of this earl of Desmond, as illustrating the adage that the Normans were more Irish than the Irish themselves, is thus given in Mageoghegan's translation of the annals of Clonmacnoise :

"The lord Garret earl of Desmond, a nobleman of wonderful bountie, mirth, cheerfulness in conversation, charitable in his deeds, easy of access, a witty and ingenious composer of Irish poetry, and a learned and profound chronicler, and, in fine, one of the English nobility that had Irish learning and professors thereof in greatest reverence of all the English of Ireland, died penitently after receipt of the sacraments of the holy church."

3. Leland says this battle was fought at the monastery of Mayo, a place over one hundred miles distant from the banks of the river Maigue, de Magio, where it really occurred. In his account of the battle as well as in

Mr. Hardiman's introduction to the statute of Kilkenny, the mistake is committed of stating that the earl of Desmond was slain. According to Grace and the Four Masters, he was only taken prisoner, and the latter annalists give his obit at the year 1398, shewing that he survived this defeat nine and twenty years. See *Lel. Hist. of Ireland*, ch. 5. p. 324 and *Introduction to the Stat. of Kilkenny*, printed for the Ir. Arch. Soc. p. xii.

4. O'Dwyer, chieftain of Kilnemanagh, was hereditary marshal of the forces of the prince of Thomond. See Keating's account of the inauguration of the O'Briens, cited in the *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachra*, printed for the Ir. Archæol. Soc., p. 432.

5. The hostilities prevailing between Brian O'Brien and the Macnamaras are further illustrated from a close roll of the 48th Edward III., by which it appears that an order for money issued on the 7th May, 1374, to "Comara Macconmara, chief of his sept, for 50 marks, for that when O'Brien of Thomond the king's enemy (Brian Catha an Aonaigh) had lately fought against John Macconmara his father, now deceased (see his death in the Four Masters, 1373), because he and his men were faithful liege subjects, wasted his lands in the county of Clare, the county of Limerick, and the adjacent parts; the said Comara after his father's death raised 400 defensible men to fight O'Brien and restrain his intended mischief, whom at his own charge he kept from Christmas last, whereby the faithful people of these parts were much comforted, and better enabled to restrain O'Brien; but not being enabled to keep his said retinue any longer without some competent aid from the king, or oppose O'Brien for the future, and these allegations being confirmed by the earl of Ormond, the mayor and bailiffs of Limerick, and other credible people of these parts before the council, and that the adjacent country would have been destroyed and wasted by O'Brien if the said Comara had not opposed him; the king by the advice of the council directed the said sum of fifty marks to be paid him, taking his receipt."

A further order to pay eighty-two marks to the same Comara for similar services from Whitsuntide of this year, bears date Castledermot, 16th October, 1374. Same roll, see note (x) to *Stat. of Kilkenny*, p. 33, pub. for Ir. Arch. Soc.

This Comara's death by the hands of his own kinsmen and relatives, is mentioned by the Four Masters at the year 1379.

6. The Four Masters record at the year 1382, the deaths of Torlogh

and Brian, sons of Dermot Cleireach, who were the senior representatives of Brian Roe.

7. According to the Four Masters, anno 1384, Rory son of Torlogh O'Connor was the last king of Connaught, after whose death in that year, Torlogh Donn, son of Hugh, son of Torlogh, was inaugurated by O'Kelly, the Clanrickards, Donald son of Mortogh O'Connor, and all the Clan-Donogh; while Torlogh Roe was likewise installed into the lordship by Macdermot, the race of Mortogh Muimhneach O'Connor and all the other chieftains of the Silmurrey (the O'Conors). In consequence of this double election, war arose between the parties, which was composed by a peace in 1385, when the territory was partitioned between the two, O'Connor Donn and O'Connor Roe.

8. What little effect the statute of Kilkenny had in restraining the English subjects of the crown residing in Ireland from the adoption of the Irish language among other things, and how unjust it was to affix the term of *aliens*, at least in language, to the Irish alone, may be conceived from Saintleger's letter to Henry VIII., in which he informs the king that Sir Thomas Cusack's (their chancellor) "right solemn proposition in giving such laud and praise to his majesty, as justly and most worthily his majesty had merited, as well for the extirpation of the usurped power of the bishop of Rome out of this realm, as also for his innumerable benefits showed to his realms and subjects, *was briefly and prudently declared in the Irish tongue by the mouth of the earl of Ormond, greatly to their contentation.*" State Papers, cccxl.

The lords to whom the lord chancellor's speech was obliged to be rendered into Irish were no others than the lords Barry, Roche, Fitzmaurice, and Birmingham, all of English blood, and the time was the year 1541, one hundred and fifty-three years after the earl of Desmond had sent his son James to be fostered at the court of Conor O'Brien, tanist of Thomond.

9. The death of Thomas the exiled earl of Desmond at Rouen in France, is entered at the year 1420. See obits of the Geraldines in Grace's Annals, p. 165.

10. In the entry of the Four Masters at the year 1409, descriptive of this battle, they state that the son of the earl of Kildare who happened to be along with O'Brien was taken prisoner. It is extremely probable that they confound one Geraldine with another, and that they substitute "Kildare" for "Desmond." No member of the Leinster family appears to

have been in Thomond at this time, while James the son of earl Garret was the foster-child of the O'Briens, and most likely with them at the very time of this engagement, devising means to gratify his ambition of possessing the dignities of his family. With the Geraldine was also taken prisoner in this engagement Dermot the brother of Conor O'Brien.

11. The beautiful remains of this abbey are still in good preservation, and well worth a visit. Quin is about five miles to the south-east of Ennis.

12. It is much more probable that this barony received its name after Donogh Cairbreach O'Brien obtained the lordship of Carrigogunnell from king John in 1209. Donogh Cairbreach is said to have been the first of the O'Briens who assumed the appellation of O'Brien in preference to that of king of Thomond. Brian Duff mentioned in the text, married Mary, daughter of Teige Macmahon, prince of Corcovaskin, and had an only son, Donogh, who married Mary, daughter of O'Kennedy, lord of Ormond, and by her had eleven sons, between whom the lands of Carrigogunnell were gavelled.

13. The Four Masters place at the year 1411 the death of Donald O'Brien, son of Conor, tanist of Thomond; while Dr. O'Brien calls him bishop of Limerick.

14. Leland not having the annalists to consult, may be excused in stating that O'Conor dismissed Desmond with a considerable number of his followers. Neither does he seem to be aware of the relationship subsisting between O'Conor and Desmond, and which, no doubt, formed a ground for the charge of treason which caused the destruction of the latter shortly after at Drogheda.

15. The fate of this nobleman, who had trusted himself unattended by any followers to the presence of the lord deputy Tiptoft, at Drogheda, with such a fatal result, is said to have been the ground on which the earls of Desmond claimed, in later times, the exemption of entering into any walled town, or attending on any lord justice or deputy. These were additional to the privilege already conferred of absence from parliament and sending instead a sufficient proxy, which had been granted to James, the father of earl Thomas of Drogheda.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XI.

1 See the causes which led to this murder in Grace's Annals, page 127.

2. The name Ulick, in such general use in the Clanrickard family, and of which that given in the text is the first instance, is a contraction of Ulliam Oge (young William), as pronounced in Irish. See De Burgo's *Hibernia Dominicana in voce*.

3. See her death noticed by the Four Masters in 1481.

4. See Four Masters at the years 1474, 1481, where the names of these ladies occur.

5. See History of the House of O'Brien in Vallancy's Collectanea, 1 vol., at reign of Conor na Srona.

6. See the Four Masters at the years 1474, 1562.

7. See Four Masters at the years 1474, 1481, 1508.

8. Of the other sons of Teige an Chomhaid, already enumerated, Donald possessed the lands of Tirmacbrien, Ceathraduff and Dunogan. These were gavelled by him among his four sons, Brien, Teige, Conor and Mortogh. The deaths of the first two are mentioned by the Four Masters at the year 1512, where Brian is said to have survived his brother only six weeks. Donogh, third son of Teige an Chomhaid, left four sons also, viz. : Mortogh, Teige, Dermod and Brian an Corcaidha. Brian's portion of the territories of Thomond consisted of the lands of Cahercorcrane and Castletown, which he parcelled out between his six sons. These were—Mahon, Morrogh, Dermod, Conor, Mortogh, and Teige an Phonaire.

Of Mortogh Garv and Morrogh, the fourth and fifth sons of Teige an Chomhaid, there appears to have been no issue. His sixth son Dermod Cleireach possessed (according to Dr. O'Brien) the lands of Ceathra na-Madraighe, and left six sons, viz. : Donald na Gceall, Morrogh an Tarmain, Brian an Chovlaigh, Mahon, Donogh and Torlogh.

A seventh son of Teige an Chomhaid, although not mentioned in Dr. O'Brien's history of the family, is noticed by the Four Masters. Under the year 1523 they state that "Brian, son of Teige an Chomhaid, son of Torlogh, son of Brian Catha an Aonaigh, died suddenly about the festival of St. Patrick at Clonroad."

9. Cos-maighe, the *foot* of the river Maig, now a barony in the county of Limerick. This prefix "*cos*" (foot) is common in Irish names, as Costlea (a barony in the same county), the foot of the mountain; Coshmore and Coshbride (a barony in the county of Waterford), the land at the foot of the two rivers, Blackwater (the Ou-more) and the Bride; Cossiore, the land near the Suir, in the county of Tipperary, and so forth.

10. The Sil-Aedha was one of the tribe names of the Macnamaras of Thomond, who as well as the O'Briens were connected by marriage with the Clanrickard Burkes, Slaine, a daughter of Sida Cam Macnamara, whose decease is mentioned by the Four Masters at the year 1498, having been the first wife of Ulick of Knoctuagh.

11. These were the O'Kennedys and the O'Briens of Ara in the county of Tipperary.

12. See the description of west Connaught, printed for the Archæolog. Soc., pp 149, 154, which contains an extract on this subject from the Book of Howth.

13. This is a remarkable rock in the parish of Killeely, in the county of Limerick. The castle has long since disappeared.

14. Now called Duhallow (the country around the river Ealla), from whence Maigh-Ealla or Mallow in the county of Cork is named.

15. This belonged to the Macarthys, a rival branch of whom attended the lord justice on this expedition.

16. This was the portion of the present county of Kerry, south of the river Mang or Maine.

17. The Four Masters contain an entry in the year 1506 of the building of this bridge by O'Brien (Torlogh, the son of Teige, son of Torlogh), Donald his brother the Tanist of Thomond, whose death they record in 1508, and the bishops of Killaloe and Kilfenora, viz.: Torlogh, son of Mahon O'Brien, and Mortogh, son of Morrogh. These latter two were first cousins, being grandsons of Torlogh bog, and of course they stood in the same relation to the prince of Thomond, and his brother the tanist.

The bridge of Porteroisi (now Portcrusha) connected the territory belonging to the O'Briens south of the river Shannon (and which is still part of the see of Killaloe) with the county of Clare. See further notice of it at the year 1597.

18. The bog of the Friars, now Monabraher, a townland in the parish of Killeely, on the north side of the Shannon, near Limerick.

19. This castle, which retains its old name, in English the Leap Castle, is situated about six miles to the north of Roscrea, on the road to Tullamore. See further notices of it at the years 1516 and 1557 in the annals of the Four Masters.

20. See Mageoghegan's *Irlande*, ch. 32, citing Ware's *Annals*, ch. 16.

21. The chieftain of Ossory, whose territories were conterminous with those of Piers, or Peter Butler, eighth earl of Ormond, having some cause of complaint against this nobleman, who was at this period (1522) lord deputy of Ireland, despatched an ambassador to Henry, whom he met as the king was about to enter his chapel, when the former delivered his commission as follows:—"Stand, Sir king! My master FitzPatrick sent me hither, and ordered me to say that if you will not chastise Peter the Red, he will himself make war upon you." *Lel. Ireland*, vol. 2, page 133.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XIII.

1. The view taken by the Four Masters of this revolution in the state of Ireland may not be unacceptable to the reader. It is as follows:—"A heresy and a new error sprang up in England through pride, vain glory, avarice and lust, and through many strange sciences, so that the men of England went into opposition to the pope and to Rome. They at the same time adopted various opinions, and among others, the old law of Moses, in imitation of the Jewish people; and they styled the king the chief head of the church of God in his own kingdom. New laws and statutes were enacted by the king and parliament according to their own will. They destroyed the orders to whom it was permitted to have worldly possessions, namely, the monks, canons, nuns, brethren of the cross; and the four poor orders, i.e. the order of the minors, the preachers, the carmelites, and the augustinians; and the lordships and livings of all these were taken possession of for the king. They broke down the monasteries and sold their roofs and bells, so that from Aran of the saints to the Iccian sea (the straits of Dover), there was not one monastery that was not broken and shattered, with the exception of a few in Ireland, of which the English took no notice or heed. They afterwards burned the images, shrines, and relics of the saints of Ireland and England; they likewise burned the cele-

brated image of (the Virgin) Mary at Trim, which used to perform wonders and miracles, which used to heal the blind, the deaf and the crippled, and persons affected with any sort of diseases. They also burned the staff of Jesus, which was in Dublin, and by which miracles were performed from the time of St. Patrick to that day, and which had been in the hands of Christ while he was among men. They also appointed archbishops and sub-bishops for themselves; and though great was the persecution of the Roman emperors against the church, scarcely had there ever come so great a persecution from Rome as this; so that it is impossible to narrate or describe it, unless by one who witnessed it." (Dr. O'Donovan's translation.)

2. It is curious that the Four Masters adopt into the Irish text the word "reverence," as if they could not find a synonymous expression in their own vernacular to describe the reception of O'Donnell. It would seem that they borrowed the expression from some contemporaneous record of the event, and quoted it to shew the estimation in which the chieftain of their favourite family was held by the English.

3. Four Masters, anno 1537.

4. The elder branch of the house of O'Brien became extinct by the decease without issue of Henry, the eighth and last earl of Thomond. This nobleman, who was born 14th August, 1688, died in Dublin on the 20th April, 1741, and was buried in the cathedral of Limerick. By his will, bearing date the 14th October, 1738, he devised his extensive estates to his cousin Morrogh lord O'Bryen in tail male, with remainder to Percy Wyndham (nephew to his wife and youngest son of Sir William Wyndham, Bart.), and his heirs. By the limitation in remainder the extensive estates of the earls of Thomond are now possessed by lord Leconfield as devisee of the late earl of Egremont.

The present representative of the barons of Inchiquin is Sir Lucius O'Brien, Bart., who is ninth in descent from Donogh, third son of Morrogh who surrendered the title of king of Thomond to Henry the eighth, and accepted the barony of Inchiquin to himself and his heirs. The devolution of a peerage to be claimed exclusively through commoners for upwards of three centuries before the common ancestor is reached, that ancestor having held a sceptre, may be regarded as one of the curiosities of the peerage.

5. Thomas, earl of Ormond, was first cousin to Conor, third earl of Thomond, the mother of the latter being Ellen, daughter of Piers Roe. She survived her husband Donogh, second earl, forty-four years. See her

obit recorded by the Four Masters anno 1597. She seems to have retired from the troubles and dissensions of Thomond to her native place, as her monument is to be seen in the cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny.

6. Hy-regan, or O'regan, was the tribe name of the O'Dunnes, whose territory was situated in the north-west of the Queen's County, in the barony of Tinnehinch. It is derived from Riagan, who was tenth in descent from Cathaoir More, monarch of Ireland in the second century, from whom is descended colonel Francis Plunket Dunne, now (1860) M.P. for the Queen's County. The late General Edward Dunne informed the author that this territory had never since the most remote period been out of the possession of his family and lineage.

7. See Four Masters an. 1555.

8. The territory of Leix, with the northern part of the diocese of Ossory and the portion of Offaly westward of the river Barrow, formed the Queen's County, the chief town being called after the queen, Maryborough. The remainder of Offaly, together with the northern Ely, belonging to O'Carroll, and the ancient territory of Dealbhna (Delvin), was erected into the King's County; the stronghold of the O'Conors, the ancient princes, called Daingen, being made the seat of government of the county by the name, in compliment to the queen's husband, of Philipstown.

9. The Four Masters at this passage call Conor "the first earl of the race of Cas in title," the occupancy of Donogh and Morrogh the first patentees being either unnoticed or repudiated by the Dalgais.

Leland, it is remarkable, misses the point of the observation made by the annalists in this passage. In his book, 3. ch. 8, quoting the Four Masters, he says that "Conor O'Brien accepted the title of earl, but gave up the dignity of the Dalgais, to the astonishment and indignation of all the descendants of Heremon and Heber, of Ir and Ith." It was not these sentiments alone, but alarm also at the change in the succession and title to lands, which influenced the Irish on the expulsion of Donald O'Brien.

10. This Donogh is the ancestor from whom Sir Lucius O'Brien of Dromoland, Bart., now baron of Inchiquin, is ninth in direct descent. He was hanged in 1582 by captain Mordaunt the marshal, and Sir George Cusack, the sheriff of Clare, having surrendered under a letter of protection, which was declared defective.

11. This was Garret or Gerald, the last earl of Desmond, whose miserable end is recorded by the annalists at the year 1583.

12. Clanrickard's sister was the grandmother of Conor O'Brien, third earl of Thomond.

13. Bally-ally, O'Haly's-town, a townland about two and a half miles north of Ennis, containing the ruins of an old castle. It is again referred to at the year 1601. It is now the residence of Capt. Wm. Stacpoole, M.P. for Ennis.

14. Spancil-hill, a place distant about six miles north-east of Ennis, and celebrated for its horse fair.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XIV.

1. The present barony of Iraghticonnor in the county of Kerry.

A chieftain's first expedition was a raid or foray made at the head of as large a force as could be collected against some neighbouring chieftain, who may have been, perhaps on very trivial grounds, an object of dislike to the new chieftain. Being unaccompanied by any previous declaration of hostilities or notice, these demonstrations would seem to savour of cowardice, only that such an imputation on the national character is inconsistent with the whole tenor of our history. Their existence appears to be a proof of the want of a strong central authority to control the warlike and disunited elements into which the Irish monarchy had begun to crumble soon after the battle of Clontarf.

2. A townland in the parish of Dysert, barony of Inchiquin and county of Clare.

3. O'Gorman's *caher* or stone fort. This place is still marked on the ordnance map of the county of Clare, in the townland of Soheen, and parish of Dysert.

4. The country of the Dalgais did not extend northwards beyond the barony of Inchiquin. The barony of Corcomroe, (anciently including Burren) belonged to the O'Conors and O'Loughlins, who were not of the Dalgais, but of the Rudrician race of Ulster, who are descended from Ir, the youngest brother of the sons of Milesius.

5. The former of these chieftains resided at Ballymacooda, near Ennis; and Brian Duv continued to dwell at the Castle of Shallee, where Conor na Srona held his court. The Four Masters in their notice of this engagement state that Brian Duv was ransomed by giving up Selga (Shallee) to

Teige the son of Morogh O'Brien. The land here mentioned is situated in the parish of Kilnamona, about four miles north-west of Ennis, and is of great fertility.

6. Ballycar is the name of a townland in the parish of Tomfinlough and barony of Bunratty (lower), about two miles to the east of Newmarket on Fergus.

7. This Teige is the founder of the branch called the Ballycorick O'Briens.

8. This river which is thus called from flowing through the ancient territory of the Uiccearnaigh, (O'Kearneys) is more correctly named the Raite, as appears by the word "Bunratty," the mouth of the Raite, the name of the strong castle erected by de Clare in 1277, to defend the large tract of Thomond, which he received from Brian roe for his assistance in regaining the crown of the Dalgais. The river flows through the village of Sixmilebridge into the Shannon at Bunratty.

9. This lake, on the north-east margin of which stands the ruin of the castle, is situated in the parish of Kilmurry and barony of lower Bunratty.

10. This bay of Ross is situated a few miles to the north of Loophead, in the barony of Moyarta and county of Clare. Some curious natural bridges are to be seen there.

11. Now called Tuath-clæ.

12. O'Daly's History of the Geraldines, chap. 17.

13. The ruins of Clonowau castle may be seen near Rockvale, in the parish of Kilkeedy and barony of Inchiquin. Ballyvaughan is situated on the southern shore of the bay of Galway, in the parish of Drumcreehy and barony of Burren.

14. A river which separated the province of Connaught on the north-east from Ulster. By this division Thomond was included in Connaught.

15. Upper Connaught, i.e. southern, next to Thomond.

16. It is obvious from Teige's serving the office of sheriff, that he had made peace with the queen, and most probably this occurred when Donald O'Brien received the grant of Corcomroe.

17. Clare castle near Ennis.

18. This was the earl's uncle, so recently in hostility with him, and most probably leagued with Fitton against his nephew.

19. Gortinsi Guaire, the garden of the isle of Guaire, so called from Guaire Aidhne king of Connaught in the seventh century, and whose name has passed into a proverb for his munificence.

20. See this relationship explained, ante note 5 to Chap. xiii.

21. Moy castle in the parish of Kilfarboy and barony of Ibrickane, three miles north of Miltown-malbay. The ruins of the castle shew it to have been a place of considerable strength.

22. The queen's affection for the house of Ormond with which she was connected was very considerable. Her grandfather sir Thomas Boleyn was by the female line descended from John sixth earl of Ormond, who died on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1478. Sir Thomas was created earl of Ormond in 1527, when Henry the eighth took the title from Piers, or Peter, on whom it had devolved on the death of Thomas the seventh earl in 1515, and in lieu thereof conferred on him that of Ossory. Sir Thomas dying in 1537 without issue male, both earldoms became united in the house of Ormond ever since.

23. This expression, the "two" provinces of Munster, shews that Perrot's jurisdiction comprised Desmond proper, the part of Munster south of the Blackwater, and middle Munster, between the Blackwater and Limerick. Thomond was annexed to Connaught, and under the jurisdiction of Sir Edward Fitton.

24. These were the Macarthys, O'Sullivan, O'Callaghans, O'Keeffes, O'Mahonys, O'Donovans, O'Donoghues, &c. &c.

That Perrot should have been able to conciliate the old Irish families to become subject peaceably to the queen's authority, contrasts powerfully with the conduct of his colleague in Thomond, and exhibits him in a very amiable light. His character as portrayed by the Irish writers, deserves to be noticed. It is as follows:—

"A. D. 1573. The president of the two provinces of Munster, went to England in the following autumn after having reconciled and subdued the country. The departure of the president was lamented by the poor, the widows, the feeble, and the unwarlike, of the country."

25. The gallowglasses were the heavy-armed infantry of the Irish. They had an iron head-piece, and a coat of defence stuck with iron nails, a long sword by their sides, and in one hand a broad axe with a very keen edge. Ware's Antiq. by Harris, p. 161.

26. Ard-na-gcabog, the hill of the clowns, is on the west side of the Fergus below the town of Clare, where that river expands into the tide-way. Hence the notion of its there mingling with the sea.

27. This was the ancient name of the barony of Islands in the county

of Clare. It extended from Mount Callan to the estuary of the Fergus; was bounded on the north by Cinel-Fearmaic (the present barony of Inchiquin), on the east by the Fergus, which divided it from Hy-caisin and Tradree, and on the south and west by east Corcovaskin, (the present Clonderalaw.)

28. Hy-Fearmaic or Cinel-Fearmaic, which was the tribe name of the O'Deas, and from them of their territory, is now included in the barony of Inchiquin. It is sometimes described as the upper or northern cantred of the Dalgaish.

29. Corofin, a post town seven miles northwest of Ennis.

30. The road of the king's sons. It is the road leading from Corofin to Kilnaboy, according to Dr. O'Donovan. See Four Masters, anno 1573, note (s).

31. The church of the daughter of Baoith, or Boethius, now called Kilnaboy.

32. Bel-atha-an-Ghowan, Smithstown, in the parish of Kilshanny, and barony of Corcomroe.

33. Cill-Mainchin, St. Munchin's church, now Kilmanabreen, a parish in the barony of Corcomroe.

34. From Smithstown to Bel-au-chip is a distance, in a direct line, of about six miles. Donald O'Brien, who had not feared to face the Lord Deputy of Ireland on a former occasion, and possessed considerable military skill, was, it seems, only waiting for the proper time to engage.

35. Ben-Formala, a mountain about six miles to the south-east of Bel-atha-au-chip.

36. The high ground terminating in Mount Callan, divided the retreating infantry from their cavalry.

37. Caherush ruined castle stands on a projecting point of land on the sea shore, about two miles to the south-west of the village of Miltownmalbay, in the parish of Kilmurphy, and barony of Ibrickane.

38. Tuath-ua mbuile, the territory of the Ui-buile, or O'Bolgs, is determined by the position of Dangan Moybuile, or Moyburke, as it is now called. It is situated in the barony of Islands, a few miles to the west of Ennis.

Tuath-na-fearna, the district of the alder trees, is coextensive with the parish of Kildysert, in the barony of Clonderalaw, and is the name by which the Irish-speaking natives call the parish at present.

39. For the rents and tributes payable to the princes of Thomond and to Macnamara, see the papers, numbered respectively xiv. and xv. in the 15th vol. of the Transactions of the Roy. Ir. Academy.

40. Scattery island was granted in 1583, seven years after the date of the earl's petition, to the mayor and corporation of Limerick by Queen Elizabeth.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XV.

1. This branch of the house of O'Brien deflected from the parent stock about one hundred and fifty years before the time mentioned in the text, the Donogh above mentioned being the grandson of Conor (son of Mahon Moinmoy), who fostered the great Earl of Desmond, James son of Garret, and who died in 1426. See Four Masters at that year, anno 1502.

2, 3. These are some of the many instances where the Four Masters trace pedigrees up to some celebrated ancestor.

4. The most ancient division of the county of Clare was into the five following districts :—1. Corcovaskin ; 2. Corcomroe ; 3. Ui-Cormaic ; 4. Ui-Fearmaic ; 5. Ui-Caisin. The first was named from Bascan, second son of Conaire, king of Ireland in the second century. The O'Donnell's were the principal families, until dispossessed by the Macmahons, an offshoot of the O'Briens. It was divided into east and west, in 1488, on the death of Donogh Macmahon, and two Macmahons were set up, Brian, son of Donogh, and Teigh roe, son of Torlogh. West Corcovaskin was coextensive with the present baronies of Moyarta and Ibrickane. East Corcovaskin was bounded on the east by the estuary of the Fergus, and was coextensive with the present barony of Clonderalaw.

Corcomroe, or Corcomodruagh, so called from the great grandson of Rory Mor, monarch of Ireland in the third century before Christ, the ancestor of the O'Conors of Corcomroe and O'Loughlins of Burren, contained the present baronies of Burren and Corcomroe, and was coextensive with the present diocese of Kilfenora.

Ui-Cormaic contained the present barony of Islands, with the exception of the parish of Clondegad, which anciently belonged to East Corcovaskin. Ui-Cormaic was the territory of the O'Hehirs.

Ui-Fearmaic, or Cinel-Fearmaic, contained the present barony of

Inchiquin, and the parish of Inchicronan in that of Upper Bunratty. It was the territory of the O'Deas and O'Quins until a comparatively recent period.

Ui-Caisin (a name still retained in that of Ogashin, a rural deanery in the diocese of Killaloe), was also synonymous with Clancuilen. These were tribe names of the Macnamaras, a family second only to that of the O'Briens, having diverged from the parent stock in the fourth century (see Geneal. Table in the Battle of Maghrath, printed for the Archæol. Soc.). This territory of Clancuilen was, before the year 1318, confined to the present baronies of Upper and Lower Bunratty, but owing to the great assistance rendered to the senior branch of the O'Briens in the wars of Brian roe's followers and the De Clares by the Macnamaras, on the expulsion of the supporters of De Clare and Brian roe beyond the Shannon, the territory of Clancuilen was extended to that river, and two families of the Macnamaras constituted princes of East and West Clancuilen. East Clancuilen was coextensive with the baronies of Upper and Lower Tulla.

5. Morrogh, fourth baron of Inchiquin, was at this period too young to take a part at the side of the crown, or he would have been mentioned by the annalists. That his loyalty was not suspected, seems likely from the attention paid to his interest five years later, in the division of the property of Thomond.

7. This Donogh, whose life was thus, by a *flaw* in his protection, sacrificed to the stern spirit of the times, is the founder of the family of Dromoland, and the ancestor through whom Sir Lucius O'Brien establishes his right to the title of Baron of Inchiquin. As he fell a victim to martial law, which takes no cognizance of forfeitures, the castles and lands of Lemeneagh, Dromoland, Ballyconnelly and other places, including the abbey of Corcomroe, which were conferred on him by his father on his accession to the royalty of Thomond, descended to his son Conor and his heirs.

8. Which comprised the parishes of Clooney, Doory, Kilmurrynegaul, Kilraghtis, Quin, Templemaley, and Tulla, constituting the deanery of Ogashin; together with Bunratty, Clonloghan, Drumline, Feenagh, Kilconry, Killeely, Kilmaleery, Kilquan, Kilfeatinan, and Tomfinlough.

9. The exactions of the lords from their tenants were supposed to be compensated by the protection afforded in lieu thereof. Hence the phrase, "Spend me and defend me," said to be commonly used by the tenants. In 1395 the Four Masters, recording the death of Philip Maguire, lord of Fer-

managh, style him *Feap caithme azur coranta a cni-che*,—the spender and defender of his territory.

10. The position of the two ladies mentioned in the text is here given on the authority of Mr. Smith O'Brien, who says that Lodge is wrong in his account of the connexion referred to. It is indeed very unlikely that the fourth baron of Inchiquin, who perished at the Erne in 1597, could have been married to the daughter of Sir Thomas Cusack, who was a judge of the common pleas in 1534. Lodge fell into the mistake by copying the entry in the genealogy given by the Editor of Keating's History of Ireland.

11. The peerages do not contain any notice of Morrogh or Mortogh, sons of Conor the last king of Thomond, but the entries of their obits by the Four Masters is an express authority to shew there had been such persons. At page 1907 they contain the following entry:—

“A.D. 1591, Morrogh, son of Conor, son of Torlogh, son of Teige, son of Torlogh, son of Brian Catha an-Eanaigh O'Brien, died at Cathair-Mionain, on the 25th Feb., and was buried at Kilfenora.”

And at page 1945, the following entry occurs:—

“A.D. 1593, Mortogh, son of Conor, son of Torlogh O'Brien of Drumline died.” This is the person named in the indenture of composition already referred to in the text.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XVI.

1. The Four Masters state that it is from the owner of this castle of Clonoon the Mahon family of the county Clare derive that surname. The castle is situated about six miles to the north-east of Corofin, in the parish of Kilkeedy, and barony of Inchiquin. The following extract from Sir Henry Docwra's “Relation of Services done by Sir Richard Bingham in Ireland,” shews not only the importance of the service rendered to the queen by the taking of this castle, but the extent of the foreign influence that prevailed in Thomond.

“About this tyme Sir Richard Byngham laye at the siege of Clan Owen in Thomond, a strong pyle manned and kept against her majestie by Mahoune O'Bryan, a most dangerous enemye to the state; a cheiff champion of the Pope's, and a great practiser with fforraigne powers for the invasion of this realm of Ireland.”

2. The title of Macwilliam was confined to the Lower or Northern Bourkes since the creation of the earldom of Clanricarde in 1543.

The Four Masters mention the death of Richard the son of Oliver, son of John, the Macwilliam in 1585, and that no person was elected his successor, so great was the predominance of the English power. The inauguration of the Macwilliam, after a lapse of ten years, was intended by O'Donnell as a demonstration to his followers of the decline of that power.

3. Leland calls the appeal made to Tyrone, "a mean solicitation on the part of government." Hist. of Ireland, vol. 2, p. 342.

4. Conchovar-MacNessa was King of Ulster in the first century. From his time to the period mentioned in the text, the province extended to the river Boyne.

5. The harbour of Waterford, which is formed by the confluence of the three sisters, as the rivers Nore, Suir, and Barrow are called, which unite their waters about six miles to the east of Waterford.

6. The Franciscan abbey of Ennis was founded by Donogh Cairbreach O'Brien, King of Thomond, in 1247, as the burial-place of the race of Brian Boromha. See the Four Masters at that year.

7. The foundation of the abbey of Donegal was laid in 1474 by Hugh roe, O'Donnell's ancestor, and Finola his wife, the daughter of Conor-na-Srona, King of Thomond, through whom O'Donnell was related to all the existing branches of the O'Briens. There was therefore a manifest propriety in having the remains of the baron, Morrogh, interred in the abbey of Donegal.

8. Fynes Morrison and Camden state the English loss to amount to 1500 men slain, together with the general and thirteen officers. The Four Masters state the number as high as 2500, with eighteen officers.

9. This was the person called, in derision, the *Sugane*, or straw-rope Earl. The other James, the son and heir of the unfortunate earl Gerald, was detained at the court of Elizabeth to be made use of according to circumstances.

9* This attack on Donald O'Brien is thought to have arisen from private, as much as from public, motives. The tradition current in the western parts of the county of Clare on the subject is, that an attachment had existed between O'Brien and the daughter of Macmahon, whose mother and O'Brien were relatives, she being a sister of Sir Torlogh O'Brien of Ennistymond. That while Teige Caech was in Kerry with the earl

of Desmond, O'Brien was accustomed to repair to Carrigaholt to enjoy the society of the beloved daughter. That it had been concerted between the lovers that if the father had returned in the intervals of the gentleman's visits, the lady was to hold out a signal to warn her lover of his danger, and that on the return of Macmahon from Kerry, as stated in the text, the lady had forgotten, or had not had time to make the promised signal, when O'Brien on his usual errand, seeing the coast clear, and dreaming more of love than war, having approached almost within the lion's jaws, was fired at and pursued, but escaped with his attendant by the perilous feat of swimming their horses across a part of the bay of Carrigaholt. The attack on Donald O'Brien at Kilmurry, his capture and imprisonment at Dunbeg, and his release in a week, without ransom or conditions, if not a confirmation of this romantic incident, are at least consistent with it. It is a part of the tradition, that the lovers were united after O'Brien received a grant of the father's estates, but this is not supported by the Peerages, which state that he married Catherine, daughter of Gerald, the last earl of Desmond.

10. The third M'Sweeney, denominated of the "Tuathas," was at this time in revolt against O'Donnell, having joined Sir Conyers Clifford, the governor or president of Connaught.

11. The wood of O'Flanchada, in the parish of Kilkeedy, and barony of Inchiquin.

12. The places here mentioned retain their names to this day, but the wood of Coillmor is long since cut down. They are situated in the parish of Dysert, and barony of Inchiquin.

13. Inagh is the western portion of the parish of Dysert, in the barony of Inchiquin. Brentir (the fetid country) so called, being poor and moory, from its contrast with the rich limestone soil of Hy-Cormaic (the barony of Islands), and Hy-fermaic (barony of Inchiquin), on the borders of both of which it is situated, is the name still used by the Irish-speaking inhabitants. Inistimon is a post and market town, and Killispuglonane and Ballyphaidan townlands in the barony of Corcomroe.

14. On this occasion Macbrody, the hereditary poet of the earl of Thomond, was deprived of his cattle, but on application to O'Donnell they were restored. In return for the chieftain's civility, the poet composed a quatrain, representing that this devastation of Thomond was owing to the curse of St. Columbkille, for the demolition of the royal palace of Gri-

anan Oiligh by Mortoghmore, great grandson of Brian Boromha, in 1101.

15. Teige, the brother of Donogh fourth earl of Thomond, married Slaine, daughter of Teige, the son of Morrogh first earl of Thomond, and baron of Inchiquin, by whom he was the father of Torlogh of Ballyslattery, Colonel Mortogh, and Dermot styled the Good.

16. Margaret, the sister of Sir Torlogh O'Brien, was the wife of Torlogh, the father of Teige Caech Macmahon. See her obit at the year 1591.

17. Now called Carrigaholt. It imports the rock of the fleet. It is situated on the north side of the Shannon, about midway between Loophead and Kilrush, and about nine miles to the west of the latter place. Carrigaholt is the residence of Henry Stuart Burton, Esq., D.L., a member of the family of Burton Conyngham, to which it has belonged since the confiscation in 1690 of the estates of the viscount Clare, grandson of Donald mentioned in the text, who lost his property for adhering to James II.

18. Lisoffin, or fort of Hugh the fair, ancestor of Macnamara Fion, is situated near the village of Tulla, in the parish of that name, not far from the ruins of the castle of Cloon.

19. The Four Masters thus express themselves on the fall of Clifford. "The death of the person here slain was much lamented. It was grievous that he came to this tragic end. The Irish of the province of Meabhe (Connaught) found no pleasure in his death, for he had bestowed presents on them, *and had never told them a falsehood*."

The appreciation of Clifford's veracity by the population of Connaught is extremely suggestive, and reflects strongly on previous governors.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XVII.

1. The account given by P. O'Sullivan Beare in his Hist. Cath. Iber. of this transaction, attributes the capture of Ormond to the desire which Archer had for his conversion. The passage, rendered from its Latin dress, is as follows—

"The earl of Ormond, commander-in-chief of the queen's army, and Owny O'Moore, with their respective forces, advance in sight of each other. There happened to be at that time with Owny, a certain father James

Archer, a native of Ireland, a member of the society of Jesus, a man most anxious for the propagation of the Catholic religion, and proportionally an enemy to heresy, and consequently an object of the greatest hatred to the English. Archer had in the early part of the war aided O'Neil (Tyrone), and subsequently Owny, and at last O'Sullivan, and others, by his zeal, advice, and assistance, and even had frequently of his own authority raised a band of Catholics, with whom he engaged in battle with the heretics. This devotee, inspired by the hope of bringing the earl of Ormond to sounder views on the subject of religion, begged for an interview with that nobleman, which was not declined. Accordingly, on the side of the English, the earl of Ormond, Donogh O'Brien earl of Thomond and prince of Limerick, and George Carew an Englishman, president of the two provinces of Munster, all on horseback, met Archer on foot, attended by three soldiers of the Irish army, in sight of both lines, no pledge of security of person having been given or required on either side. Archer, who was well versed in English, commenced, on account of Carew's ignorance of Irish, a pious discourse in the former tongue, when he was interrupted by Ormond, advancing some futile argument against the sanctity of the supreme pontiff, which provoked the anger of Archer, and with a change of countenance caused him to raise the staff on which he used to support his aged limbs. The Irish soldiers who attended him being ignorant of the language in which he spoke, and apprehensive of danger from what appeared an unequal conflict, anticipated Ormond and pulled him off his horse. The soldiers of the Catholic army advancing to the assistance of their comrades, the earl of Thomond and Carew consult their safety by flight. Ormond having thus become O'Moore's prisoner is converted by Archer, but on his restoration to liberty, through the interposition of O'Neill (Tyrone) an ancient friend of his, he returned to his former vomit (!) of heresy."

2. It is not likely that this sum was ever paid, O'Moore having fallen on the 17th of August ensuing, in an attack on the English settlement of Leix.

3. This, the tribe name of the O'Gradys, is also applied to their territory, which, at the time of O'Donnell's invasion, comprised the parishes of Tomgraney, Moynoe, Inishcealtra, (or Holyisland) and Clonrush.

4. The Four Masters state that John was executed by order of the lord deputy in June following, in revenge for the outrages committed on the loyalists by his brothers Redmond and William.

5. Patent roll 12 Eliz.

6. The decease at Cahercorcrair of Conor, surviving son of Mortogh Garv, son of Brian seventh son of Teige-an-Chomhaid O'Brien, is also mentioned at this year.

7. The barony of Condons and Clongibbons in the county of Cork.

8. It is highly probable that it was on this occasion that Donald obtained a grant of the lands of Teige Caech Macmahon, chieftain of west Corcovaskin, who had been in treasonable correspondence with the earl of Desmond. And it is not a little curious that these same lands (the barony of Moyarta) thus lost by the descendant of a long line of ancestors for treason in the beginning of the seventeenth century, should before its conclusion have passed out of the hands of the grandson of this Donald, the third Viscount Clare, whose estates and title were forfeited in 1691 for his support at the Boyne of James II.

9. See mention made of these castles *ante*, at the years 1598, 1599.

10. The castle of Dunboy was situated at the entrance of Berehaven, which it commanded. Its site is about thirty miles S.W. of Bantry.

11. Deed of submission of the O'Loughlins of Burren to Donogh, fourth earl of Thomond, translated from the Irish :—

“This is the agreement made between Donogh O'Brien, earl of Thomond, and the O'Loughlins of Burren.

“Be it known to all who read and hear this writing that we, Irial the son of Rossa, and Donogh the son of Bryan, and Lucius the son of Mahon of Ballyauliff, the survivors of the posterity of Malachy O'Loughlin of Ballyvaughan, named in the treaty executed between Conor the great grandfather of this earl and our ancestors, have agreed as follows, viz.

“To be of ourselves bound to you, O'Donogh O'Brien, according to which we have set our hands to this deed in presence of the witnesses hereto. And this is the agreement, namely, that we ourselves the posterity of Malachy, and Ballyvaughan, and the redhaired woman and her people and country, are and shall be bound and our heirs after us to Conor O'Brien and his heirs after him. And that it shall not be in the power of any of us or of our descendants to cause a sod of the country or any of the castles to be pledged or sold, except with the consent of the said Conor or his heirs after him. And that Conor or his heirs after him shall be heirs to the posterity of Malachy. And that it shall be obligatory on the posterity of Malachy and on his followers to yield obedience and to submit to the will of Conor O'Brien and his heirs after him.

"Furthermore, I, the earl of Thomond, acknowledge upon my honour that I promised that whatever portion of the lands or whatever castles belonging to the parties hereto may have been occupied or plundered should be submitted to the arbitration of Boethius and John O'Tierney and Owen O'Daly, such arbitration to be binding on me the earl.

"The lands in the possession of Boethius MacClanchy are not to be included in this deed.

"In the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and ninety-one, the ninth of June, at Knockfin, we gave our consent and put our hands to this writing, which is pursuant to the tenor of the old treaty by which the heirs of the parties hereto are bound to each other for ever.

I, GIOLLA NA NAEMH O'DAVERN,
(servant of the saints) wrote this copy.

(Signed in *English*) DONOGH, Thomond.

(Signed) DONOGH O'LOUGHLIN.

Copia vera ex. p. BAT. CLANCHY.

(Signed) IRIAL O'LOUGHLIN.

(Signed) JOHN REC O'TIERNEY.

OWEN O'DALY,

Testes.

N.B.—The original document is stated to have remained with Boethius MacClanchy at Knockfin anno 1684. The Macclanchys were hereditary brehons or judges in Thomond.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XXI.

1. It is somewhat remarkable that Lodge, whose account of the various branches of the O'Briens is so extensive and minute, does not mention the year or the manner of Conor O'Brien's decease. Both are here sufficiently indicated by Ludlow.

2. To the valour and daring of the English auxiliary force the defeat of Don John of Austria, the commander of the Spanish troops in Portugal, is mainly attributed. See "*Passarelli de bello Lusitano*," folio, page 376.

3. This age is conjectural. It is assumed on the supposition that Inchiquin had not attained his majority until 1639, when Strafford summoned the Irish parliament to grant supplies for the Scottish war to

Charles. In the roll of peers at the parliament of 1634, the lord Inchiquin is set down by Strafford as "*infra ætatem*." Strafford's Letters, p. 283.

4. The following passages from Thurloe's state papers are offered in explanation of the text:—

"Lady Inchiquin and her son have been so persecuted by her husband and the Roman catholics, as I could not refuse her the charity of a pass to go into England, though I should not have got myself persuaded to grant it without first acquainting your honour, if I had not feared the protestants at Paris, who were witnesses of her sufferings, and expressed much compassion for her, would have been scandalized at my denying her that favour." (Lockhart to Thurloe, 7th July, 1657, vol. 6, 385.)

In a further letter (p. 414), he writes:—"I am like to meet with more trouble in the business concerning the lady Inchiquin's son than I was apprehensive of when I wrote my last. The nuncio and the little queen (widow of Charles) interest themselves deeply in it, and have got the queen of France to be on their syde. They have got the child to write a letter to the cardinal, wherein he declareth that he was seduced by his mother, and that it is now his earnest desire he may be protected by his majesty in his obedience to his father's orders. Your honour cannot conceive what a business is made of it. I am to wait upon the queen this afternoon, who is to make it her sute to me to leave any further prosecuting of that business. The protestants are no less pressing on the other hand, and say if I succumb in this, the insolence of the papists will be insufferable. 19th July, 1657.

Again (see page 421), he writes:—"My lady Inchiquin's son is ordered to be delivered to me and put into my house by the same hand that took him away, though the little queen, the nuncio, and all the bigots of France leagued against me, and got the child to declare under his hand that he was debauched by his mother, and in a letter to the cardinal he begs his majesty's and his eminence's protection in the profession of the Roman catholic religion, for which he has become so great a zealot as he is ready to die, and above all, prayeth not to be put in the hands of the English ambassador, whom he looks upon as an inveterate enemy to his religion." August 5, 1657.

Towards the close of the year (16th December, 1657), he writes. See p. 682

“My lord Inchiquin is like to be sent the same way (banished). He hath abstracted his son from the college which received him, when he was taken violently from before my gate. He is now ordered to restore him to me, wherein if he fail all his pensions and commissions are revoked, and his person's and his son's banished the king's dominions.”

The child mentioned in these letters must have been a younger son of lord Inchiquin's, as lord O'Brien was old enough to have paid, eight months after, the visit to Henry Cromwell in Dublin, which is mentioned in the text of the next chapter.

5. This gentleman, known by the appellation of Sky-rocket Jack from the circumstance herein after mentioned, is thus alluded to in the Dublin Chronicle of the 10th January, 1788:—

“Few men have been more unfortunate at sea, and few so fortunate, as this individual. He was brought up to the sea, and at an early period of life made a lieutenant in the navy, his commission bearing date 28th November, 1747. His first misfortune at sea was on the coast of India, where his ship was wrecked and every soul on board perished except Mr. O'Brien and four others. On his return to Europe he was cast-away near the Cape of Good Hope, but had the good fortune to gain the shore alive.

“The Dutch governor, finding that he was a man of quality, supplied him with every thing necessary for continuing his voyage, and provided him a cabin in one of the Dutch homeward bound East Indiamen. When all Mr. O'Brien's baggage, &c. was put on board, a Dutch governor of one of the eastern settlements in India, who was to return to Europe in the same ship, found himself rather straitened for room on account of the number of his family and other passengers. He applied therefore to the governor of the Cape, and said he would esteem it a particular favour if he would prevail on the other passengers to quit the ship and leave it entirely to his family and suite.

“The governor accordingly told the passengers they would confer a favour on him if they would leave the vessel and go by another that was to sail at the same time. They complied, and in about twenty-four hours Mr. O'Brien saw the vessel he had quitted founder, and every soul on board perish.

“This was his third escape. In a few years afterwards, on board the Dartmouth of 50 guns, he was engaged with the Glorioso, a Spanish man-of-war of superior force, and during the action, while between decks, the

gunner with wildness in his looks run to him crying out, 'Oh! sir, the powder room.' O'Brien heard no more when the ship blew up. One might imagine that here was an end of Mr. O'Brien and his escapes, and that he could not survive such an accident. Yet he did survive it, and was found afterwards floating on a gun-carriage. It was conjectured that he had been blown out through a port-hole with one of the guns. He was picked up by the Duke privateer, his clothes in tatters and burnt.

"This accident, dreadful as it was, was not capable of sinking the spirits of one who was always sprightly and gay. When he came to himself and was introduced to the captain, he said with great apparent gravity, 'Sir, you will excuse me for appearing before you in such a dress, for I left my ship with such precipitation that I had not time to put on better clothes.'"

NOTES TO CHAPTER XXII.

1. The following document is extracted from Orrery's memoirs, vol. 2, p. 109.

"Examination of Mortogh O'Gripha of Roosca, in the parish of Dishart, barony of Inchiquin and county of Clare, friar and of the order of St. Francis, taken before John Gore Esq. one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the county aforesaid, December 21, 1666, being duly examined, saith as follows :—

"That being a Franciscan friar, doth act and celebrate mass according to his order, received from Maelaghlin Kelly, archbishop of Tuam, being a bishop of the Roman see. And that he with the rest of his associates did erect a house at Rooscoe, in Bantry (Brentra) in the county aforesaid, for the officiating their office. And saith also, that Flan Broody is guardian and head of their convent, and that the place where they keep their convent was given to them by one Morrice O'Connell gent. for the use above mentioned. And saith further, that Flan Broody their guardian went from the monastery this morning to Morrice O'Connell; what his business was he knows not, more than that he was to go from thence to the lord of Clare's. And saith also that they have lived at Rooscoe aforesaid, and have continued their convent there for these three years past, and that they are of the convent of Inish Clondrode. And further saith not.

"Mortogh O'Gripha."

"Capta coram me ut supra.

"JOHN GORE."

Similar informations, word for word, were taken from Teige O'Hehir. William Browne, and Richard Lysaght, the same date, swear as follows :—

“That they belong to the convent of Rooscoe in Bantry (Brentra), in the county aforesaid. And that their profession is to go abroad in the country to beg the charity of good people for relief of the convent where Flan Broody is guardian and head, Mortogh O'Gripha and Teige O'Hehir, associates in the said convent. And they say also that they have not received holy orders.—And further say not.”

NOTES TO CHAPTER XXIII.

1. For an accurate review of the events connected with the affair at the Boyne, and the relative numbers engaged on either side, see Mr. Wilde's account, at page 241-270, of his interesting work, “The Boyne and Blackwater,” where all the authorities are examined.

2. It can hardly be supposed that the extensive property of the Viscount Clare was purchased for so inconsiderable a sum as ten thousand odd hundred pounds. The value of money a hundred and fifty years ago could not have been so much greater than it is at present, as to lead the reader to such a conclusion. It is much more probable that there had been some underhand dealing between the trustees or their agents and the purchasers. The report of the commissioners of inquiry into the disposal of the forfeitures by William, estimated that a million and a half might be derived from the sale which actually produced no more than a third of that sum. Perhaps the difficulty may be unravelled by the following passage from Burnet's History of his Own Times (vol. 2, 290-291.)

“The trustees lived in great state in Ireland, and were masters of all the affairs of that kingdom.

* * * “It was not easy for him (the Earl of Rochester, William's lord lieutenant in Ireland) to behave himself towards the trustees so as not to give a general distaste to the nation, for they were much hated, and openly charged with partiality, injustice, and corruption.”

NOTES TO CHAPTER XXIV.

1. See this subject ably discussed in the 1st chapter of Mr. O'Connor's Military Memoirs of the Irish Nation.

2. Mr. O'Connor (p. 32) attributes the desertion of the Irish troops to the instances of the Spanish governor through the Jesuits, and the fanatical and rancorous spirit of the times when Elizabeth's Irish war had only just terminated. His observations appear entitled to the reader's attention.

3. See the letters of the Nuncio to Cardinal Mazarine, dated 23d March and 27th April 1647, and that to the Nuncio at Madrid, 26th April same year. *Nunziatura in Irlanda*. Florence, 1844.

4. This position is open to question. Dalrymple says that if the Prince of Orange had really the intention of ascending the throne of England, he deceived the Emperor as well as the Pope. See the Prince's letter to the Emperor in Dalrymple's Memoirs, appendix, part 1, p. 256, in which the following passage occurs:—"I assure your Majesty by this letter, that whatever reports may have been spread, and notwithstanding those that may be spread for the future, I have not the least intention to do any injury to his Britannic Majesty, or to those who have a right to pretend to the succession to his kingdoms, and still less to make an attempt on the crown, or to desire to appropriate it to myself."

5. A very full account of the battle of Marsaglia will be found in De Quincy, vol. 2, p. 636, accompanied by a plan or chart of the different positions occupied by the several divisions of the contending armies. The reader must not confound the Sarsfield mentioned in the text with the more celebrated personage of that name, Patrick, Lord Lucan, who was killed at the battle of Landen or Neerwinden in the July previous. The Sarsfield here mentioned was Dominick, fourth Lord Kilmallock. Neither Mr. O'Connor nor De Quincy notice the difference.

6. The Marquis De Quincy (vol. 3, 612) devotes several pages to the surprise of Cremona, the leading points of which are as follows:—That Eugene had succeeded in corrupting an ecclesiastic in the town whose residence happened to be over or near to the old aqueduct used as a common sewer. That this clergyman was made to apply to the town authorities to have the aqueduct cleansed as necessary to the public health, and that con-

sidering the character of the applicant, the request was complied with. That Eugene had contrived through the means of the said ecclesiastic to have an understanding with some of the inhabitants, through whom he procured accurate information as to the different posts occupied by the several regiments composing the garrison. That through the aqueduct, at night, some of his soldiers being admitted, opened a gate to the rest of the troops, who had therefore immediate possession of the city. That the gate on the Po guarded by the Irish, opened on the bridge of boats by which Vaudemont's troops were to enter. The key to the possession of Cremona was therefore the Po gate, the maintenance of which prevented the entrance of Vaudemont's troops, ten thousand in number. O'Mahony it was, that gave orders for the cutting away of the bridge previously to leading the Irish, after the repulse of the Germans at the gate, to share in the glory of expelling them from the city.

7. See the services of this officer enumerated by Mr. O'Callaghan in his *History of the Irish Brigades in the service of France*, page 82.

8. The particular estate left by the will of the earl of Thomond, bearing date 14th October, 1738, having failed by the decease of Lord O'Brien without issue, the reversion to Percy Wyndham took effect. This limitation was on condition of the devisee's assumption of the name of O'Brien in place of that of Wyndham. There is a story current and respectably vouched for, that on certain legal proceedings being taken to invalidate the devise to the Wyndham family, a question of consideration was started, and on the court inquiring of counsel for the devisee, what consideration there was for the devise, counsel replied :—"Consideration, my lords ; was it not a sufficient consideration to have laid aside the noble name of Wyndham and to have assumed the barbarous appellation of O'Brien !" It is said their lordships were satisfied, and held for the validity of the devise.

9. O'Callaghan, page 87.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XXV.

1. On Lucas's tomb in St. Michael's cemetery, Dublin, is inscribed the following epitaph descriptive of his character and services :—

Lucas, Hibernia's friend, her joy and pride ;
Her powerful bulwark and her faithful guide ;

Firm in the senate, steady to his trust,
Unmoved by fear, and obstinately just.

Born 26th Sept. 1713.

Died 4th Nov. 1771.

It has been often remarked how indifferent Ireland has been to the memory of her great men. A stranger visiting her metropolis will observe the statues of sovereigns who thought more of their petty continental possessions than of either England or Ireland, while if he desire to see memorials of her statesmen and patriots, he must resort to the interiors of public buildings. In the Royal Exchange, the Valhalla of Dublin, he will find the statues of Lucas and Grattan. Those of Ogle and Curran are in St. Patrick's cathedral, the latter only a bust. To our time-honoured University belongs the credit of preserving full-length portraits of Swift, Molyneux, Grattan, Flood, Hussey Burgh, Yelverton, and Fitzgibbon. For the portrait of Sir Lucius O'Brien recourse must be had to Dromoland.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XXVI.

1. From a notice which was posted on the Royal Exchange of Dublin, on the 18th of June 1787, it appears that the Irish Parliament had adopted measures of an effectual character to convince the Portuguese of their mistake in yielding to the representations of the British Government. The notice stated that the goods of Ireland would be admitted into Portugal on the same footing as those of England, on condition that the *additional* duty of £30 a tun on Portugal wines, of twenty shillings on every cwt. of cork, and of forty shillings on every thousand lemons, should cease and determine. This grew out of the resolution of the Volunteers, that they would not consume any wine of the growth of Portugal (except what was already in the kingdom), until such time as the exports of Ireland should be received in that kingdom on the same terms as the manufactures and produce of Great Britain.

APPENDIX

TO THE

HISTORICAL MEMOIR OF THE O'BRIENS.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
BY
NATHANIEL BENTLEY
OF THE CITY OF BOSTON
IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. II.
BOSTON: PUBLISHED BY
J. B. BENTLEY, 1825.

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APPENDIX.

(A) pages 143, 162.

Here followeth the names of the Englysh counties that bere trybute to the wylde Irysh :—

The barony of Lecahill, in the county of Wolster, to the Captayne of Clanhuboy, payeth yearly £40, or else to O'Neil, whether of them be strongist.

The county of Uriell payeth yerely to the great O'Neyll £40.

The county of Meath payeth yerely to O'Conor £300.

The county of Kildare payeth yerely to the said O'Conor £20.

The king's exchequer payeth yerely to MacMurcho 80 marks.

The county of Wexford payeth yerely to MacMurcho and to Arte O'Boy £40.

The county of Kilkenny, and the county of Tipperary payen yerely to O'Kerwill (O'Carroll) £40.

The county of Limbrick payeth yerely to O'Brien Arraghe in English money £40.

The same county of Limbrick payeth yerely to the great O'Broyne in English money £40.

The county of Cork to Cormoke MacTeigue payeth yerely in English money, £40.

Summa £740.—State papers.

(B) page 164.

Sir Thomas Boleyn, the father of Anne, was the son of Sir William Boleyn, by Margaret, daughter and heiress of the last Earl of Ormond.

Piers Butler, mentioned in the text, claimed to be, and was acknowledged as eighth Earl of Ormond, until February 1527, when he was created by Henry, Earl of Ossory, and that of Ormond conferred on Sir Thomas Boleyn. In February 1537, on Sir Thomas Boleyn's death, the title of Ormond was restored to Piers. Hence the two earldoms in the Butler family.

(C¹) (C²) pages 168, 171.

Lord Thomas Fitzgerald's letter to his servant Rothe (State Papers, vol. 2, p. 402).

I. H. S.

My trusty servant, I hastily commend me unto you. I pray you that you woll delyver thys othyr letter unto O'Bryen. I have sent to hym for £20 sterlyng, the which yff he take you (as I trust he woll) than I woll that you come over, and bryng ytt unto my lord Crumwell, that I may so have ytt. I never had eny money syns I came into pryson but a nobull, nor I have had nothyr hosyn, dublet, nor shoys, nor shyrt but one; nor eny othyr garment, but a syngyll fryse gowne, for a velvelfurryd wythe bowge, and so I have gone wolward and barefote, and barelegyd, dyverse times (whan ytt hath not been very warme); and soe I shuld have done styll, and now, but that pore prysoners, of ther gentylness, hathe sumtyme gevyn me old hosyn, and shoys, and old shyrtes. This I wryte onto you, not as complaynyng on my fryndes, but for to show you the trewth of my grete neede, that you shuld be the more dylygent in goying onto O'Bryen, and in bryngyng me the before sayd £20, whereby I myght the soner have here mony to buy me clothys, and also for to amend my sclender comyns and fare, and for other necessaries. I woll you take out of that you bryng me, for your costes and labur. I pray you have me comendid unto all my lovers and frendes, and show them that I am in good helthe.

By me, THOMAS FYTZ GERALD.

To my trusty and well-beloved
servant John Rothe.

Letter to O'Brien enclosed in the foregoing—

Ihesus.

My specyall and well-belovyd frynd, I hartily comend me onto you. And I beseke and pray you to delyver and send me by thys bearer, my

trusty servant, John Rothe, £20 sterlyng upon the plate that you hove in custody of myn. And in so doing you shall shew me very grete kyndnes and plesure, for I have now very grete nede. Also I beseke you that you do not breke nor square with the deputye, but rather agree with hym. And also I beseke you to helpe and ayed hym in the kyngy's besynes, yf he have nede; and so shall you do the kynges grace plesure, the whych you may be sewer hys grace woll bothe remembur and reward, and in so doying you shall also bynd me to do for you eny thyng that shall ly in my power.

By your lovyng frynd,

THOMAS FYTZ GERALD.

To my trusty and well-belovyd
frynd, O'bryen.

(D) page 172.

Letter of O'Conor O'Brien to Henry VIII. (from the State Papers, vol. 3, p. 287).

Most noble, excellent, high, and mighty Prince, and my most redubted soveraigne lord, in the humblest maunier that I can or may, I recomend me to your majestie; I Conougher O'Bryen, called prince of Thomon in your land of Ireland. Advertising that I received your most dread letters by your servant Edmond Sexton, now mayor of your citty of Lymericke, the 20th day of September, in your most noble raigne the 26th, dated at your manor of Langlee, where I perceived partly your minde in especiall, that I should give firme evidence to your said servant. This is to advertise your majesty of trowth that I was credible informed, that the said letters were counterfeit by my lord of Ossery, and by my lord his sonne, and by your said servant, which was the principall cause, that I did not receive such rewards as your said servant profered me and my brother, and that I did not write to your highness according to my duty, and that was the cause that I did not follow the counsell of your said servant in your behalfe, till this tyme; humbly beseeching your majesty to pardon me of my negligence in that behalfe.

And as for receiving of Thomas Fitzgerald into my contrey; I insure

you, that I never sent for him, privy nor apperte, into my contrey ; but I could not, for very shame, refuse him of meat and drinke ; for it hath been of old custom amongs Irishmen to give meat and drink, and such little goods as we have. And as well I insure your grace that I never went, nor none of mine, to aid the said Thomas against your grace's subjects ; and if I wold have holpen him with any power, I insure your highness he would not have come in this tolmont at the least.

And as for to certifie you of the goeing of James Delahide towards the emperor, I insure your grace that it was never by my will ; and to prove the trowth of the same, I insure your grace that ever he come, with power or without power, and it be in my power, I shall take or banish him to thuttermost of my power : also beseeching your grace to pardon me of my negligence in that behalfe.

Furthermore advertising your grace, that I have received your most lread letters, dated at your manor of Westmester, the 10th day of September, in your raigne the 27th year, by the hand of your servant Edmond Sexton wherein I perceive your grace is jealous and displeasor with me, and as well your grace will me to give firme credence to your said servant. I insure your grace that, and if I had the counsail of your servant, and of oon Master Doghtoure Nyellane, Thomas Young, and John Arthur Fitz-Nicholas, aldermen of your said citty, at the first tyme, as I am informed by them now of your grace, and of your power and bountie, I had never done nothing prejudiciall to your grace's pleasure. But now, seeing that all things is done and passed for lacke of experience, I humbly beseeche your grace to take me to your mercy. And your grace has good cause so to take me, for I insure you that all mine ancestors, and I myselfe hath done right good service to your grace's deputies here in this land of Ireland. Therefore I humbly beseech your grace as lowly as any subject can or may, to pardon me of all the premisses ; and I, and all that I have in the world, is and shall be at your commandment.

And as well if it would please your grace to be soe good and gracious to this poore land to us your poore subjects, as to send some noble man to govern us ; and in especiall, if it will please your highness to send your sonne the duke of Richmond,* I insure your grace, that I, and my brother,

* This son, Henry Fitzroy, was the offspring of the king by Elizabeth Blount widow of Sir Gilbert Taillebois. He was created a knight of the Garter by the king, earl of Nottingham and duke of Richmond and Somerset, warden of the

and all my kinsmen with all my friends, shall do him as lowly service, and as trew, as any man living: and I, my kinsmen, and all my friends, shall right gladly receive him to our foster sonne, after the custom of Ireland, and shall live and die in his right and service for ever, and binde us to the same, after your pleasure known, by writing to us by your servant Edmond Sexton, to whom wee remitt all the rest of our minds to your grace. As the Holly Trinity knoweth who have your majesty in His most tender tucion to your harte's desire. Written at my manor of Clone Rawde, the 13th day of October.

Conohwyr O'Bryen,
Prince of Twomone.

(E) page 175.

Here followeth the names of the chief Yrish regyons and countries of Twomounde and chief captaynes of the same.

Obryen de Toybrien, chief captayne of his nation.
O'Kenedy de Ormonde, chief captayne of his nation.
O'Charrel de Ely, chief captayne of his nation.
O'Meagher de Ikerry (Ikerrin), chief captayne of his nation.
M'Mahonde de Bruye calls de Corcovaskin, chief captayne of his nation.
O'Chonour de Corcomroe, chief captayne of his nation.
O'Loghlen de Burren, chief captayne of his nation.
O'Grade de Keneldonal, chief captayne of his nation.
Obreen de Arra, chief captayne of his nation.
O'Mulrian de When (Owney), chief captayne of his nation.
O'Dour (O'Dwyer) de Kylenemana, chief captayne of his nation.
MacBren Oghonagh, chief captayne of his nation.

State Papers, vol. 3, p. 3.

N B.—The districts enumerated in the foregoing list show that Thomond comprised, in addition to the present county of Clare, a considerable portion of Tipperary, Limerick, and the King's county.

Scottish marches, admiral of England, and lord lieutenant of Ireland. This last appointment bore date in 1530 and lasted to the prince's death in 1536, when the young duke was only in his seventeenth year. As Sir William Skeffington was appointed deputy, it would seem the prince never came to Ireland, which will account for Conor O'Brien's request that he should be sent thither. (See Smollett's Hist. of England, vol. 4, p. 250 in note, and the State Papers.)

(F) page 176.

The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to King Henry the 8th.

After our moste humble and obediente dewties, It maye please your mooste excellent Majestie to be advertised, that according your Highnes commaundment, we repayred to your Highnes citie of Lymerike the 15th of Feveriere and ther have contynewid your Parlyamente to the 10th of this monithe, whereunto repayred O'brien and M'William, with diverse other Irishe capytains. During which tyme we have not only passed such actes as your hie pleasure was should be ther passid, but also have taken suche tolerance with O'brien, and the reste of the Briens, as may appeare to your Majestie by a scedule thereof-herinclosed. And althoughe it shall appeare unto your Majestie, that the thinges we have condiscendid with the said O'briens to write to your Majestie to graunte them be grete, yet we truste in your excellent goodness, that pondering the state of this poore land and commoditie that shal redounde to your Hignes subjectes, a thisside the ryver of Shenon, by reason whereof they shall, God willinge, be soon hable to bear some good portion to your Highnes yerelie towards your grete charges sustayned for ther welthes, your Highnes will take the same our proceedings in good parte. The said O'brien and his kinsmen, had a thisside the saide ryver serten landes called Onnaghe, which now they have releasid to your Highnes, together with all suche lordeship as they hadde of all the Irishmen a thisside the sayde ryver. And although the said Onnaghe be but of a smale valeur, yet, by the occasion thereof, they wasted the more parte of the lands betwene your Majesties cities of Lymerike and Casshell (which is 24 myles or more) by their expencis of coyne and liverei, and suche other extortions, which now is not onelie releasid by them, but also the rent of 120 marckes, which they had yerelie of black-rente oute of your countie of Lymerike, whereof the poore inhabitants, both gentilmen and other miche rejoyse, and speciallie that the saide O'briens be nowe put over the Shenon, which they were not this meny yeris before. And if this thing may be well followed, we truste in God your Majestie shall, in short time, booth have grete profits, and more obedience, then any of your noble progenitors have hadde in this realme, of a longe season.

The sayde O'brien is a very sobre man, and verylike to contynewe your

Majestie's trewe subjecte ; yet in cace that any sute shall hereafter be made to your Majestie by any of the saide O'briens, or any other, to have of your Majesties gifte the saide lands called Onnaghe, or any other landes a this side the saide ryver of Shenon, our simple advises is to your Majestie, to staye the same in your own handes ; for thogh it be small in valeur yet being in your Majesties hands, it is, and shal be to the grete quyete of your poore subjectes. And wher it shal appeare unto your Majestie that in the demande of Obrien he demaundithe such abbayes and pryories, as been in his contrey, we do certifie your Majestie, that the same be of very smale valeur, and for the same they have releasid many benefices, that they hadde by extorte power a this side the water, as well of your Majesties patronage, as of the patronage of dyvers other parsons, whiche they sufferd horsemen and kerne to enjoye.

Nowe as to the further answer of your Majesties letter to us sente, wherein your Majestie charged us to advertise the same, whate profits yerelie mought be attayned to your Highnes of such as have and daylie should submitte them to your obedience, although we cannot so amplie certifie your Majestie to the contents of your saide letter, as to our dewties appertainethe, yet now, trusting upon your clemencie, we certifie your Majestie as farre as our poore knowlege will sarve us.

* * * * *

Firste. Out of the county of Lymericke, yerely subsidie of 20 markes sterling, the same to begynne at Michelmas comme twelve monthe, considering as yet the contrey is in manner waste, and so to pay for two yeris, and then as the same encreasethe in cyvilitie, to pay yerelie more and more, as shal then be thought by your Majestie resonable. Oute of the county of Tiperarie 60 marckes. Oute of the countie of Kilkennye, £40 Irishe. Oute of the countie of Waterforde £20 sterling. And oute of the saide Onaughe yerlie £10 sterling, beside other expensis upon the saide Onaughe. And out of such landes as M'William desyreth of your Highnes yerlie £10, besides other commodities and profites, that shal dailye augmente to your Majestie, as the contrey groweth to cyvilite and order. And apou Irishmen of those quarters ; first, apou M'Ybrien Ara 60 galoglas for a moneth, and 6d sterling oute of every plowlande in his contrey ; apou Tirlogh M'Ybrien, captayne of Ycownaghe, £5 rente sterling yerely ; apou O'Kennedye, and M'Egge, yerelie £10 Irishe ; apou Omulrian yerelie 40s sterling of rente, and 60 galoglas for a monethe ; apou Odwyre 8d sterling

oute of every plowlande in his country, and 40 galoglas for a moneth yerelie ; which we insure your Majestie is as muche as they may yet conveniently beare, being as yet so poore, by reson of the long warres and mischiefe that athe bene among theim. And these commodities and profytes growe to your Highnes partlie by the putting of the saide Obriens over the Shenon, and taking away suche exaction as the saide Obriens had on this syde the sayde ryver. And overthat, we have good truste, that your Majestie shal also have good peace and obedience among the saide Obriens, whiche be men of the greteiste powar of any Irishe nation in the weste partes of this youre realme. And we thinke the said Obrien would hardilie have bene brought to this passe, or to put in his pledge, as he now hathe done withoute open warre, but only that he saw that ONeil had done the like, whiche was, and is, a spectacle to him and all other Irishmen. Mooste humbly beseeching your Majestie, that we may be advertised of your pleasure concerning the said Obrien in his saide requests.

* * * * *

From your Majesties castell of Caterloghe, the laste day of Marche, in the 33d yere of your Highenes moste victorious Reigne.

Your Majesties most humble and obediente subjectes and servantes.

(Signed)

{ ANTONY SENTLEGER.
JAS. ORMOND and OSSORY.
WILLM. BRABAZON.
JOHN TRAVERS.
THOMAS CUSAKE.

(G), page 183.

THE REQUESTES OF O'BRIEN.

First, he demandeth to hym and to his heires males, all such landes, rentes, reversions, and services as I had (*sic*) at any tyme before this daye, or any other to my use, which is named parte of Tomond, with all rule and auctoritie to governe all the kinges subjects, and to order them in defence of the saide contrey accordinge to the kinges lawes, and with all royaltie therto belonging ; reserved unto the kinges Majestie the gifte of all Bishopprickes, and all other thinges to the Crowne or Regalitie appertayning.

Where the Counsall of Ireland hathe given him certaine Abbeyes lately suppressyd, he requireth the confirmacion of that gifte by the kinges majestie to hym and to his heires males.

Item, that the lawes of England may be executed in Tomond, and the naughty lawes and customes of that contrey be clerely put away for ever.

Item, that bastardes from hensfurthe may inherite no landes, and that thos which at this present doo inherite, maye enjoy the same during ther lives, and after their death to retourne to the right heires lawfully begotten.

Item, that there may be sent into Ireland some well lerned Irishman, brought up in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, not being infected with the poyson of the Bishop of Rome, and they to be first approved by the kinges majestie, and then to be sent to preache the Worde of God in Ireland.

Item, some place of small value nere Dublin, where he may prepare for his horses and folkis, if he shall be commaundyd to resorte to Parliament or Counsell at Dublin.

Item, what name or names shal be assigned hym, and to his heires males, with all the foresayde demaundes, he referrithe clerely to the kinges majesties pleasure. State Papers, vol. 3, p. 463.

(H), page 183.

Letter of the king, Henry the eighth, to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland. State Papers, No. 361, vol. 3, p. 368.

[Extract touching the conference between the Council and O'Brien at Limerick]:—

“Now to O'Brien, we take his submission in good parte; and be content and pleased, perceiving by your letters that he is a sober man, uppon hope, that he woll indede contynue our good and faithfull subgett, and growe to cyvilitie, to geve unto him the religious houses in his contrey; the same to be suppressed by our commission and auctoritie, as reason is, and also the gifte of them to be conteyned in our letters-patentes, to be hereafter made to him of Thomonye, if he digresse not from his due obedience unto us. And lykewise we be content and pleased with the rest of his conditions; saving that we think it mete in cace he shall repayre to

our Parlyaments, as reason is he shude, that he shuld make humble sute to us to receive some estate and honour at our handes, mete to be placed in our Parlyament; for it can neither stand with our honour, nor with state of our Parliament, to have any man placed there as a Pere, but he have indede the state of a Pere, by the right cours and ordre of our lawes."

(I), page 184.

Extract touching O'Brien from letter of the Lord Deputy and Council to Henry the eighth. State Papers, No. 368, vol. 3, p. 385.

"May it please your moste Excellent Majestie to be advertised that we have receyvid your Highnes most gracions lettres, dated at your Pallays of Westminster, the 14th of April last.

And as for O'breyne's petitions, we think he woll be a sueter to your Highnes for the same; albeit we considered before the same thyng, which your majestie toochith in your lettres, that it were mete he shulde be placed in your Parlyament by some name of honour, which he hymself moved to be as Erle of Thomond. But yt was consydered, that that graunte coulde not procede withoute the greate detrymente and disparagement of Donogh O'breyne, which is next to be O'bryn, and had servyd very honestly your Majestie in the rebellion tyme. Wherefore, both to content O'bryne for his tyme, and to satisfye the other, that for his service and summyssion he shulde by no means be excluded from that dignitie and profytte, whereunto he was intyteled before, we thought it mete, and yet doo, yf it shall so please your Majestie that it be enacted by auctorytie of Parlyament, that O'breyne for the tyme being shal be placed in your Parlyament by the name of Erle of Thomonde, and the seconde, or seneschal of Thomonde, to be placed as a Vycount, and by this meane your Majestie shulde contente bothe; otherwyse the one or thother wolde subverte the thing well begonne.

At your Highnes citie of Dublyn the 2d of June in the 34th yere of your Majesties moste Victorious Raigne (1542)."

Signed, &c. &c.

(K), page 184.

Letter of the king to the Lord Deputy and Council. State Papers No. 370, vol. 3, p. 395.

[Extract relative to Morrogh O'Brien and his nephew Donogh] :—

“ Fifte, we be pleased that O'brien, cummeng in and doing his dewtie, shal be Erle of Thomonde, and that our goode servaunt Donogh O'brien shal be also create a Baron, by such name as you shall thinke expedient. But you must remembre, that the heire of the Erle of Thomond, from hensforth, must abide his tyme to be admitted as a membre of our Parlyament, till his father or parent shal be decessed, and to be only an hearer, standing barehed at the barre, beside the Cloth of Estate, as the young lordes doo here in our Realme of Englande.”

(L), page 184.

The king to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland. (State papers, No. 377, vol. 3, p. 418. Extract).

“ First ; you shal understande that we take in good parte the conformitie and obedyence of O'neyl, O'brien, and Donogh O'brien, with the reste attendant on our Parlyament; which if they shal contynew, and conforme themselves to the obedyence of our lawes, we shall contynue their good lorde, and encrease our favours towardes them ; like as if they shuld attempt the contrary, and abuse our clemency nowe shewed unto them, we, shal be enforced to considre them, as to our honor appertayneth.

Second ; we be content, at your humble sutes, to yeve unto O'brien the plate whiche he had of our rebell Thomas Fitzgerald ; trusting that he woll use himself herafter, as becommeth our true and faythefull subject, according to his dieutie of allegeaunce.

Third ; as touching Robert Walshe, we marvell you wolde not advise O'brien to staye his petition in that matyer ; which is of such sorte, as we purpose not to graunte, onles we sawe a further cause thenne we have yet perceyved. And if O'bryen mynde to contynewe as becommeth him, and as shal be for his wealthe and commoditie, he woll see him rendred to your

handes, if he can by anye meane attayne him ; wherin we wolde you shulde assaye him, as you shal thinke convenyent.

Fourth ; as concerning the petition of the said O'brien for a general pardon for him and all his countreye, we be pleased to graunte it. Nevertheless our pleasure is, to have it pass by bill, and not by Parlyament, and to take place with this condition, so as they shall use themselves herafre towards us like good and faythefull subgiettes."

(M) page 184.

The Lord Deputy and council of Ireland to King Henry the 8th. State Papers, No, 389. vol 3, p. 453.

"After our most humble and bounden dueties. It may please your Most Excellent Majestie to be advertised, that your highnes servaunte, Sir Donogh O'Bryen, according to his former promyse, repaireth at this instant, in company of his unkle the Lord O'Brien, to doo his dutie to your Majestie, and to recognyse his humble obedience to the same. And for that he ys a gentleman of a hardy coorage, and one that of long tyme hathe right faithefully servid your Highnes, we trusted that this his accesse unto your Majestie, with the sight of your Princely magnyfycence, and the savouring also of your most kyngly bountie, shal totally confyrme hym to good cyvilitie and ordor, whereunto he ys more given of his own inclynation. And where, by the submyssion of the same Brenys, it ys, by our consentes, on your Majesties behalf, agreid, (les the same Donnogh, after his honest service, should be excluded from the possibilitie of the seignorie of Thomonde, which he challengethe after the dethe of the said O'brien) that he shall succede the same Lorde in that dignytie ; we beseeche your Highnes as well to confyrme the same to hym accordingly, as by your gracious letters patentes to constitute hym a Baron, and grante hym and his heyres, all such lordships, landes, and tenementes as he hath at this present in Thomonde aforesaide, beyonde the water of the Shenan, in like sorte and forme, as by our other letters we were petitioners for the same Lorde O'brien. The saide Donogh ys a very towarde man, and muche willinge to gratifie your Highnes with his service, as any we have sene of the sorte of Irishmen, and hath behavid hymself accordingly.

Ther repaireth in his company, to visit your Majestie, one O'Shaghnes,

a goodly gentleman dwelling betwixte Thomonde and Connaught. We know no suete he hathe to your Majestie, but onely to see your Highnes, and to take his landes of your Grace, and be your subjecte, as he saithe.

And for bicause the same Sir Donogh shulde not be unaccompanied, he desyred to have your servaunte James Sherlocke in his company, to whom we have geven lycence according his said desire; which James can well speke the language to interprete the same to your Highnes. And thus we beseche Almighty God to preserve your moste Excellent Majestie in long and prosperous healthe. At your grace's Citie of Dublin, the 15th of May, the 35th yere of your Highnes most victorious Raigne,

(Signed) Ant. Sentleger; John Allen; James Ormd., and Ossor.; Edw. Miden; Gerald Aylmer justice; James Bathe, baron; Thos. Cusake, Mag. Rot.; Thos Houth, Justice; John Travers; Edw. Basnet, Dean.

(N) page 185.

Letter of the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to Henry the 8th. State Papers, No. 391, vol 3, p. 460 (Extract).

Fynally, for that ther ys no sterling money to be had within this your Realme, thies gentlemen, which nowe resorte to your Highnes, wer utterly dysfurnished of money to bryng them thither, I, your Majesties Deputie, lent O'brien an hundred pounds sterling, in harp grotes, in default of other money, whiche I have delyvered to your Tresorer, and Donogh O'brien hathe likewise delyvered to hym an hundred merkes sterling, to your Graces use; beseching your Majestie to be so good and gracious Lorde to them, as upon the sight of your sade Treasurers byll, testifieing the receipte of the sayde sommes, they may have therby your Majesties appoyntement; otherwise they be utterly disapoynted, nor other shifte coulde they have here. And thus we beseche Almighty God, &c. At your Graces citie of Dublin, the 15th of May, the 35th yere of your Highnes moste victorious Raigne.

Signed as the foregoing.

(O) page 185.

Creations of the Earls of Thomond, and Clanricarde, and of the Baron of Ibrickane, from the paper in the British Museum, Titus B. XI. leaf 388.

“Sunday the 1st day of July at the Kinges manour of Greenwich, in the 35th yere of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord King Henry the 8th, was the creation of two Earles and a Baron of Ireland, whose names were these: the first Moroghe O’Brien, created Earle of Tomond: the second William Burgh, created Earle of Clanrycard; the third Donoghe O’Brien, created Baron of Ybreckan, in the maner and fourme following:—

Firste, the Queenes closet at Greenwich was richly hanged with cloth of arras, and well strawed with rushes. And after the King’s Majestie was come into his closet to heare High Masse, these Earles and the Baron aforesayde, in company, went to the Queenes closet aforesaide, and there after sacring of high masse, put on their robes of estate; and ymediately after, the Kinges Majestie being under the cloth of estate, with all his noble counsell, with other noble persons of his realme, as well spirituall as temporall, to a great nomber, and the Ambassadors of Scotlande, the Earle of Glencairne, Sir Geo. Douglas, Sir Wm. Hamelton, Sir James Leyremonthe, and the Secretary of Scotlande, came in the Earle of Tomonde, lead between the Earle of Derby, and the Earle of Ormonde, the Viscount Lisle bearing before him his sworde, the hilt upwards, Gartier before him bearing his letters patentes; and so proceeded to the king’s majestie. And Gartier delivered the sayd letters patentes to the Lorde Chamberlayne, and the lorde chamberlayne delivered them to the great chamberlayne, and the lord great chamberlayne to the king’s majestie; who took them to Mr. Wrythesly, secretary, to read them openly. And when he came to “*cincturam gladii*,” the Viscount Lisle presented to the kinge the sworde; and the kinge gyrded the sword about the sayde Earl bawdrickwyse, the forsayde earl kneeling, and the lords standyng that lead him. And so the patent read out, the second earl being brought into the kyngs majesties presence by the two earles aforesayde, was created there, in everything according to the ceremony of the first earle. That done, came into the kinges presence the baron in his kirtell, lead betweene two barons, the lord Cobham and the lord Clinton, the lord Montjoye bearing before him his robe, Gartier before him bearing his letters patentes in manner aforesayde who then proceeded to the kinges majestie, and his highnes received the letters patentes in manner aforesaide and took them to Mr. Pagett, secretary, to read them openly. And when he came to “*investimus*,” he put on his robe. And so the patente read out, the kinges majestie put aboute every one of their neckes a cheine of gould with a crosse hangyng at yt,

and tooke them their letters patentes, and they gave thankes unto him. And there the kinges majestie made five of the men that came with them, knights. And so the earles and the baron, in order took their leave of the kinges highnes, and were conveyed bearing their letters patentes, in their handes, to the council chamber, underneath the kinges majesties chamber, appoynted for their dyning place, in order as hereafter followeth; the trumpetters blowing before them; the officers of armes; the earle of Tomond, lead between the earle of Derby and the viscount Lisle; the earle of Clann-rykard, lead between the earle of Ormonde and the lord Cobham; the baron Ybrackan, lead between the lord Clinton and the lord Montjoye, and thus brought to the dining place. After the seconde course, Gartier proclaymed theire stiles in manner followinge:—

Du Tres hault et Puissant Seigneur Moroghe O'Brien, conte de Tomond, seigneur de Insecoyne, du royaulme de Irelande.

Du Tres hault et Puissant Seigneur Guillaume Bourghe, conte de Clann-ryckard, Seigneur de Downkelleyne, du royaulme de Irelande.

Du noble Seigneur Donoghe O'Brien, Seigneur de Ybrackan, du Roy-aulme de Irelande.

The kinges majestie gave them their robes of estate and all things belonging thereto, and payd all manner of duties belonging to the same."

State Papers, vol 3, p. 473.

Extract from the king's letter to the Irish Council, touching M'Namara, Dermot O'Shaughnessy, and Denis Grady. State Papers, vol 3, p. 476.

"7th. We have made the lord of upper Ossory, Macnamarow, O'Shaghnes, and Denis Grady, knights, and will that by vertue and warrant hereof, you our Chancellor, with the advice of our deputy, Vice-Treasurer, Chief Justice and master of the Rolles, or the more part of them, besides yourself, in form aforesaid, shall make out unto the sayd Macnemarrow, O'Shaftnes, and Denis Grady, several patentes of al such landes as they now have in possession to them and to their heires masles lawfully begotten, willing you our deputy before the delivery of our letters patentes to cause them to subscribe like articles as the others have done, and to have special regard that they, ne any of them, suffer any displeasure nor damage hereafter for their submission, but that you ayde them and see the same revenged, as the cace shall require."

Note.—By a memorandum, O'Shaughnessy was to have a bishoprick or

some other spiritual dignity for his kinsman Malachy Donochoo, and the bishoprick of Kilmacduagh for his son William Shaftnes or O'Shaughnessy.

(P) page 186.

Letter of the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to Henry the eighth, forwarding the requests of Sioda Macnamara and Doctor Neylan :

May it please your moste excellent Majestie to be advertised that after the dispatche of the lord O'bryen, Fitzwilliam and others with letters to your Majestie, an Yrish capttayn, called Sheda M'Ne Marro, bordering upon the sayde O'brien's landes and lorde of Cloncullen in Thomond, requyred us to wryte likewise to your majestie in his behalffe, who wolde also repayre to doo his dutye to your highnesse, and to declare his humble obedyence to the same, with furder petition, that it might please your majestie not only to advance him to the honor of a baron, by name of Clancullen, but also that he may holde such landes and possessions as he now hathe, of your majestie by knight's service, to him and to his heires, with place in your parlyament accordingly. And for that the saide M'Nemarro ys a man whose auncestors have in those parties alwayes borne a grete swynge, and one that for himself is of honest conformitie, whose londes lye holy on the fursyde the Shenan, we most humbly beseech your majestie to regarde him according your princely bountie, and to be goode and gracious lord unto him in his said pursuites, which shall not only encorage him to persiste in his towarde proceedings, but likewise drive others, of his sorte, to acknowledge their dueties to your majestie, as shall appertayne.

Furder, it may please your highness to have like respect to the said O'Brien's servaunte, callid Doctor Nelan, who hathe moche travailled to induce the said O'brien to your majestie's obedyence. And where he made heretofore suete unto us for a housse of Observant Friers, callid Enys, sytuate beyonde the Shenan, within the precyncte of the same O'brien's countrey, not yet dissolvid ; we also moste humbly beseche your majestie, the rather for his sayde service, to extende your kingly bountye in his favours, and to be so good and gracious lorde unto him as to assure the sayde Friers with the appurtenances, after the suppression thereof, by your majesties gyfte to him, and to his heires ; which in our judgments, he hath well deservid. But what graunte soever your majestie make to any of that

sorte, yt may please your majestie to will a speciall proviso and condition to be inserted in your letters-patentes, that the same shall not be mente, taken, ne expounded to intitle any of them, or their heires to any landes or domynyon on this side the sayde water of the Shenan, but that it shall appear that they and their heires be excluded of any claime ther for ever. And so beseech Almyghtie God long to preserve your most excellent majestie in most felicitie. From your graces citie of Dublin, the 14th of May, the 35th yere of your majesties raigne.

Your majesties moste humble subjectes,

(Signed)—Antony Sentleger ; John Allen ; Jas. Ormd. and Ossor. ; Edward Miden ; John Travers ; Thos. Luttrell, *Justice* ; James Bathe, *Baron* ; Thos. Cusacke, *Mr. Rotul.* ; Thos. Houth, *Justice* ; Wm. Brabazon ; Edward Basnet, *Dean*.

(Q) page 211.

Letter of Queen Elizabeth in favour of Conor, earl of Thomond, to Sir Henry Sidney, 7th October, 1577 :—

Elizabeth Regina.

Right trusty and right well-beloved counsellor, we grete you well. And whereas our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin, Conoher, earl of Thomond, hath here of late made humble suit unto us, as well for our confirmation of all such letters-patents, as he either passed from the king, our father of famous memory, or famous dear brother king Edward the sixth, or from us, that might concern his father's creation or state of his earldom, or himself and his succession, or for assurance of any lands to him in possession, reversion or remainder, in which part he hath also besought us, that his son Donnoghe, now baron of Ibrackan, and brought up here in our court, might be nominated by us in the remainder of his earldom, although the same be not needful if he be his lawful and eldest son. We have, in consideration of the dutiful mind the said earl pretends to bear to us and our said service, not only consented that, for his better contentation, such a confirmation shall pass under our great seal of this our realm of England, including all the benefits of his other particularities concerning such petitions as he hath exhibited here to us and our council, wherein albeit we declare our opinion or disposition unto you upon

every of his said suits, yet we refer to your consideration the manner of our grants, to pass under our seale there, and to be limitted as you shall think convenient for our service and his reasonable relief. Further, where our said cousin hath desired, for the better maintenance of his state to have freedom from cesse on all his own lands within the county of Thomond, which he says are comprised in eight baronies, besides the barony of Ibreckan, and pretending an ancient freedom in the said whole barony of Ibreckan, desires the like in the rest, or at the least in some of the other baronies, and hath shewed forth here an exemption or freedom for certain plowlands, granted unto him from Sir William Drury, knight, now president in Munster, in certain of his baronies. We have thought good, for the respect before named, to agree that he should take, during his life, the freedom of the plowlands so set down by our president, with such commodetis in the same grant made by our said president, and in like manner the freedom of Ibreckan with like conditions, if it shall by you be thought meet ; and for the rest, do refer to you to be considered of as you shall think most convenient of, for the estate of the country and our service.

Secondly ; where the said earl pretends an antient government, by way of commandment, over the freeholders within Thomonde, especially in making of surnames, and after the decease of the chief of every name, to allow the next captain or successor, which he saies hath been heretofore beneficial and profitable to him and to his ancestors, that were captains of that country ; which custom he either prays may continue in him, or else for his relief (if the land be or shall be brought to an ordinary succession of inheritance, as were to be wished both there and in the rest of the Irishrie), that the wardships of their heires may be at his disposition, as his heir, by his tenure, ought to be ward unto us ; wherein as we could be contented, if you think it so good, that he had some such preheminance and profit in the meaner freeholders within his country, in nature of a relief, upon the death or charges of the tenants, forseying that certain choice persons be exempted, both because we find the discommodities in other parts of Munster, where principal men do depend upon such capital men as he is, and also because those principal freeholders in Thomond might not conceive discontentation by our grant of their tenures to the earl, but rather that they might be induced to surrender their lands, and have estates of inheritance again from us, so as they may hold some of our crown in capite, and some by knight's service ; so for these respects, and some

other inconveniencies that may perhaps appear unto you, to think such a large grant unmete, we have thought fit to commit the whole to your consideration, letting you notwithstanding to know, that unless you see the inconveniency very great, we would be content, in respect as well of the good opinion we have of his loyalty towards us, as of the meannesse of his estate and habilitie to maintaine the countenance of the degree whereunto he is called, without such helps, having no great quantity of land or rent to maintain his estate withal, that he should receive some such relief from the said freeholders, from whom his ancestors, when they were captains of that country, had, as we be informed, their whole maintenance from the said freeholders, as his poor estate might be thereby relieved, and yet our service not greatly hindered.

Thirdly ; he hath alleged, that great sums of money are due to him and to the inhabitants of Thomond by us, for cesses reased there by the several warrants of yourself, our late deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliams, Sir Edward Fytton, and Sir William Drury, during the several governments of you and them, which sums the inhabitants have substituted him to receive, as he saies, and offers to prove that great sums thereby are due to him and to his country, by the lack whereof he allegeth them to be greatly impoverished ; wherein, for that we cannot here allow any sufficient proof of the delivery of the cesses assigned to be paid, or of warrants or commandments of cesses to any great value, we have thought it convenient that you be informed by him hereof, and thereupon cause due inquiry to be made concerning the said cesses, how they have been levied, to whose hands they have come, and what defalcation hath been made upon the wages of such as have received these beofes and other cesses, to the end that the ordinary prices heretofore by prerogative answerable for the same, may be satisfied to the said earl, and to the people in his countrey, by such as ought to allow it upon their entertainments ; and in the meantime we have thought good to lend unto him the sum of £200, which sum, upon sufficient proofs to be produced by him, must be repaid unto us, either upon the entertainments of such as have received the said cesses, or, for lack of due proof, to be repaid by himself, which he has promised to do ; the manner whereof, and how it might most duly to be answered, we refer to your good opinion and order.

Fourthly ; he desires, that the customes of Clare and Clanrode may continue in him, as in his ancestors, which because, as we are informed, they be but certain small privileges, whereof the like are due to many

castles in Ireland, upon merchandizes of wine and ale brought from our port towns to those castles, we think it not amiss that the same be granted unto him, if you shall find it a matter of no more importance than by his information it appears unto us, and so as thereby our customs and imports due in these ports be not diminished.

Fifthly ; he desires that the bonnaght of the gallowglas that have been accustomably paid out of his own proper lands, may be reserved to himself, now that the gallowglas are discontinued as he informs us ; and because that we conceive that the bonnaght was a cesse of victuals reased universally upon the whole country of Thomond, for the wages of the gallowglas according to the number of the sparres, whereof part was reased upon the possessions now in the earl's hands, and part upon the lands of the freeholders, we are contented that so much of that bonnaght as hath been leviabie upon the earl's particular and proper lands shall be remitted to him, as in suspence whilst the service of that gallowglas shall cease, if you our deputy shall know no cause to the contrary.

Sixthly ; whereas it appears by the grant of the king our father of noble memory, king Henry VIII., that he (the earl) is possessed of the moiety of the abbey of Clare, he prays to have the other moiety also, yet in our hands, with the territories of Ince and Cohenny (Quin), the chantries of Termon-Shenin, Termon-Tolloughe, Termon-Mynough, and Termon-Skenoway, we are well pleased, that upon a survey to be made thereof by our surveyor of our said realm, he shall have an estate of all the said abbey lands, frieries, and chantries, to him and the heirs male of his body, reserving to us such a rent as by the survey shall be allotted, and that with as convenient speed as the said survey be made, and certified to you under the hand of our said office.

Lastly, he desires the island of Innescartts (Scattery), upon pretence that he would convert it to a Fyshetown ; nevertheless, because we suppose it to be within the river of Shenyn, and of some importance to the city of Limerick, we have thought good to be advertised therein, and therefore require to be informed from you touching the situation and importance of the place, with the quantity of ground and value to be letten ; upon which certificate we shall give him further answer. And for the rest of the articles do refer them to you, to make grants and estates to him under our great seal, either during his life or during pleasure, or to him and his heirs males of his body, in such sort as the former part of this our letter

hath directed you either absolutely or in discretion. For doing whereof this shall be sufficient warrant, as well to you, as to our chancellor or keeper of the great seal for the time being, for the sealing and delivering hereof. Given under our signet at our castle of Wyndsor, the 7th day of October, 1577, in the 19th year of our reign.

To our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor, Sir Henry Sydney, knight of our order, and deputy of our realm of Ireland, and to our trusty and right well-beloved William Gerard, Esq., our chancellor there, and to every other our officers and ministers there for the time being, to whom in this case it shall appertain.

(R) page 289.

Lord Inchiquin's Protestation at a Council of War on 6th May, 1648.

Ordered this day (*nemine contradicente*) that the ensuing protestation be tendered to all the officers of this army for their consents thereunto; and for the further satisfaction of the people therein, that the same with the preface thereto be read in all several churches of the several protestant garrisons in this province, by the respective ministers thereof, on the next sabbath day after the receipt of a copy hereof.

Whereas certaine officers of this army, of a long time filled with prejudicacy and disaffection of the publike service in compliance with such of our private adversaries in the kingdome of England, as laboured the obstructing of all reliefe to this miserable province, have taken occasion on a publike declaration, made in the head of this army at Mallo, of our real intentions and resolutions, to adde hereunto those obligations, which are upon us to the king and parliament of England, by our national oath, and to oppose and decline all persons acting contrary to our publike and solemne engagement; to misrepresent the cordiale passages and expressions of that declaration, in such a false and scandalous recitall thereof, as to those that understand not the candour of our resolutions, may seeme to carry off our contriving some designe inconsistent with our former principles and professions, labouring thereby to beget a dis-opinion of our proceedings, as savouring of defection from the parliament of England, or of propension to the Irish action; for the vindication of our integrity from which foule aspersion and for the undeceiving of all these good and well-

affected persons who desire a right understanding of all transactions, wee doe make this protestation without compulsion or mental reservation : that

We shall, according to our covenant, to the utmost of our power endeavour the establishment of the protestant religion, according to the best reformed churches, and to restore his majesty to his just rights, powers, and prerogatives, the parliament of England to their freedom, and subjects to their liberty. And because wee finde the power of England (or rather the independent party in England, now too prevalent) privately and publikely endeavoure to take off all the presbyterian party, both in that and this kingdome from their commands, as men not fit to be trusted, because faithful not factious, and for no other reason ; wee professe to oppose the saide party, and to adhere in all things to our declaration ; and to admit of no forces either from England or elsewhere without consent of the generall or major part of the superior officers of this army. And if any person shall be found amongst us who shall endeavour to reduce our souldiers, or refuse to joyne with us in this businesse, to proceede against him as anemie to the protestant party in this kingdome. Wee are further resolved to use all means possible to preserve the interest of England in this province. And although the designs of the independents have obtruded a necessity upon us (by refusing to send us necessary supplies,) to get our maintenance in this kingdome, yet wee shall never condescend to anything which shall not be consonant to a good conscience, our honour and former ingagements.

Ordered likewise, that whereas the army in this province, according to their duty, oaths, and former professions, have unanimously resolved to maintain the protestant religion, his majesty's rights, the freedome of the parliament, and liberty of subject ; it is ordered, that if any officer shall raise any dispute or discourse about the difference which hath been betwixt his majesty and the presbyterian party, the said officers shall be incapable of any office or command in the army. And if any officer shall fight about any such dispute, they and every of them shall for the same offence suffer death without mercy. And if any private souldier shall offende in this kind, he shall for the first offence pass the courtelope, and for the second suffer death. And if any person shall offend therein, he shall for the first offence pay five pounds, and for the second have his estate sequestered, and suffer imprisonment during the lord president's pleasure ; and that this order be published in the head of every regiment, and a copy thereof be fixed on the gates of the city.

(S) page 300.

Letters-patent of his Majesty Charles the 2d, bearing date at Cologne 21st October 1654, conferring the dignity of an earl on Morrogh, sixth baron of Inchiquin.

[TRANSLATION FROM THE LATIN.]

“Whereas it is consistent alike with our royal prerogative and with reason, to omit no convenient opportunity of conferring distinction on individuals of extraordinary merit and of exemplary loyalty and zeal for our service, those particularly, who in most difficult periods (in which men are best tried) have exhibited towards us proofs of fidelity and sincere dispositions, and in our cause have conducted themselves with courage and resolution : And whereas the valour and industry in the conduct of the war in Ireland, of Morrogh O'Brien, baron of Inchiquin, in the barony of Inchiquin, in the county of Clare, in our kingdom of Ireland, a nobleman of ancient family in that country, President of Munster in that kingdom, and a member of our Privy Council, was so well known to our father of blessed memory, and approved, that he had intended at the time to elevate him to the higher rank of an earl of that kingdom, which intention conveyed to him by the royal letter of our father, the said baron, out of modesty, has hitherto concealed : And whereas, since the demise of our very dear father, the said Morrogh O'Brien, baron of Inchiquin, has, in his country aforesaid, in the assertion and sustainment of our royal title and authority, rendered active and zealous service against the rebels alike of English and Irish extraction, by the frequent exposure of his life to danger, and by the loss of his entire fortune and estates : And whereas, although banished from his native country, he continues still to be animated towards us with the like zeal and disposition to our service, when occasion offers and his duty requires. Now, We being desirous to uphold the judgment of our father, as well as to afford a proof of our extreme good will, have decreed to exalt and invest the said Morrogh O'Brien, baron of Inchiquin, with the same dignity and title which it had been the intention of our royal father to have conferred on him : Know ye therefore, &c. Witness myself at Cologne, the 21st of October 1654, and the 6th year of our reign.”

(T) page 320.

Letters-patent of Charles the 2d, dated 11th July 1662, conferring the dignity of Viscount of Clare on Sir Daniel O'Brien of Moyarta and Carrigaholt.

“Whereas the ancient and illustrious family of the O'Briens, distinguished by certain and undoubted testimonies for its fealty and allegiance to us, has flourished for centuries past in this our kingdom of Ireland through a long line of distinguished ancestors, and has been so conspicuous for the splendour and renown of its race and blood that it yields to few. And whereas our faithful and beloved Daniel O'Brien of Carrigaholt, in our county of Clare, in our province of Munster, in our said kingdom of Ireland, knight, is descended of that aforesaid most honourable lineage, and by very many faithful and acceptable services heretofore rendered to us and to our crown, has proved himself a true heir to the virtues of that said most noble family of O'Brien, and by the opulence of his fortune and the extent of his estates, is able to bear, and can support and execute the duties of any office which may be committed to his charge in the most laudable and honourable manner. Now, WE, considering the worth of the said Daniel, and desirous of adding something to the honours already conferred by our progenitors on the said family, have of our royal munificence resolved to show him a mark of our royal favour, and to enrol him in the ranks of the heroes and peers of this kingdom by advancing him to the state and degree of a viscount of the same. Know ye therefore, &c.

(Translated from the roll of the 14th of Charles the 2d.)

(U) page 370

The following is the French report of the victory of Fontenoy, and is extracted from the periodicals of the year 1745 :—

ORDER OF BATTLE.

Mareschal Saxe drew up the army in the following order. The brigade

of Crillon was placed on the edge of a ravine that runs along the right end of the plain joining to Antoin.

We finished three redoubts and put into them the brigade of Bettens, Swiss.

The brigade of Dauphin remained in Fontenoy.

A first line of infantry was formed with the seven brigades called the King's, whose right was close to the same village.

The brigades of Aubeterre and of the guards had their left at the first redoubt made on the road of Mons.

The Irish brigade occupied the ground between that first redoubt and the second, their left lying close to the road of Guazin.

In the second line we brought up the brigades called Royal, Crown, Des Vaisseaux, and Normandy.

The regiment of Eu was posted in the two redoubts.

Behind this second line sixty squadrons were drawn up in two lines, from Antoin to the road of Mons.

Mareschal Saxe posted the household troops, the Gendarmerie and the Carabineers at the height of the second line, their right close to the road of Mons, and the left stretching into the plain to make a corps of reserve.

We had 110 pieces of cannon as well in the village and redoubts, as in the front of the line.

As the greatest part of the enemy appeared in sight, towards four in the afternoon, not above a quarter of a league from our camp, it was judged they had at last taken a resolution to attack us ; for which reason his Majesty remained in the field of battle till night ; but hearing the enemy could not yet begin the attack, a part of their cannon having stuck fast in their march, the troops remained under arms, the general officers at their posts, and his Majesty went to his quarters at Calonne.

The 11th the king got up before four in the morning, and mounted his horse at five, passed the Scheld, and stopped on this side Notre Dame de Bois, that he might see whether the enemy had made any movements.

The cannonade now began on both sides, and it was almost the first of the enemy's shot by which the Duke de Grammont had both his thighs shot off, of which he died in an hour afterwards.

The king immediately went into the field of battle, where he received an account that the enemy marched in three columns : the first composed of cavalry, by the road of Mons, along the road of Vezon ; the second,

composed of infantry, marched through the village of Vezon ; and the third, over the plain between Fontenoy and Antoin.

The three columns were very slow in forming themselves after their march, our cannon incommoding them extremely.

The cannonade lasted till nine o'clock, when they moved to attack us. They began by two successive attacks upon the village of Fontenoy, in both of which they were repulsed by Monsieur de la Vauguyon.

In the meantime the cavalry of their left wing made a motion to attack our right, but they had been so greatly annoyed all the morning by our cannon at Fontenoy and Antoin, and by a battery planted at the mill of Calonne on the left of the Scheld which flanked them, that on the first movement made by Monsieur d'Apscher with his cavalry to oppose them, they retired in great disorder.

They afterwards attempted to pierce through our line of infantry, in which they succeeded : for their infantry, who had formed themselves in a very strong line of battle, charged ; and at the second charge broke through the brigade of guards, who retired upon the Irish regiments of Clare and Rothe. Our cavalry, which advanced before them immediately, could not sustain the terrible fire made by that line of foot ; insomuch that, for more than an hour, they had a very remarkable and considerable advantage. Several of our squadrons rallied, but were again repulsed by the prodigious fire of the enemy's infantry.

To remedy this disorder, his Majesty caused the household troops to advance, followed by the infantry, who at their first disposition had been on the left, but were immediately replaced by those on Mount Trinity. To those troops were added some pieces of cannon, to play upon those of the enemy, the fire of which extremely annoyed the household troops.

This new disposition did not fail to produce the effect his Majesty hoped from it : for by this means their infantry were kept back, who had formed themselves into a kind of column or square battalion ; and it also gave time to the Irish brigades, and the brigades de Vaisseaux, to rally and form themselves afresh.

Now the six Irish regiments, sustained by those of Normandy and de Vaisseaux, being drawn up in one line, marched close up to the enemy without firing, and put them in confusion by their bayonets fixed at the end of their muskets, whilst the carabineers charged them in flank.

In short, our artillery, which we caused to fire incessantly upon this

English infantry, began to disorder them ; and the household troops charged them so briskly, that all the valour of the English commander was not able to hinder their being broken, and driven with a very considerable loss, quite off the field of battle, even as far as the little river of Vezon.

During this attack, the enemy returning on the side of Antoin, formed themselves into two lines, composed of infantry and cavalry, between the redoubts occupied by Bettens' and Crillon's brigades. And one of their battalions being close to the redoubt on the right, was so roughly handled by the artillery from these redoubts only, that they retired in great disorder, and abandoned all their artillery, which was taken by Crillon's brigade.

The second regiment of English guards, with whom the Irish regiment of Bulkeley was engaged, must certainly be almost entirely destroyed. The latter took from them a pair of colours, and two pieces of heavy cannon which were before their battalions.

This grand affair, during which the firmness and intrepidity of his majesty and Mons. le Dauphin excited the admiration of the whole army, was entirely decided towards two o'clock in the afternoon.

As the great fatigue of the day did not permit us to pursue the enemy in their retreat, particularly through ways that were broken up and ruined, and in which our cavalry would not have been able to make use of their advantage, the army of the allies retired to their camp in disorder, but left it in great confusion at eleven o'clock at night, and immediately marched to take refuge under the cannon of Aeth, where it is now actually encamped.

Upon the first account received by Mareschal Saxe of the enemy's retreat, he immediately sent after them the hussars and grassins, who fell upon their rere-guard, which was in frightful disorder, as well as the rest of their army, and brought off many of their wounded officers, whom they found in the houses on the road. In short, from the night of the 11th to the afternoon of the 12th, there was nothing to be seen but a procession of prisoners, some sound and others wounded.

The same day (the 12th) Mareschal Saxe also sent out after the enemy the Count d'Estrees with a thousand horse, eight companies of grenadiers, six hundred foot, and the grassins. This detachment proceeded with great diligence to Leuze, which the enemy had quitted in great haste at six o'clock in the morning.

During the march, the parties which the Count d'Estrees had sent out to the right and left, took fifteen hundred wounded or prisoners, one hun-

dred and fifty waggons belonging to the train of artillery, with some spare carriages and tackle.

The prisoners and wounded were sent away to Douay and Lisle. Sir James Campbell, lieutenant-general of the English troops, was found dead in the village of Baugoin.

We had about five hundred and twenty officers and four thousand men killed and wounded.

As for the allies their loss amounts to fifteen thousand men, killed, wounded, and deserters, which, together with the loss of all their field-pieces, whereof we took near fifty, must disable them from undertaking anything of consequence this campaign.

The Amsterdam Gazette of the 25th of May 1745, gives an authentic list of the loss of the allies at Fontenoy, as follows:—

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Dutch, .	505	702	205	1412
British, .	1339	2228	482	4049
Hanoverians,	515	1194	53	1762
	2359	4124	740	7223
Austrians killed, wounded, and missing, . . .				400
			Total,	7623

A letter from Paris contained the following remarks: "The French guards, according to their custom, broke and ran away on the first charge, leaving their officers behind in their posts, who were almost all knocked on the head. This provoked the king to such a degree, that he rode through a warm fire, to the battalion of the crown, and cried out to them, 'Fire, fire upon these scoundrels!' The king's household troops behaved gallantly, so did the Irish brigade, and both have suffered dreadfully."

(V) page 396.

Speech of Lucius O'Brien, Esq., in the House of Commons of Ireland, 11th November 1763, on moving for leave to bring in heads of a bill for making the Commissions of the Judges *quamdiu se bene gesserint*.

“Mr. Speaker,—The first and great object of all legislatures is the impartial administration of justice. Mankind were induced to make a surrender of their power to injure others, upon condition that the power of others to injure them should be restrained: for it was very soon discovered that every man is liable to suffer more by the unrestrained power of another exerted against him than he can enjoy by exerting his own power without restraint against another. This was the origin of civil government, and when from this motive, this common deposit of power was made in the hands of a magistrate, it could be with no other view than that he should exert it impartially for the common benefit; for so far as a magistrate is under any influence with respect to his decisions, or has anything to hope or fear in consequence of any act performed in his judicial capacity, so far the very end of his institution is defeated, and so far the power entrusted to him that it might operate only to good purposes, may be perverted to evil. The independence of judges, therefore, is one of the original and fundamental rights of mankind, but it is impossible in the nature of things that a judge should be independent, who holds his office only during the pleasure of another. He will then certainly have something to hope and something to fear, and his duty may sometimes be incompatible with his interest. When this happens, it would be absurd to suppose that the sense of duty will always predominate. To suppose that it will not is only to suppose that he who becomes a judge does not then cease to be a man, but that he is still subject to the same passions and infirmities that he was before, in common with all human beings. I will readily acknowledge that there never was a time when the dependency of judges was less likely to produce ill effects, not because judges have any new powers to resist temptation, but because they are less likely to be tempted. Our most amiable and gracious sovereign seems to found his happiness upon the true principles of virtue and justice, and the viceroy whom he has sent over hither, seems in every re-

spect, disposed to follow his example, and to be truly his representative. But from the vicissitude natural to every thing sublunary, and from the example of our sister country, I think it now proper to make a motion that leave be given to bring in heads of a bill for making the commissions of judges *quamdiu se bene gesserint*."

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously, but, as appears in the text, means were found to delay this, as it was by the court party considered, innovation, or invasion of the prerogative, until the æra of parliamentary independence in 1782.

Another speech delivered on the 23rd January, 1764, by Sir Lucius O'Brien, deserves to be here quoted. It was on the occasion of a motion by Sir William Osborne for an order of the House of Commons to be issued to the registrars of the various dioceses throughout the kingdom, to have returns of the names of the *non-resident* clergy in the several parishes made to the House. The clergy had been, through the operation of the law against the tithe of agistment, thrown for support on the tillers of the land, who, themselves, debarred from the possession of any permanent or abiding interest in the land, had no encouragement to embark to any great extent in agriculture. To procure a subsistence, the clergy were obliged to resort to rigorous measures against the agriculturists. Hence the anti-tithe agitation of that day—the parent and precursor of that which distinguished our own times, and led of necessity to the tithe commutation act.

Speech of Lucius O'Brien, Esq., M.P. for Ennis, on the 23rd January, 1764, on the motion of Sir William Osborne for a return of the names of non-resident incumbents.

"Mr. Speaker,—It is impossible for me to sit silent when I hear any method proposed to enforce the residence of the clergy of the established church, for I have frequently, from the bottom of my heart, lamented the deplorable condition of the inhabitants of the county in which I live, arising from the total neglect of those who have nominally the care of their souls, and actually a tithe of their property. I live, sir, in the county of Clare, which is one of the largest in Ireland and extremely well peopled. In that county, sir, there are no less than seventy-six parishes, and no more than fourteen

churches, so that sixty-two parishes of the seventy-six are sinecures. This surely, if religion be anything more than a name, is such a neglect, not of the temporary, but the eternal interests of mankind, as should make those to whose care they are committed, look inward with shame and horror. But could it be believed, sir, that when the number of churches is so small, in proportion to the number of parishes, the rectors of most of them are non-resident, nor is there so much as a curate of forty pounds a year to supply their place. Yet such is the fact, and so much greater regard have the clergy to the tithes than to the souls of their parish. I will venture to say, sir, that for every resident clergyman in the county of Clare, there are thirty thousand acres of ground, and at least five thousand souls. So that the inhabitants of many parishes must either live in the total neglect of all religious duties, or they must have recourse to popish priests. The priest, sir, must marry those who would enter into the nuptial contract, the priest must baptize the children, and the priest must bury their dead; or they must cohabit like savages in the unenlightened recesses of Africa, the child must be considered a mere denizen of nature, under no covenant with God, and the dead must be deposited in the earth, without any memorial of a resurrection. I am almost ashamed to observe that this is bad policy, because it is pregnant with mischiefs so much greater than bad policy can incur. To regret the non-residence of our clergy upon mere political principles, would be like the sailor, who, when his comrade lost his head, as he was drinking, regretted the can of flip that was carried away with it. And yet, sir, as there is too much reason to suppose that the mere political mischief is all that some persons regard, I may be excused for observing that the priest who is always watchful in proportion as we are negligent, never fails to improve the influence that he gains by attending the bed of sickness, and of death, to make proselytes to his church. I need not show the political disadvantages that arise to this country from the number of papists among us. It is necessary to lay the papist under some restraints from which the protestant is free, and it is impossible for a country to flourish in which all the inhabitants are not admitted to immunities and privileges which equally encourage industry, and unite individuals in a common interest. The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light, and it is a pity that in this great article we give no other evidence of our being the children of light, than that we are less wise than others whom we suppose to be the children of the world. One of the bad con-

sequences of this shameful neglect of our clergy, is, those risings that have been mentioned to the violation of all law, and the disgrace of all government. For, who can suppose that men will patiently suffer the extortion of a tithe-monger where no duty for which the tithe is claimed has been performed in the memory of man? How can we persuade ourselves that such a demand can ever be thought legal? how can we expect it should be paid? I know not, indeed, how far the legality can be proved, for it was certainly never intended either by the laws of God or man, that a mere nominal clergy should be paid the tenth part of our property for doing nothing. It has been said that to prevent an opposition to such demands we should put in force our penal laws against those that have opposed them already. But give me leave to say, sir, that no penal law, however sanguinary in itself, and however rigorously executed, will subdue the natives of a free country into a tame and patient acquiescence in what must appear to be the most flagitious injustice and the most cruel oppression. The insurrections against which we are so eager to call out the terrors of the law, are no more than branches, of which the shameful negligence of our clergy, and the defects in our religious institutions, constitute the root; and I am firmly of opinion, that nothing is more essentially necessary to the support of the religion and laws of our country, and the morals of its inhabitants, than the residence of the clergy, distributed in sufficient numbers all over the kingdom. I shall, therefore, most heartily give my vote for the motion.

(W) page 428.

Resolutions of the County of Clare for a free Parliament.

At a general meeting of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Clare, convened by the high sheriff at Ennis, April the 6th, 1782, pursuant to public notice; Poole Hickman, Esq., high sheriff, in the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

1. That it appears to us to be absolutely necessary to declare, that no power on earth has any right to make laws to bind this kingdom, save the king, lords, and commons of Ireland.

2. That a claim of any body of men, other than the king, lords, and

commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

3. That it is at this time absolutely necessary, that the Irish parliament should enact a law declaratory of their sole and exclusive right to make laws to bind Ireland.

4. That the powers exercised by the privy councils of both kingdoms, under, or under colour of, the law of Poynings, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

5. That we are determined to render the English claim of legislation in Ireland ineffectual, by every constitutional resistance.

6. That a mutiny bill not limited in point of duration, is unconstitutional and a grievance.

7. That the ports of this country are by right open to all foreign countries, not at war with our sovereign, and that any restriction on our trade, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, is illegal, unconstitutional, and a grievance.

8. That the independence of judges is essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland, and that the refusal or delay of this right, may excite jealousy and discontent, and is a grievance.

9. That the thanks of this meeting are due to those wise and virtuous men, who so firmly demanded, and so strenuously contended for declarations of our rights, and redress of our grievances.

10. That to postpone or delay such declarations of our rights, and complete and satisfactory redress of our grievances, is, in effect, to deny the rights, and to deny them is basely to betray them.

11. That it is our unalterable determination to seek a redress of these grievances ; and we pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men of honour, that we will at every ensuing election for our county, support those only who will support us therein ; and that we will use all constitutional means to make such, our pursuit of redress, speedy and effectual.

12. That our representatives in parliament, Sir Lucius O'Brien, Bart., and Edward Fitzgerald, Esq., have fulfilled the trust reposed in them, and deserve the warmest approbation of their conduct, which is peculiarly praiseworthy and disinterested, at a time when venality and corruption influence so many members of parliament, and constitutes the ministerial system of government in this country.

13. That the thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy high sheriff, for his ready compliance with the request made to him for convening the county, and for his impartial conduct in the chair.

14. That these resolutions be signed by the chairman, and printed in the Dublin Evening Post, and in the Clare and Munster Journal.

(Signed) POOLE HICKMAN, High Sheriff and Chairman.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE of the several Branches of the O'BRIENS, from the Irish Annals.

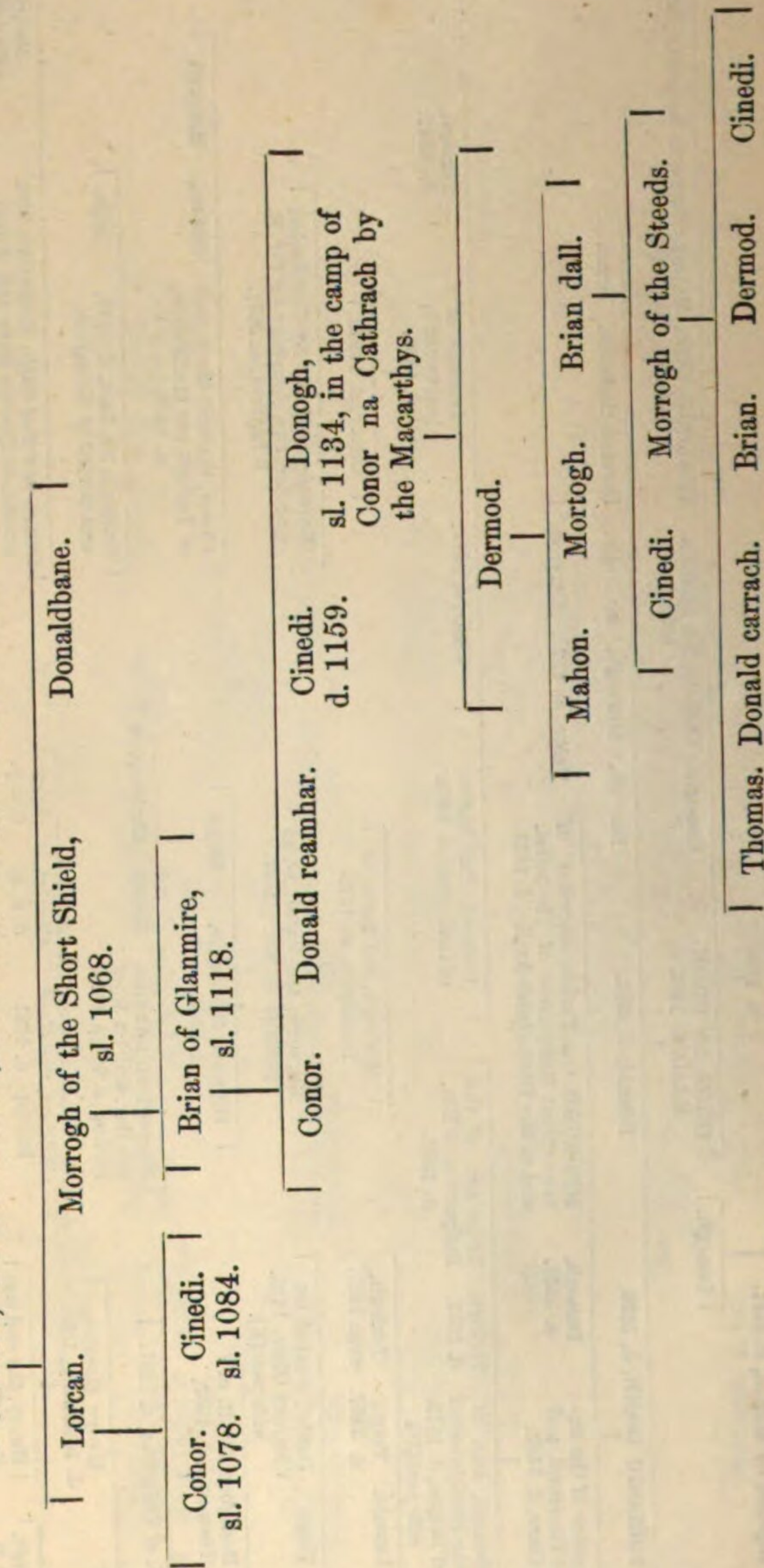
BRIAN BOROIMHE, Monarch of Ireland, A.D. 1002.

Morrogh, sl. at Clontarf, 1014.	Conor.	Flan.	Teige, murdered, 1023.	Donald, d. 1010.	DONOGH, d. at Rome, 1064. <i>vide post (A)</i>
Torlogh, sl. at Clontarf, 1014.			TORLOGH, d. 1086.		
Teige, d. 1086.			MORTOGHMORE, died 1119.	Dermot, d. 1118.	Donald, d. 1103.
Morrogh, sl. 1110.	Donald, regent of Man, sl. 1115.	Donald Gear- lamhach, king of the Danes of Dublin, resigd. 1118, d. 1135.	Mahon, a quo M'Mahons.	Cinedi oghar.	CONOR NA CATHRACH, d. 1142.
					Teige gle, d. 1164.
					Dermot Fion. Donogh, Bp. of Killaloe, d. 1164.
					Dermot, d. 1175, blinded by Donaldmore.
Conor, blinded by Torlogh, 1158.	Lughaidh, sl. at Moinmor, 1151.		Mortogh, sl. at Moinmor, 1151.	Mortogh, sl. 1168.	DONALDMORE, d. 1194.
					Brian an tsleive. Dermot.
					Constantine, or Con- sadin, a quo Consi- dines, Bp. of Killaloe, d. 1194.
			Conor, sl. 1168.	Donogh, sl. 1194.	Mortogh Cair- Fionn.
					Donald Connachtach. Boirneach.
					Conor.
					Dermot Fionn.
					Brian
					Boirneach.
					Donogh, Bp. of Killaloe, d. 1164.
					Teige gle, d. 1164.
					Dermot, d. 1175, blinded by Donaldmore.
					CONOR NA SIUDAIN, sl. 1268, at the wood of Siudan, in Burren.
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(A)

Descendants of DONOGH, youngest son of Brian Borimhe.

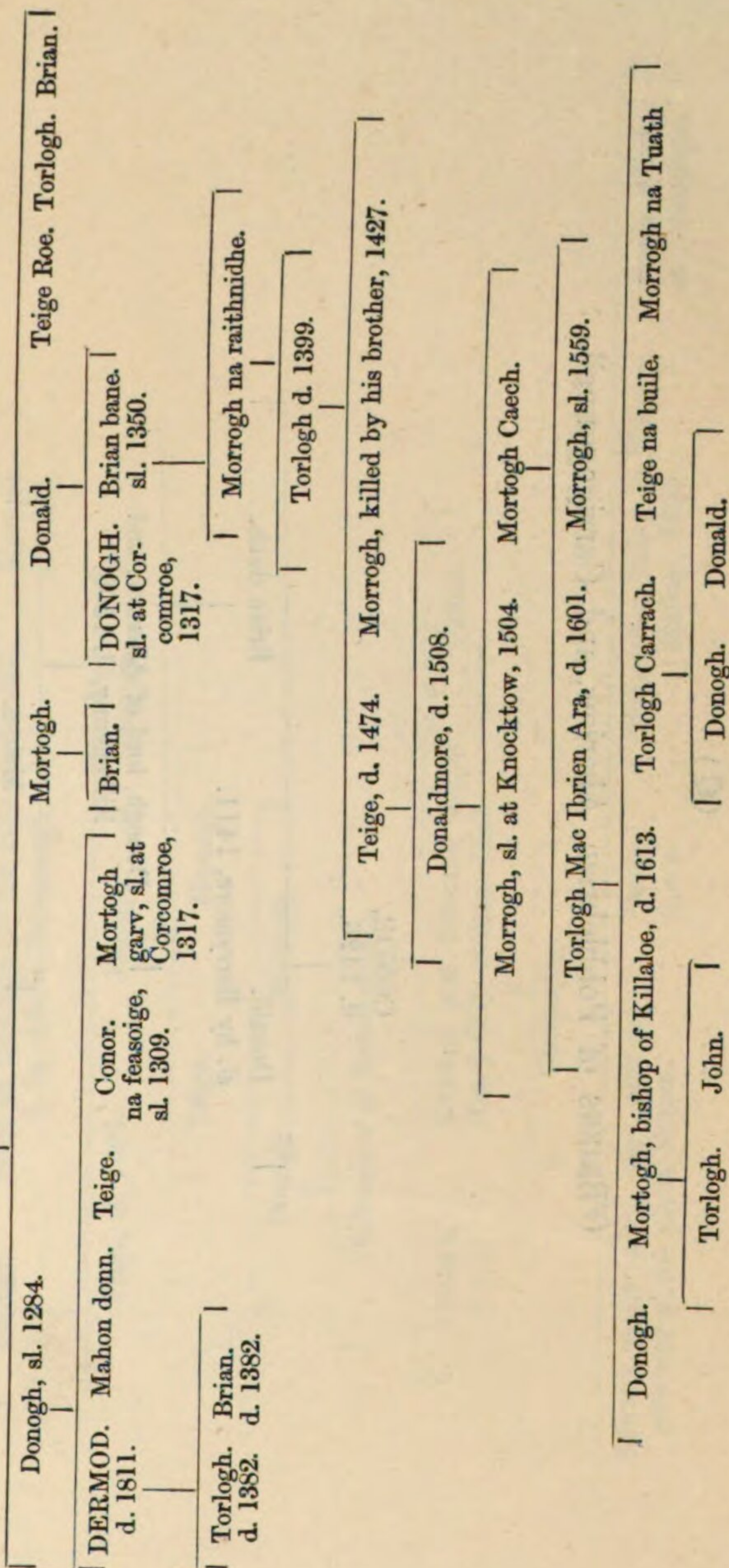
DONOGH, d. at Rome 1064, ancestor of the Oguanach O'Briens.



(B)

Descendants of BRIAN ROE, murdered by De Clare, at Bunratty, 1277.

BRIAN ROE, ancestor of the Mac I-brien Ara.



(C)

O'BRIENS of Pobblebrien, Aherlow, and Carrigogunnell.

CONOR,
d. 1426.Donald.
sl. by Barrymore, 1411.

Brian dubh.

Donogh, lord of Aherlow, and
Kilbehenny, d. 1502.

Mahon.

Mortogh.

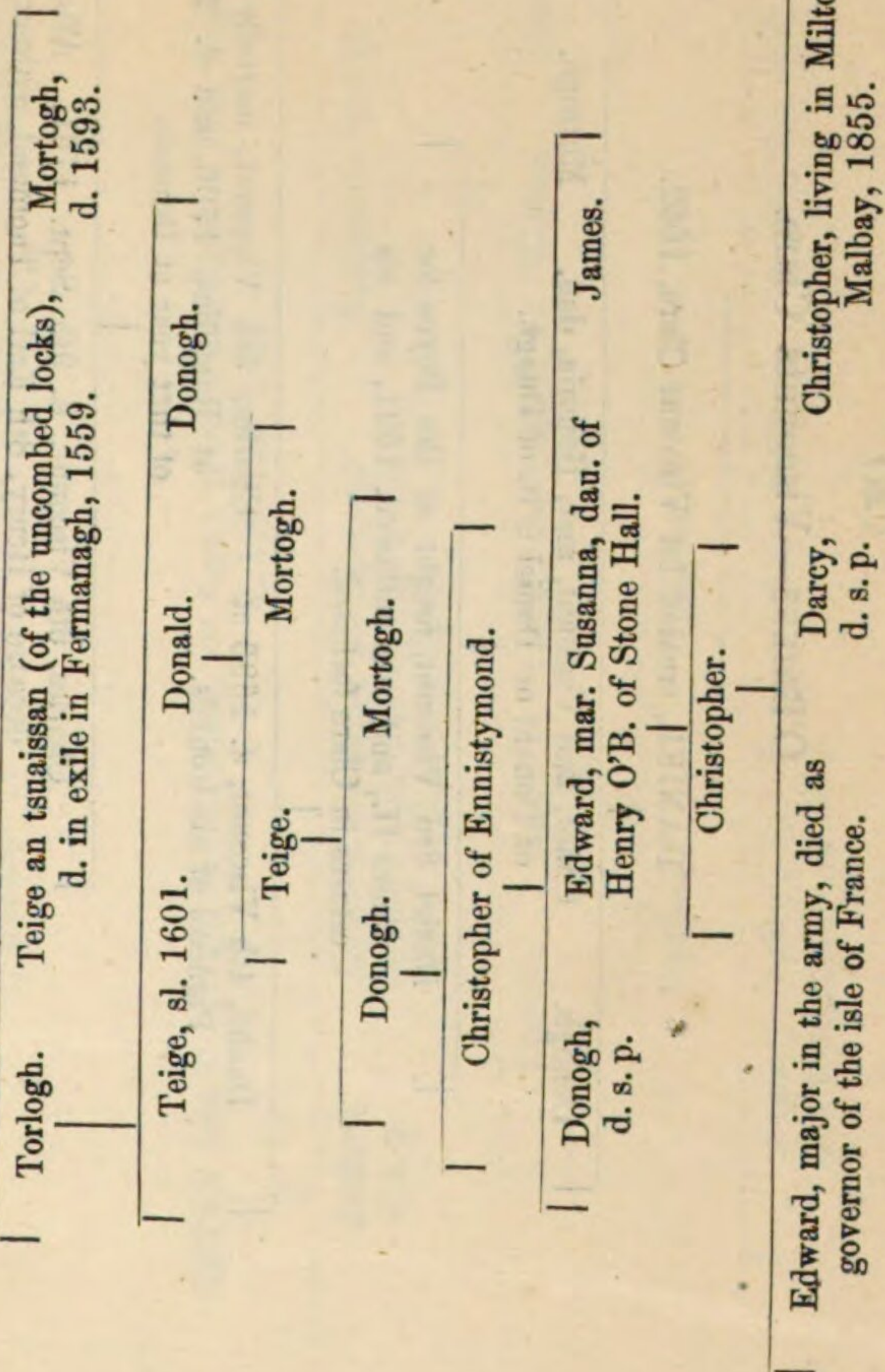
Brian dubh.

Morrogh, beheaded by Sir William Drury
in Limerick, anno 1577.

(D)

ENNISTYMOND O'BRIENS.

DONALD, d. 1579.



(E)

O'BRIENS—Viscounts Clare.

DANIEL, created 1st Viscount Clare, 1662.

Donogh.	Conor, 2nd Viscount, mar. Honoria, dau. of Donald or Daniel O'B. of Duagh.	Morrogh.	Teige.
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Daniel, 3rd Viscount, fought at the Boyne for James II., and was outlawed, 1691, and his estates in Clare forfeited.

Daniel, 4th Viscount, d. 1693 at Pignerol of his wounds.	Charles, 5th Viscount, mortally wounded at Ramillies, 1706, and d. 23rd May of that year at Brussels.
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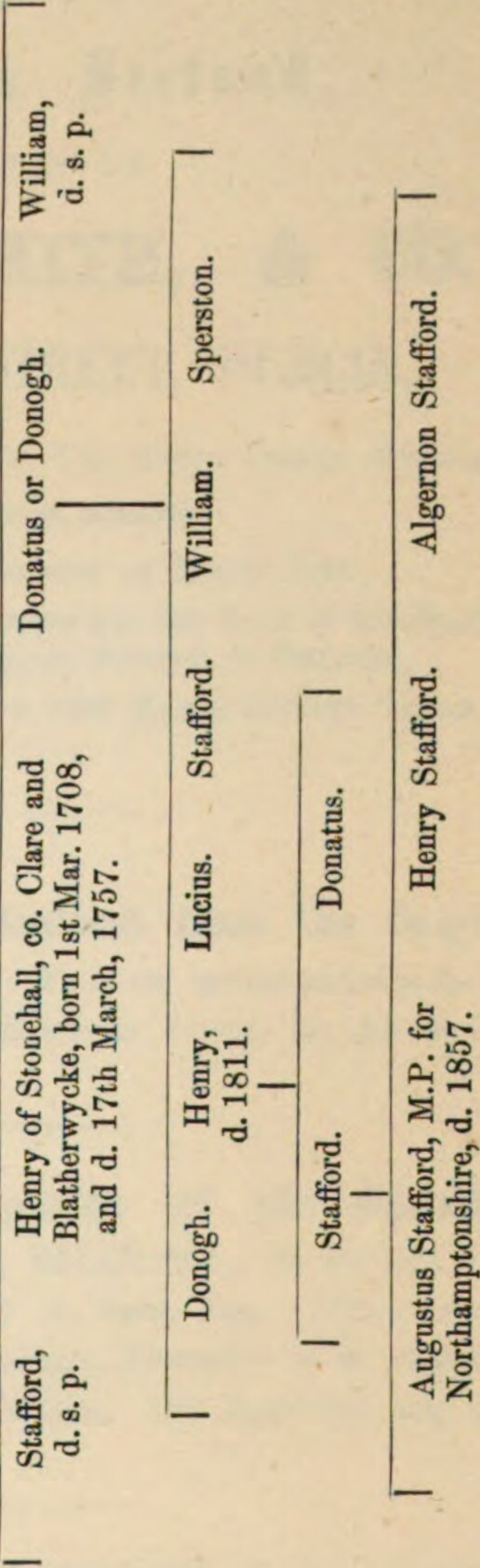
Charles, 6th Viscount, d. 9th Sept. 1761. After the decease of Henry, 8th Earl of Thomond, without issue, he claimed to be 9th Earl of that title as next heir.

Charles, 7th Viscount, acknowledged on the Continent as 10th Earl of Thomond. He died, without leaving male issue, in Paris, 29th December, 1774, when the Earldom of Thomond and Viscounty of Clare became extinct.

(F)

O'BRIENS of Blatherwycke, County of Northampton.

HENRY (son of Donogh, of Dromoland, 1st Bart.), married co-heiress of Wm. Stafford, of Blatherwycke.
d. 15th Jan. 1723.



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WITH COPIOUS EXPLANATORY NOTES, AND AN INDEX OF NAMES, PLACES,
AND EVENTS.

BY

JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL.D. M.R.I.A.

—o—

PROSPECTUS OF THE WORK.

THERE are few countries in which events of greater interest for the historian have taken place, or in which matters of greater curiosity for the man of general learning have left their traces, than in Ireland. Long after the other Celtic nations had adopted new forms of Roman and feudal civilization, Ireland retained the peculiar institutions and manners of the primitive European family; and, rude and imperfect as these unquestionably were, in comparison with those of the neighbouring nations, they must be admitted to have exercised a material influence on the progress of events in some of the most stirring periods of modern history. Even to the present day, peculiarities of thought and feeling, originating in the same source, continue in active operation among the mass of the Irish population, with which it is as desirable for the practical statesman or legislator, as for the philosophic historian, or speculative moralist, to be

acquainted. Nevertheless, it still remains a singular but just reproach to the learned in these countries, "that the history of Ireland has yet to be written." It is true, from the time of Camden to the present day, a succession of writers of ability have dealt with the subject, and each appears to have exhausted the materials to which he had access; but these materials, having been drawn from sources so widely apart, and from authorities of a style and genius so dissimilar, have never been accessible to any individual writer, in the abundance or in the proportion requisite for just and comprehensive views. Until lately, Irish scholars, acquainted with the places of deposit, and competent to the translation of the native Annals, have been careless of consulting, or unable to obtain access to, official records; while those to whom the sources of official information have been open, either disregarded the aid, or were ignorant of the existence, of the other class of authorities. Hence, the reader of our principal Irish histories finds, on the one hand, a purely English version of events, as in Hollingshed or Cox; or, on the other, an equally partial Irish story, as in O'Sullivan or Keating. From these discordant authorities later writers have compiled general histories, possessing, indeed, the merit of impartiality, but from which the reader of the older standard works collects no new facts, and can, consequently, form no more vivid acquaintance with the past than he already possesses. In fact, until the very recent exertions of the Irish Archæological Society, it might fairly have been said that, since the publication of Sir Richard Cox's "*Hibernia Anglicana*," there had been no addition made to the materials of mediæval Irish history, with the single exception of the splendid collection of Irish Annals translated into Latin by Dr. Charles O'Connor, and given to the world by the munificence of the late Duke of Buckingham, under the title of "*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*."

Of the Annalists, and of the manuscript usually called "The Annals of the Four Masters," from which the present publication is translated and compiled, it seems proper to give a very short account; also to touch upon the circumstance attending the execution of the work, which has so permanently associated the names of the O'Clery family with the history of their country.

The O'Clerys, in common with their patrons, lost their castle and estates at the time of the plantation of Ulster; and their last and greatest professional work was executed in the temporary shelter of the monastery of

Donegal ; under the auspices of Fergal O'Gara, styled Lord of Coolavin, and at that time one of the members of the Irish Parliament for the county of Sligo, who became their protector on their final dispossession, in A.D. 1632. The family at this time consisted of Teige of the Mountain, otherwise known as Brother Michael, Cucogry, or Peregrine, and Conary. Supported by the liberality of this truly noble patron of his country's literature, and assisted by several other professional historians, of whom Cucogry, or Peregrine O'Duigenan, is reckoned as the "fourth Master," the O'Clerys commenced the compilation of these Annals on the 22nd of January, 1632, and completed their task on the 18th of August, 1636. The authorities collated and abstracted into this compilation are enumerated in the *testimonium* prefixed to the Annals, and given under the hands of the guardian and brotherhood of the monastery ; and the motives which led to the undertaking are set forth with equal simplicity and dignity, in the Dedication to O'Gara :—

"In every country enlightened by civilization, and confirmed therein, through a succession of ages, it has been customary to record the events produced by time. For sundry reasons, nothing was deemed more profitable or honourable than to peruse and study the works of ancient writers, who gave a faithful account of the great men who figured on the stage of life in preceding ages, that posterity might be informed how their forefathers employed their time, how long they continued in power, and how they have finished their days. I, Michael O'Clery, have waited on you, noble Fergal O'Garr, as I was well acquainted with your zeal for the glory of God, and the credit of your country. I perceive the anxiety you suffer from the cloud which at present hangs over our ancient Milesian race ; a state of things which has occasioned the ignorance of many relative to the lives of the holy men, who, in former times, have been the ornaments of our island ; the general ignorance also of our civil history, and of the monarchs, provincial kings, lords, and chieftains, who flourished in this country through a succession of ages ; with equal want of knowledge in the synchronism necessary for throwing light on the transactions of each. In your uneasiness on this subject, I have informed you that I entertained hopes of joining to my own labours the assistance of the antiquaries I held most in esteem, for compiling a body of Annals, wherein those matters should be digested under their proper heads ; judging that should such a compilation be neglected at present, or consigned to a future time, a risk might be run that the materials for it should never again be brought together. In this idea, I have, at considerable difficulty, collected the most authentic Annals I could find in my travels through this kingdom. Such as I have obtained are arranged in a continued series ; and I commit them to the world under your name, noble O'Gara, who

stood forward in patronising this undertaking ; you it was who set the antiquarians at work; and most liberally paid them for their labour in arranging and transcribing the documents before them in the convent of Donagall, where the Fathers of that house supplied them with the necessary refreshments. In truth, every benefit derivable from our labours is due to your protection and bounty. O'Fergall, son of Teig, son of Oileall, son of Dermot," &c.—

and so concludes by reciting his patron's pedigree up to his great ancestor, Oilioll Olum.

The compilation of Annals among the native Irish was usually entrusted to the hereditary historians of particular families, liberally endowed for that purpose. Thus we owe, among others, the Book of Lecan (now deposited in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, and deemed of such value by King James the Second, that he carried it with him in his flight to France) to the liberality of the O'Dowds, by whom the family of the MacFirbises were supported as the hereditary annalists of Hy-Fiachrach ; and thus the O'Clerys, the immediate progenitors of the Four Masters, were in like manner the annalists and historians of the sept of O'Donnell. And as the MacFirbises were supported in sufficient dignity to maintain a castle at Lecan, in Tirerogh, so the O'Clerys, by the bounty of their patrons, were enabled to support an equal rank at their Castle of Kilbarron, the ruins of which are still standing on a rock overhanging the Atlantic, at a little distance north from Ballyshannon.

Of the work produced by the Four Masters there appear to have been four transcripts, all of which, in whole or in part, have come down to the present day. The fourth copy, which seems to have been executed for the use of the O'Clerys themselves, and contains the original Dedication and *Testimonium*, in the proper handwriting of the several parties, is now deposited in the Royal Irish Academy.

The copies have been collated, and from them the translation now published has been made, by John O'Donovan, LL.D., who has also added copious Notes, identifying the ancient and modern topography, and otherwise explanatory and illustrative of the text. The distinguished position now occupied by Dr. O'Donovan, in connexion with the Irish Archæological Society, and his numerous and important contributions to Irish history, topography, and antiquities, through other channels, will be sufficient vouchers to those acquainted with the actual state of literature in Ireland for the faithfulness and correctness of the work. With the translation and

notes the original text is given in the Irish character, as in the specimen pages enclosed in this Prospectus. To those desirous of forming an acquaintance with the Irish language, as used by learned and accomplished writers, while it was still a national dialect, the work will serve as a textbook which may be referred to with confidence as a standard of grammatical and orthographical purity.

The Publishers feel confident that the publication of this great historical work will be hailed with much satisfaction by men of learning at home and abroad, who will thereby be put in possession of the actual text of some of the most ancient chronicles of Western Europe, and from which a judgment may be formed not only of the social state, but also of the taste and genius of a people so long separated from the other branches of the European family, and who preserved the characteristics of their Celtic origin so long after the total obliteration of all such vestiges from the institutions and the literature of the surrounding nations. The coming of the various tribes by whom Ireland was first colonized, the introduction of Christianity, and the series of native kings, are all subjects of much curiosity and importance, and have been treated by Dr. O'Donovan with a strict regard to the rules of historic evidence, which cannot but be very acceptable to those who have so often been repelled from the study of Irish antiquities by the unwarranted assumptions of speculative writers. The addition made to our knowledge of ancient topography, in this division of the work, is very large and important, as fixing the sites and modern names of almost all the places of earliest note in Ireland.

The style of the Annals possesses, with a touching simplicity, a singular distinctness of narration, united with a very high degree of historic candour. As supplying the deficiencies of printed authorities, the work may justly claim a place in the library of the historical investigator; and as affording a new insight into the habits of thought and feeling of a large section of the most powerful nation in the world, it is not perhaps too much to expect that it should also attract the attention of the philosophic legislator and statesman at home, as well as of men of learning generally throughout the republic of letters.

The Index will recall to the minds of scholars those great monuments of accurate and patient industry which afford the key to such collections as the *Anglica Sacra* of Wharton, or the *Acta Sanctorum* of Colgan, since whose time no similar work approaching the present in copiousness or use-

fulness has been attempted in the United Kingdom. It consists of an *Index* of Names of Persons, and an *Index* of Places. The first contains a reference to every proper name mentioned in the text, and to every recurrence of it, and includes upwards of 16,000 headings. The Index of Places affords the additional convenience of having the modern name of each locality printed after the ancient; and it is no mean guarantee of the Editor's topographical skill that, out of upwards of 6,000 names of places, only about 100 have escaped his powers of identification. These appendages, which are also so arranged as to form a chronological key to the work, will prove invaluable aids in the investigation of local and family histories.

Considerable expense and trouble have been incurred in selecting models for the Irish Type, from the best written and most valuable of the early Irish Manuscripts. The Publishers are happy to say that their selection has met with the full approbation of all persons capable of forming a judgment on the subject; and has been adopted by the Royal Irish Academy, and the Irish Archæological Society.

Critical notices from *The Quarterly Review*, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and *The Dublin University Magazine*, will be found annexed.

HODGES, SMITH, AND CO.,

104, Grafton-street, Dublin.

May, 1860.

(From the QUARTERLY REVIEW.)

“That the history of Great Britain must remain incomplete and defective until the ancient literary monuments of the Kingdom of Ireland, which now forms an integral portion of the British Empire, have been fully investigated, is a truth requiring but little demonstration. An acquaintance with the annals of the countries whose relations with England have materially influenced her destinies is indispensable to the inquirer who desires to trace the origin of many of the most important events of European history. The misrepresentations of writers who have hitherto compiled “Histories of Ireland” are sufficiently apparent to students even superficially conversant

with our original records. To palliate one-sided statements, and to conceal their ignorance, those self-styled historians have in general asserted that no native materials existed to relieve the dulness of their arid productions. An inspection of our manuscript collections, and an acquaintance with the documents published within the last ten years of our literary societies, will fully disprove this gratuitous falsehood, and demonstrate that Ireland possesses ancient historical monuments of a more varied and authentic character than any other nation of northern Europe. The numbers and copiousness of the Hiberno-Celtic documents which have come down to us are accounted for by the fact, that one of the most stringently enforced of the ancient Celtic laws of Ireland was that which obliged every clan to preserve its history and records. To carry this peculiar ordinance into effect, each sept maintained a family of hereditary historians, by whom all particulars connected with the transactions of the clan were committed to writing. The books compiled by those chroniclers became of the greatest importance, as, under the clan system of government, every individual, in order to establish his claim to a portion of the general possessions of the tribe, was obliged to prove his consanguinity with the chief families of the district. In addition to the history and genealogies of the clans, these records contained precise definitions of the extent and boundaries of their territories, and a careful statement of the amount of tribute due to, or to be paid by, the various septs: thus forming, as it were, the characters of the Irish tribes, by an appeal to which all questions of right and precedence were finally adjusted. The historians, or *ollavs*, to whom the care of these documents was entrusted, formed a peculiar and privileged class, maintained in a degree of considerable splendour, at the general expense, and enjoying many profitable distinctions and immunities. As the disunited Irish clans sank before the concentrated force brought against them, and as the power of England gradually extended in the country, it became the policy of the more unenlightened and shortsighted of the successful party to endeavour to obliterate every trace of the former state and ancient Celtic institutions of the kingdom. Hence, the old historical volumes, written in the Irish language, were industriously sought out and systematically destroyed. On the other hand, the representatives of the ancient possessors of the soil laboured strenuously to preserve the venerable documents, which contained, as it were, their title deeds and the history of their fathers. Numbers of these manuscripts were constantly carried by the expatriated Irish to foreign

lands, and many were secreted in Ireland, until the arrival of the time when it was expected that the strange colonists should be expelled, and the descendants of the old proprietors reinstated in the possessions wrested from their ancestors. Early in the seventeenth century, the contest in Ireland, of more than four hundred years, was finally decided. The last strongholds of the native clans came into the possession of foreign settlers, the ancient institutions and most cherished customs of the old inhabitants were proscribed under heavy penalties, and the Irish Celts and descendants of the Anglo-Norman invaders began to find themselves strangers and outlaws in the land of their fathers.

“Now, however, when, after the lapse of centuries, human society has been set on an entirely new basis, and the fierce passions, which agitated the men of Europe in former ages, exist but in the records of the past; when the bloods of once inimical races have become inseparably commingled, during the successive generations which have passed away on the Irish soil—once the great object of contention—the philosophic mind desires to inquire into the origin and progress of the events which have combined to produce the condition in which we find this island at present placed.

“The records, moreover, of a peculiar branch of the great Celtic family, which, although at present widely scattered, and intermixed with the various races of both hemispheres, still continues to retain and forcibly exhibit many of its original and characteristic attributes, and whence has sprung a vast proportion of men, world-famous for their proficiency in every branch of human knowledge and science, cannot fail to possess attractions for the student of the history of mankind.

“The ‘Four Masters,’ in their Annals, fortunately for us, transcribed verbatim the passages of the original and contemporaneous records; their work thus becomes of the utmost value to the philologist, in tracing the language at its various stages. This, however, formed one of the chief difficulties of the Editor, as many of the more ancient entries are written in a dialect so long obsolete, and totally incomprehensible to scholars perfectly conversant with modern Gaelic, that the learned Dr. O’Conor was, in many instances, obliged to leave words and even whole lines untranslated. It is a proud testimony of Dr. O’Donovan’s proficiency in our ancient dialects, that no passage, however obscure, has baffled his profound knowledge. Not alone content with giving us a rigid and exact transla-

tion of his original, the Editor has spared no labour to collate the statements of the 'Masters' with those of other annals, and we find that his notes, in general, far exceed the text. All printed works, and many ancient Celtic manuscripts, with which the compilers were themselves unacquainted, have been made ample use of. The topographical portion of the work is, perhaps, the most elaborate. Of the innumerable ancient places referred to by the Annalists, but few remain to be identified. Nearly all these localities were personally visited and inspected by the Editor, during his engagement on the Ordnance Survey, which afforded him opportunities of acquiring precise and accurate local information, which will probably be never again afforded to the historic investigator. He has also made a most important use of the historical traditions, extant some time ago among the peasantry of the more remote districts, but now totally obliterated by the late sad events which have driven their exiled depositories to strange lands, "far away beyond the Atlantic's foam." Nor is Dr. O'Donovan's genealogical learning less remarkable. The clearness and precision with which he traces the various ramifications of the ancient Irish clans and their representatives, in both hemispheres, adducing evidences from Celtic records which would be totally incomprehensible to the most learned "Garter" or "Clarenceux" King at Arms—the interesting and important pedigrees and illustrative genealogies, not elsewhere extant, which he has embodied in his notes and appendices, may well serve as models for a College of Heralds. In the present age of superficial historic works, it would at first appear incredible that a single scholar should have accomplished so vast an undertaking; especially when we recollect that he has given to the world the most comprehensive and profound treatise extant on the Hiberno-Celtic language; and his invaluable contributions to the publications of the Irish Archæological and Celtic Societies extend to many thousand pages. It would be unjust to compare him with Du Chesne, Dom Bouquet, Mabillon, Muratori, or other editors of continental historic literature. Their path was smooth in comparison to the labours of Dr. O'Donovan. He had no printed precedents to guide him, save such as were calculated to mislead; no compilations save those of ignorant and delusive writers. He was thus obliged to contend with the obscure and obsolete idioms of a peculiar language, and to seek his authorities and illustrations among our unclassified and unindexed Celtic monuments, half

effaced by the accidents of time, and which would still remain unintelligible and inaccessible to the literary investigator, but for the labours of himself and his erudite associate, Eugene Curry. In fine, whether we regard the industry and impartiality of the original compilers, the immense learning and extensive researches of the Editor, or the exquisite typography of the volumes, it must be admitted that these Annals, as edited by Dr. John O'Donovan, form one of the most remarkable works yet produced on the history of any portion of the British Isles. The mass of information which they embody constitutes a collection of national records, the value of which can never be superseded. To the student desirous of obtaining a correct knowledge of the Hiberno-Celtic race, the work is indispensable: while in it only will the philologist find materials for tracing the progress and various stages of the last remnant of the Indo-European language. Standing thus alone, it must maintain a high place among the great literary monuments of the world, so long as the study of history continues to retain the charms which it has ever possessed for men of cultivated and philosophic minds."

(From the GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.)

"This great national work, extending to upwards of four thousand pages, and forming seven large quarto volumes, is the most magnificent contribution to historical literature that either Ireland or England has received for many years. It is in itself a chronicle of the Irish, written by Irishmen, and of the highest interest for its native annals."

(From the DUBLIN REVIEW.)

"For our own part, even in a professed critical notice, we can but hope, within the limited space at our disposal, to render a scanty and imperfect measure of justice to a work of such vast extent and of so various and profound erudition. It might appear at first sight, however, that the task of editing a work in which the Editor has had the advantage of more than one authentic copy of the autograph MSS. could not have presented many difficulties, at least difficulties of a serious kind. If any person be disposed to entertain the idea, we would beg of him to examine almost every single

page out of the four thousand one hundred of which the work consists, in order that he may learn what is the true nature and extent of Mr. O'Donovan's editorial labours. Let him see the numberless minute verbal criticisms; the elaborate topographical annotations with which each page is loaded; the historical, genealogical, and biographical notices; the lucid and ingenious illustrations drawn from the ancient laws, customs, traditions, and institutions of Ireland; the parallelisms and discrepancies of the narrative with that of other annalists, both native and foreign; the countless authorities which are examined and adjusted; the errors which are corrected; the omissions and deficiencies supplied; in a word, the curious and various learning which is everywhere displayed. Let him remember that the mines from which all those treasures have been drawn are, for the most part, unexplored; that the materials thus lavishly applied to the illustrations of the text are in great part manuscripts—manuscripts, too, which Ussher and Ware, even Waddy and Colgan, not to speak of Lynch and Lanigan, had never seen, or had left unexamined; many of them in a language which is, to a great extent, obsolete. Let him remember this, and he will understand without difficulty the long and toilsome preparation which has been expended on this admirable work, and will cease to wonder how, commenced in January, 1833, it is only after fifteen or eighteen years of patient study and investigation that it is at last given to the public.

(*From the DUBLIN UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE.*)

“It is with extraordinary satisfaction and pleasure we undertake the duty of making our readers acquainted with the great and erudite labours of Mr. O'Donovan. Our satisfaction is of a high and ennobling kind, for it is chiefly on account of the country itself that we feel it. In comparing this work to the points of the coral reef, coming up to light after labours so great and so long hidden, prosecuted in the depths of the sea, and perfected in the midst of elemental conflict, we suggest no exaggerated idea of the patient toil of which the results are thus, at length, beginning to make themselves visible amongst us. Mr. Petrie toiled for twelve years in his *Essay on the Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland*; it is eighteen years since Mr. O'Donovan commenced his exposition and translation of the *Annals of the Four Masters*; and here, at length, we have his book in seven quarto volumes—in matter, in learned use of it, in

method, and in typographical excellence, fit to take its place on any shelf of any European library, beside Camden, Mabillon, or Muratori. The fame of these Annals has been so widely circulated of late years, that we need not do more than commend them, on the one hand, to our scholars and historians, and, on the other, to our young poets, as mines of rich intellectual ore.

“In our necessarily compendious notice of the rich and varied contents of Dr. O'Donovan's translation of the “Annals of Ireland, by the Four Masters,” we have endeavoured, as far as practicable, to use the language of original and contemporary writers, intentionally eschewing minute criticisms and arid disquisitions. We believe that the true object of history is to exhibit faithful pictures of the men of past ages, as they lived and acted, with all their original and characteristic attributes, free from the gloss of specious exaggeration, and unincumbered by those shallow philosophic speculations, so often delusive. Hence, the peculiar value of the ‘Annals of the Four Masters,’ in presenting us with unadorned and truthful narratives, related in the very language spoken by the men whose acts they chronicle, unvarnished and unaffected by the contaminating influences of adventitious foreign models.”

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